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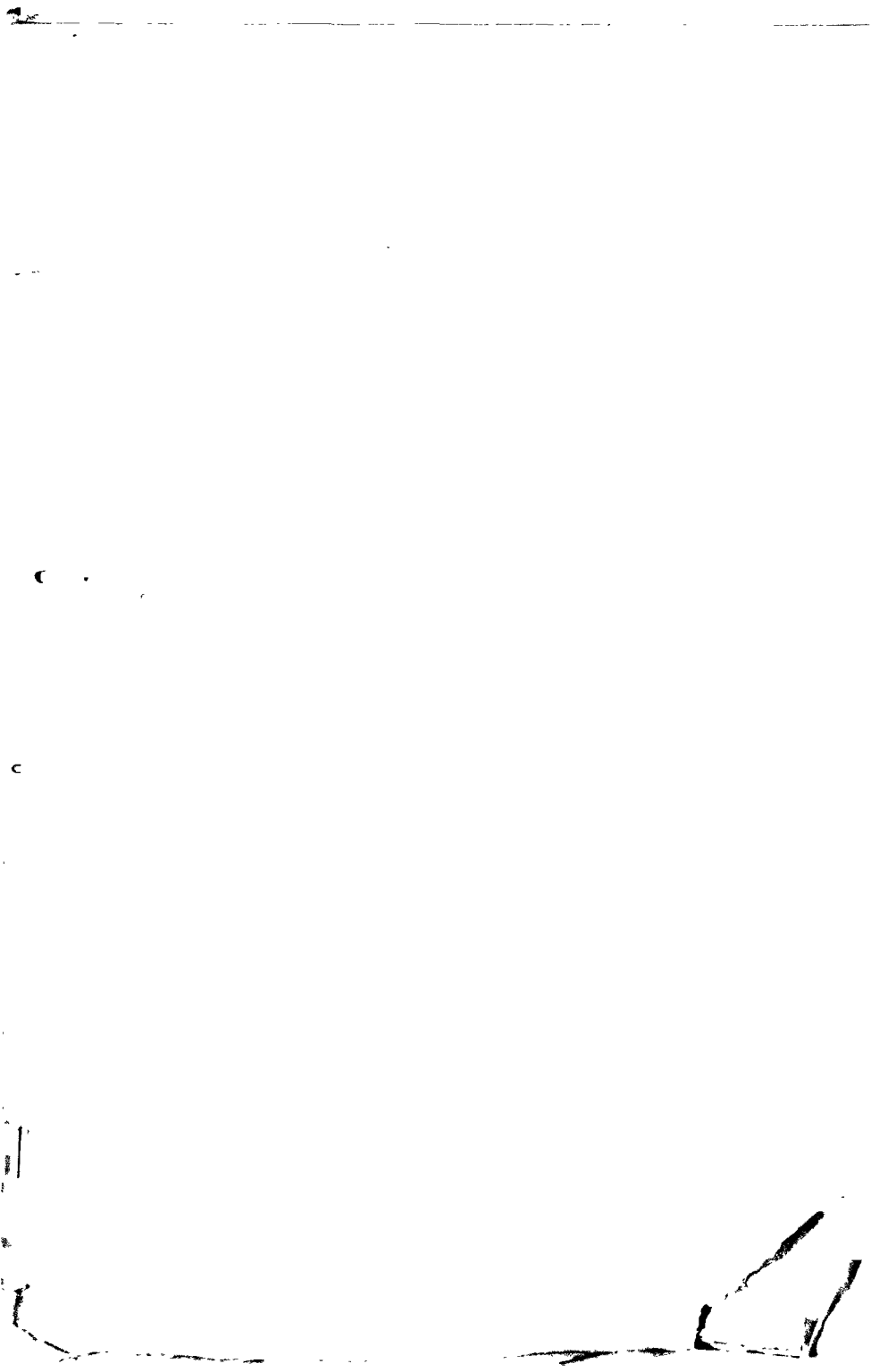
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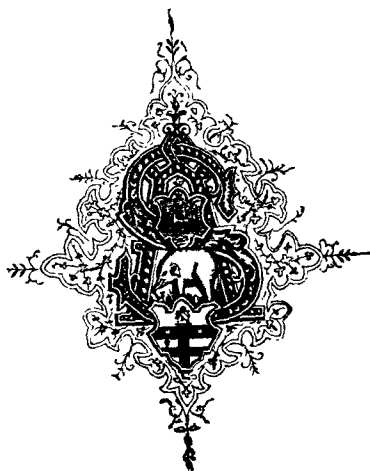
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OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1931

PART I.—JANUARY

Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Ears

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THE following translations are from the texts in my *Assyrian Medical Texts* for sick men suffering from ear-trouble.¹

No. 80. *AM.* 34, 4 (K. 2422) + 37, 2 (K. 7096 + 9059 + 11916 + 16434) + 35, 4 (K. 10787) + 4, 7 (81-7-27, 61, already translated as a fragment, No. 14, *PRSM.* 1924, 15); *AM.* 33, 1, and 34, 1 (K. 3215 + 3666 + 8109 + 10453) + 36, 1 (K. 3696 + 7221 + 10767 + 11788) + 12, 2 (K. 10019) + 34, 5 (S. 379); *AM.* 97, 6 (K. 3486); *AM.* 38, 4 (K. 6661) + 37, 10 (K. 10498) + 38, 1 (K. 13492). From an examination of these four pieces of tablets it seems reasonably certain that they form parts of the same original whole. At the same time it should be observed that *AM.* 37, 2, *rev.*, has three air holes in the body of the text, and that these occur in the others only in the vertical lines which divide the columns. Three of the above are in *KMI.* 18, K. 6661, K. 10498, and 19, S. 379.

Obverse. Col. I. (Here (?) is AM. 97, 6)

1. [If the hand of a ghost seizes on a man], either during the practice of the physician's ministrations (upon him) or

¹ For abbreviations see *JRAS.* 1929, 801.

during the practice of . . . , seed of lupins, **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum* . . . , mustard (?), seed of tamarisk, alum, these seven drugs thou shalt pound, [strain] . . . in wine he shall drink, and [recover].

5. **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*,¹ lupins, hellebore, mustard, . . . , *Solanum*, seven drugs for the hand of a ghost.

7. Lupins, **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*, mustard, hellebore, seed of [tamarisk (?)], . . . *Cannabis*, *Asa foetida* (*nuhūrtu*), *Asa foetida* (*tiātu*), *mint, twelve drugs for [the hand of a ghost (?)].

9. Charm (*unintelligible to me*: cf. *KAR.* 182, 7).

10. This charm over the drug(s) for the hand of a ghost thou shalt recite . . .

11. If a ghost seizes on a man, the blood of a kid (?) . . . if ditto, *šašumtu*-plant . . . ; if ditto, *šašumtu*-plant . . . ; if ditto, *šašumtu*-plant . . .

15. If ditto, ten shekels of . . .
(*Here is AM.* 33, 1, *after a gap*)

1. . . . a ghost . . . gum of *Aleppo pine . . . lupins, *Artemisia*, . . . in the water of these aromatics . . . thou shalt hang (?) ² . . . , oil of myrrh on [his] temples . . .

7. If ditto, cedar, cypress, **Acorus calamus* (?) . . . these eight drugs together in *kurunnu* (?) -beer [he shall drink] . . . , with sulphur, bitumen,³ . . . thou shalt fumigate him . . . ⁴

11. If, when the hand of a ghost seizes on a man, [his]

¹ Written *uSI.KI* for *uŠI.MAN*.

² *Ta-lal uš-ša-bu da-tim* (?), but doubtful.

³ This broken group has all the appearance of *ku-up-ri iluN[ári]*, an expression unknown to me, perhaps synonymous with the well-known *A.GAR.GAR iluNári* "dung of the river", which I take to be asphalt or bitumen (*JRAS.* 1924, 455).

⁴ *Tuḫattar*, followed by *ḫi-ib-ša ša* . . . See *PRSM.* 1926, 67, n. 2.

ears [sing (?)]. . . *liquidambar, horse-hair,¹ . . . , blood of a snake, *kisikku*-plant (?), semen (?) . . . , he shall put ² his fingers in his ears, and [shall say] "Wherever thou be, may Ea res[train (?) thee ³]" . . . After it, with the tooth of a female ibex,⁴ the horn of an ox, . . . [thou shalt fumigate (?) his ears] . . .

17. If a ghost seizes on a man, and his ears [sing (?)], . . . roses, horse-hair . . .

19. . . . with a bronze tube . . .

20. If the hand of a ghost seizes on a man, and his ears sing, myrrh . . . thou shalt bray, roll up in wool, sprinkle with cedar-blood, recite thereon the charm (called) "A *KIR.GAB* hath [Ea] made" . . .

22. Charm: A *KIR.GAB* hath Ea made: the sand. . . ⁵ may the "stone" ⁶ protect him, may the "stone" give him inunction,⁷ may the "stone" . . . him, may the "stone" anoint him. Recital of the charm: Thou shalt recite this charm three times over the roll(ed up wool, and) put (it) in his ears.

24. If ditto, thou shalt bray fir-turpentine, mustard, hellebore, *Ricinus*, **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*,

¹ See note to l. 29.

² *I-rit-ti*, used also of putting a peg in a wall. (Meissner, *Alt. Privatr.*, 12, n. 2.)

³ *Lik*-[*la-ka* ?].

⁴ *Sa-par-ti*, which settles the reading *sappartu*, not *šappartu*.

⁵ *IM.MA.AN.NA TI.KU.A*: Cf. my *On the Chemistry*, 13, and for the phrase *AM. 37, 2, r. 6* (Col. ii, 6). The reference appears to be to the *KIR.GAB*, which Ea has made, of which the sand (as coming from Ea's domain) is part. Possibly the explanation is that the unstable sand represents the evil, just as the "stone", which is to guard the patient, represents the beneficent power to heal.

⁶ The "stone" must have been quoted in the lost part of the prescription.

⁷ *Li-iš-kip-šu*, cf. Syr. *šukâphâ*, *inunctio*.

lupin, *Lolium*, mix in cedar-oil, roll up in wool, put into his ears, and he shall recover : If ditto, thou shalt bray **Acorus calamus* in oil, put into his ears.

26. If ditto, thou shalt bray together myrrh, powdered arsenic,¹ lapis lazuli, "green stone,"² mix (it) in cedar-oil, put (it) into his ears, anoint his lobes (?)³

28.⁴ If, when the hand of a ghost seizes on a man, his ears sing, thou shalt fumigate his ears with seed of juniper, seed of laurel, *liquidambar male and female,⁵ horse-hair,⁶ glue (?),⁷ by means of fire.

30. If, when the hand of a ghost seizes on a man, his ears sing, thou shalt fumigate the interior of his ears with laurel-root, *liquidambar, glue (?), by means of fire.

¹ *taAŠ.GE.GE*, arsenic, probably powdered (see my *On the Chemistry*, 42).

² Dr. Arnold Chaplin has suggested to me that it might be verdigris, which is probably not far off the truth, but since it is used here with lapis lazuli, it is more probably some natural deposit containing copper. Verdigris, the sub-acetate of copper, is used as a stimulant to foul and indolent ulcers (Squire, *Comp. to the Brit. Pharmac.*, 18th ed., 465). Cf. *KAR.* 186, 32 : 213, 29 : *AM.* 29, 2, 9.

³ The word which I have translated "lobes" (?) is literally "flesh", but the dual mark after it must surely have some significance. Cf., however, *AM.* 48, 2, 2, where it cannot mean "lobes".

⁴ This is a duplicate of *AM.* 35, 1, 5 (No. 81), and 38, 2, iv, 1 (No. 82), the difference being trifling, except in one point, which is that the first drug *zir udapráni* varies with *zir uSU.MAN* (*MAT*, by scribe's mistake, in the second instance), which goes to show that the two are synonymous. Read also in *AM.* 38, 2, iv, i, *zir*, for scribe's error, *EN*.

⁵ See *JRAS.* 1924, 454, where the "male" is explained as being "like tamarisk bark, massed and red", and the female "like tamarisk bark, fine and yellow".

⁶ *KU-pi*, varying with *zap-pi*, *AM.* 38, 2, r. iv, 2. For *zappu* "hair", the Syr. *zappé*, see *PRSM.* 1924, 11, n. 5. to which should be added that Ungnad, *ZDMG.* 1923, 85, read the word as *šappi* "Mähne", without giving a Semitic comparison. In l. 35 it would appear that there is a variant form *a-zap-pi*; cf. *KAR.* 191, iv, 8, *a-zap-pi šahī*.

⁷ *KU.NIK.IB.SU.LAL*, *JRAS.* 1924, 453, n. 1.

31.¹ Thou shalt fumigate the interior of his ears with fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, myrrh, cedar, **Acorus calamus*, **Ferula communis*, roses, *mercury, eight drugs (as) a purification (?) for ears, by means of fire.

33. Thou shalt fumigate the interior of his ears with *misu* (sulphate of iron),² hart's-horn, human bone, kelp (?), bone of a *MUH.TUL.BI* (mole ?),³ **Ammi*, by means of fire.

35. Thou shalt fumigate the interior of his ears with sulphur, fennel, laurel-root, horse-hair,⁴ glue (?), by means of a thorn fire.

36. Thou shalt fumigate the interior of his ears with hart's-horn, alum, [**Amm*]*i* (?), *Lolium*, kelp (?), sulphur, human bone, by means of a thorn fire.

38. If a man's ears sing, thou shalt roll *Agrostis*, (and) fir-turpentine in wool, put (it) into water, boil (it) on the fire, put (it) into his ears, and he shall recover.

40. If a man's ears sing, thou shalt mix cedar-"blood" with pomegranate-water and put (it) into his ears, and he shall recover.

41. Charm (*unintelligible to me*). Recital of the Charm.

Col. II. *AM.* 37, 2, *rev.* (K. 7096) + 4, 7 (81-2-27, 61, but surface on this side entirely broken away) + 34, 4, *obv.* (K. 2422); then after a gap, 34, 5 (S. 379) + 36, 1, *rev.* (K. 3696) + 35, 2 (K. 3215).

¹ Duplicate of *AM.* 35, 1, 7 (No. 81); 38, 2, *r.* 9 (No. 82); and *KAR.* 202, *r.* iv, 33 (except that in this latter there is a slight variation in the order, and an additional drug, *šsuadu*); cf. also Col. ii, 15 (5), and *KAR.* 202, iv, 14.

² See my article, *PRSM.* 1926, 38, n. 2.

³ See my article, *PRSM.* 1924, 14, n. 3. Mr. Gadd (*Liverpool Annals*, 1925, 132) suggests "mole". Cf. *MUH.TUL, CT.* xxvii, 22, 11.

⁴ See note to l. 29.

1-2. (*Here is AM. 37, 2, reverse.*) (Charm) Recital of the Charm.

3. [Incantation for] when a man's ears sing.

4. . . . powdered arsenic . . . in blood of cedar thou shalt mix, [roll up] in wool, put into his ears.

6. (*Charm*) . . .¹ Recital of the Charm.

7. [Incantation for] when a man's ears sing.

8. . . . powdered arsenic (and) *liquidambar in oil thou shalt mix, let (it) stand under the stars,² [recite] the charm three times [over it], (and) put it [into his ears].

¹ Read *IM.MA.AN.NA.TI.KU.A*, with *AM.* 33, 1, 22.

² *Ina UL tuš-ziz.* *Tuš-ziz* is the correct reading, as E. (xiii, 15, n. 4) pointed out from "an unpublished text" (probably my *AM.* 85, 3, 4), *ina UL uš-ziz.* E. would make *UL* = "Glut" (?) ("in die Glut (?) Stellen"), or "Herd" (*Liebeszauber*, 30, 1. 35), but I cannot agree with this, finding, for one thing, that it is a little difficult to understand.

Küchler (p. 67) showed that *UL* varied not infrequently with *MUL* in this phrase (as also occurs in *AM.* 62, 3 r. 6, as well as 14, 5, 5, where there are definite traces of *MUL*, and also Weidner, *Keilschrifturk. aus Boghazk.*, iv, No. 48, 14), and he translates "beim Herankommen des Stern(bild)es". The phrase is habitually preceded by drugs put into some fluid (oil, water, beer), and constantly followed by directions to use it "in the morning" (once with the addition of *ina muši* "in the night" to the phrase in *KAR.* 191, *obv.* 7, dup. of *AM.* 70, 5, 8, No. 193). This would surely show that some point of time in the evening was indicated, and since *UL* (like *MUL*) = *kakkabu* "star", we may follow Küchler in seeing in *UL* the idea of "star". The point is that the drugs are allowed to steep for a night, not necessarily put under the stars as an offering, which would be *ana* or *ina pân*, rather than *ina*, as in the case of the Goat-star, *AM.* 100, 3, *obv.* 6, etc., and Ishtar, *AM.* 87, 1, 14, but rather at the time when the stars come out (cf. *AM.* 39, 1, 7, "in the morning without a meal he shall drink"). Interesting comparisons are found in the latter part of *S.M.* ii (receipts which often show great similarity with the Assyrian); p. 658, "set it under the stars during the night of the fourth day in three consecutive weeks, and afterwards rub the mixture on his head"; p. 663, "set it in the sun until it becometh thick like honey"; p. 672, "let the mixture remain all night under the stars, and let the patient drink it in the morning"; p. 673, "let the patient drink it in the morning when fasting." As a translation I would suggest tentatively "let (the mixture) stand during the time of the stars" (retaining in the text "let it stand under the stars").

Charm: . . .¹ mayst thou bless (?), . . . mayst thou bless (?), mayst thou bless (?). Let not . . . approach them !
Recital of the Charm.

13. [Incantation for] when a man's ears sing.

14. . . . thou shalt bray together myrrh (and) *mint, mix (it) in blood cedar . . . , roll up in wool, put (it) into his ears.

16. Charm (*unintelligible to me*). Recital of the Charm.²

18. . . . three times [his right ear (?)], three times his left ear thou shalt fumigate.

(Here is AM. 34, 4, *obv.*, K. 2422, after the gap left by the broken face of AM. 4, 7, 81-7-27, 61.)

By heaven be thou exorcised, by earth be thou exorcised !

4. . . . three times (?) into his right ear, three times into his left ear, thou shalt recite.

5. [Charm] . . . ? Recital of the Charm.

7. [Incantation for when] his right ear "whispers".³

8. [Charm] . . . ? Recital of the Charm.

10. [Incantation for when] his left ear "whispers".

11. . . . turmeric . . .

(Here is AM. 35, 2 (K. 3215) + 34, 5 (S. 379) + 36, 1, *rev.* (K. 3696) after a gap.)

¹ ŠA.RA.RA.ŠA.RA *ŠAG.GA.ĦE.A. Is this first word connected with ŠA.RA (Reisner, *Hymnen*, 73, 3) = *ubbil* "remove", "bring", (parallel with *uštebi* in the preceding line) ?

² For *pa-tar-ri* (PA.TAR.RI ?), cf. *pa-ta-ar-ri*, AM. 35, 1, 2.

³ *Li-iḫ-šu*, presumably a permansive form like *limnitunu* (*Maḳlu*, v, 140), from the Heb. *lāḫaš*. Cf. SM. ii, 111, "and there arise inside the ears sounds and singings and whistlings."

1. . . . Thou shalt sprinkle wool: once,¹ twice, thrice, thou shalt put (it) into his ears [and he shall recover].

2. If a man . . . ["fire"]² extends³ into the interior of his ears, and it dulls the hearing, thou shalt mix one shekel of pomegranate-water, . . . , two . . .⁴ . . . , sprinkle (it) on wool, put (it) into his ears: for three days this . . .⁵ On the [fourth] day the pus which com[es out] thou shalt remove, and cleanse (the ear). As the pus exudes⁶ and [is deposited], thou shalt bray alum, (and) blow (it) into his ears [through] a reed-tube, and he shall recover].

6. If "fire" extends into the interior of a man's ears, and his hearing is dull, and it retains its hold (?),⁷ thou shalt apply oil of juniper and oil of **Acorus calamus* to his head, sprinkle (it) [on] wool, once, twice, thrice thou shalt put (it) into his ears, [and] his hearing shall be opened. He shall eat *Lolium*, to which nothing has been added, in wheaten bread, [and shall recover].

9.⁸ If in his weakness "fire" extends into the interior of a man's ears, and his ears (hearing) are dull, *crane-grease⁹

¹ Re-examined: text *sic*, *I-tum*, probably. Cf. l. 7.

² *BIL* (as in *CT*. xxiii, 23, 1; *AJSL*. 1908, 337, "If a man's skull holds fire," and in several passages closely parallel to the present text in *KAR*. 202, r. iii, 42, 47, 50, etc., where "fire" can spread to practically any part of the body), must mean heat, or inflammation.

³ *Ippuš* is from *napāšu*. Cf. *KAR*. 202, r. iii, 37, "If a man is sick, and his sickness extends (*ippuš*) to his head."

⁴ Glossed . . . *NI* (= *šaman*?) *ŠIM* . . .

⁵ Re-examined: text apparently as I have given it. We should expect "shalt thou do".

⁶ *Ittak-ma* [*innadi*]: cf. *AM*. 34, 5, 9; 36, 1, r. 5 (= l. 15, below). For pus exuding from ears, see receipts in *SM*. ii, 114 ff., especially the one prescribing burnt alum.

⁷ *LU-sa* (?), i.e. *šibit-sa*, on the analogy of the use of *LU* = *šabātu* in medical texts. The subject is probably *išātu* "fire".

⁸ Dup. *KAR*. 202, iii, 50, which shows by comparison that *KIT* = *sili'tu*, confirming *Br*. 5932. Cf. *CT*. xxiii, 38, 26, dup. *TCP*., *obv*. 31, and *KAR*. 202, iii, 42, *AM*. 17, 9, 6.

⁹ See *JRAS*. 1929, 339.

thou shalt put into his ears, and his hearing will be lightened ¹; thou shalt crush male mandrake-root,² put (it) into his ears, and he shall rec[over].

11.³ If a man's ears hurt him as though it were the hand of a ghost (*here is AM. 34, 5*), and makes him swell,⁴ thou shalt compound ⁵ separately oil of *opopanax, oil of **Acorus calamus*, oil of pine-turpentine, mix together, put into his ears; thou shalt roll up a lump ⁶ of nitre ⁷ in wool, put (it) into his ears. Thou shalt mix sweet *U.SA* beer, flour of *Lathyrus* (chick-peas), flour of fenugreek, wheaten flour, . . . flour of roses, flour of cedar in beer, [apply, and] he shall recover.

15 (5).⁸ If a man's ears are affected [and the interior] of his ears makes him swell with offensive foetor,⁹ pricking him

¹ *I-ka-lil*, variant in *KAR.* spelt with *Br.* 6698.

² See, in addition to *AH.* 187, *JRAS.* 1926, 100.

³ Practically duplicate of *KAR.* 202, iv, 12, for the first part. My text is completed from the join, *S.* 379, pl. 34.

⁴ *U PApl-su*; *KAR.* has *u PA.PA.-su*, i.e. *unappas-su*. Cf. l. 15, where it is augmented by *bi'-'iš* ("with offensive foetor").

⁵ *Tu-raḫ-ka*, Heb. *rāḳaḥ* "compound (ointment)", less probably *rāka* "beat". Cf. Senn. (Layard, 42, 50) *šaman ʾusirdi u ḥibišti uraḳka*, enlarged in King, *CT.* xxvi, Col. viii, 71, *šaman ʾusirdi u ḥibišti ša ʾukirēvi šēri ša abburti uraḳkā* ("almond oil and gum I compounded, etc.") (for *ḥibišti* "gum" see *JRAS.* 1924, 455). If the sense "compound" is taken in the medical receipt above, it must, of course, be understood as preparing each oil separately.

⁶ *RID*, i.e. *kurban*. *Kurban* (or *kirban*) *tābtī* may be spelt with or without the determinative *U* (see *SAI.* 4283) and is discussed by Küchler (with *kirbinu*) (*Beitr.* 125), he adducing *kurbāni ša abari* "lumps of antimony" (Tiglath-Pileser, v, 39) as an example. *Kurban tābtī* occurs also in *AM.* 52, l. 16, *KAR.* 202, r. iv, l. 1, and 13, and *AM.* 58, l. 5, while in *AM.* 35, 2, 11, the present text (part dup. of *KAR.* 202, r. iv, 12), the variant is *kurban MUN.EME.ŠAL.LIM* (nitre). See also the note on *kirbinu*, No. 80. Col. iii (41 ff.).

⁷ *MUN.EME.ŠAL.LIM*, *JRAS.* 1924, 454; *KAR.* simply "salt". Cf. *SM.* ii, 115, for ears "which discharge pus, and have worms", where alum and "Cappadocian salt" in old wine are prescribed.

⁸ The prescription is very similar to *KAR.* 202, r. iv, 14.

⁹ *Bi'-'iš*, *KAR.* *bi-š*. Cf. *SM.* ii, 114, "For ears which are swollen and stink"; and cf. also *CT.* xxiii, 36, 58, *bi'-'[šat]*, as in l. 64.

(*here is AM. 36, 1, rev.*) . . .¹ hurts him, and [he can]not [rest(?)],² [thou shalt pound] (and) strain pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, myrtle,³ **Ferula communis*, roses (?),⁴ potash,⁵ *mercury, fumigate⁶ (therewith) the interior of his ears over a thorn fire . . . : this for [three days thou shalt do (?)], and on the fourth day thou shalt cleanse the interior of his ears : [as the pus] exudes and is deposited,⁷ thou shalt bray alum, (and) blow (it) [into] his ears through a reed-tube.

20 (10). [If from the interior] of a [man]'s ears pus⁸ comes, thou shalt mix together blood from the kidney of an ox, and blood of cedar, and pour (it) into his ears.⁹

Col. III. AM. 36, 1 (K. 3696) + 12, 2 (K. 10019) ; AM. 38, 1 (K. 13492) + 38, 4 (K. 6661) + 37, 10 (K. 10498) ; AM. 34, 4, rev. (K. 2422) + 4, 7 (81-7-27, 61, No. 14) + 37, 2, obv. (K. 7096) + 35, 4 (K. 10787).

1. . . . thou shalt pour into his ears, water of . . .
2. . . . thou shalt pour [into his ears], water of pomegranate [in oil] of cedar thou shalt mix. . . .
3. . . . *kamkadu*-plant, which (is) like the gall (?) of . . . , (and) the vertebrae of a horse in oil of cedar thou shalt mix.
4. . . . thou shalt put into his ears. Oil of **galbanum* . . . (and) gall of a frog thou shalt pour into his ears.
5. . . . its fat (?) in *crane-fat thou shalt mix, (and) pour into his ears.

¹ . . . -u-ra-s[u (?)].

² *Išalal* (?), from *KAR*.

³ *KAR*. omits some of these drugs, and some of the latter part of the receipt.

⁴ *Kaš* (?).

⁵ *IM.KAL.LA*, see *RA*. 1929, 63, n. 3.

⁶ *ŠAR* = *katāru*, by variants *AM.* 80, 6, 6, and 98, 1, 5.

⁷ Cf. col. ii, 2 ff.

⁸ Read *šarku* (*Br.* 1691), re-examined.

⁹ Cf. *SM.* ii, 117, for worms in the ears : " Take the juice which runneth from the flesh of the bull that is being roasted, and strain when warm, and pour into the ear " ; or, still better, 665, for worms in the ears : " Press out the juices from the kidneys of an ox which have been half broiled, [mix] with salt, and apply."

6. . . . in finely ground flour thou shalt mix, (and) put into his ears.

7. . . . thou shalt pound fine, (and) blow into his ears through a reed tube. Roses like roast corn thou shalt roast, (and)

8. . . . blow [into] his ears. Thou shalt reduce (and) bray oleander (?), (and) blow (it) into his ears. . . .

9. . . .¹ thou shalt dry it, (and) pour (it) into his ears. Tannin (?)² of the mountains, gall of an ass,

10. dog's [dung (?)], thou shalt mix together, (and) put [into his ears]. *Salicornia*-alkali (and) male and female *lulû*³ thou shalt roll in wool, (and)

11. . . . put [into] his ears. Thou shalt squeeze onions (?) (or, garlic, or similar)⁴ (and) pour (it) into his ears.

12. [If] pus gathers⁵ [in] a man's ears, thou shalt pour pomegranate-[water]⁶ into his ears. Thou shalt bray *styrax

13. (and) blow (it) into his ears [through] a reed tube. Thou shalt bray [oil ?] of cedar, oil of . . . , (and) cummin,

14. mix [in blood ? of ce]dar (?), roll up in wool, put into [his ears]. *Nigella*,⁷ myrrh, fish-oil,

15. (and) alum (?) thou shalt mix together, put into his ears. . . . finely ground flour thou shalt mix, ro[ll up in wool], put into his ears.

16. [Skin (?)] of pomegranate thou shalt dry, bray, blow into his ears . . . of cedar, . . . [gall (?) of a f]rog thou shalt reduce,

¹ *Tu-ru'-a . . . -as-si-lu bu- . . .*

² *Kam-ka-ma ša šadî*, a reduplicated form from *kammu* ?

³ Hardly "pearl" (Virolleaud, *Babyloniaca*, iii, 222: *On the Chemistry*, 29).

⁴ *SE.ŠAR*, or *SE.EL.ŠAR* (*AH.* 124); cf. onions, leeks, or garlic for ears in *SM.* ii, 112, 116, 117, 665, and goose-grease, onions, and garlic in Pliny, *NH.* xxix, 39.

⁵ *Išarrur*, Syr. *šarr*, *colligavit*, *coarctatus est*.

⁶ Probably water in which the astringent rinds have been soaked. For pomegranates for ears cf. *SM.* ii, 116, 665.

⁷ *SM.* ii, 112.

(Here is *AM.* 12, 2), bray.

17. (and) blow [into] his ears. Oil of cypress thou shalt sprinkle on wool, [(and) put in his ears]. Alum (?) . . . thou shalt put [into] his ears.

18. Myrrh, *GIL* (?) of *styrax dry [thou shalt put] into his ears. . . . Alum (?) . . . thou shalt blow [into] his ears.

19. . . . [tops (juice) (?)] of tamarisk (?), tops (juice) of fir . . . *crane grease,

20. . . . a frog 21. . . . thou shalt put [into] his ears.

23. . . . of pomegranate. 24. . . . thou shalt put [into his ears].

(About this point must be inserted *AM.* 38, 1, Col. II (K. 13492) + 38, 4, Col. II (K. 6661) + 37, 10 (K. 10498):

3. . . . Sh[oemaker's black (?)] . . .

5. If the ears . . . (here is *AM.* 37, 10) fir-turpentine . . . water of pomegranate (here is *AM.* 38, 4) thou shalt heat (?) ¹ over a tamarisk fire, thou shalt . . . ²

7. If (ditto ?) thou shalt bray *lulû*, into his ears thou shalt [put].²

8. If ditto, thou shalt parch roses like roast corn, bray (them) put into his ears [and he shall recover].

9.³ If pus comes into a man's ears, [thou shalt mix] water of pomegranate, scented (?) oil, oil of cedar, [pour into his ears]. Oil of *galbanum, pine-turpentine, gall of a frog into his ears thou shalt pour. *Še-mi* . . . (and) flies' blood together thou shalt mix, into his ears [thou shalt pour].

12. If into a man's ear either water, or blood, or pus comes, thou shalt cleanse the interior of his ears, [alum (?) into his

¹ . . . *mē isunurmī tu-ra* (?) -ar; from *arāru* ?

² *Ta-sa* . ?

³ Text here similar to *KAR.* 202, iv, 23, whence the restorations.

ears] by a reed tube thou shalt introduce : the interior of his ears thou shalt wash, and (?) *tābatu*-vinegar (and ?) *enšu*-vinegar into [his] ears [thou shalt pour].¹ Thou shalt bray . . . , mix in honey, introduce into his ear, roll up in wool, wild honey . . .

(Here is *AM.* 34, 4, rev. (*K.* 2422).)

15. If ditto, seed of *Asa foetida* . . . [in] wool thou [shalt roll up], put into his ears.

If ditto, the seed of fir-“turpentine” thou shalt bray, . . . [in wool thou shalt roll up], put into his ears.

If ditto, thou shalt bray parched roses, . . . [in wool thou shalt roll up], (and) put into his ears.

18. If a man's right ear in fire (?) . . . , that man “has been visiting the Temple of Shamash, (or) Sin”², and he speaks and hears what . . . [For his recovery] nitre in oil of cypress, oil of **opopanax* . . . pure refined [oil]³ thou shalt put on his head . . . thou shalt repeat it for [seven days], and he shall recover.

22. [If a man's ear] . . . that man has been “visiting the Temple of Ninurta,” and . . . [For his recovery] nitre in oil of **opopanax* [thou shalt roll up in wool, put (it) into his ear] : pure refined [oil] thou shalt put on [his head] . . . pine-turpentine . . . : (here is *AM.* 4, 7) thou shalt repeat it for [seven days], and he shall recover.

¹ This section runs : *Enuma amelu ina lib uzni-šu lu mēp! lu dāmu lu šarku illak(ak) lib uznā^{II}-šu ta-kap-pa[r IM.IŠ.TAK.KUR.RA ? ina lib uznā^{II}-šu] ina GI.ŠAG.TAR tasaraḫ lib uznā^{II}-šu temissi(ši)-[i]m(?) -ma tābati enši ana lib uz[nā^{II}-šu tanatak]. For *DUB* = *sarāku*, see *PRSM.* 1926, 58, n. 3. For *tābati enši*, cf. *AM.* 7, 3, 1 (No. 25).*

² “To visit the Temple of Shamash” (or Sin, or Ninurta, or Ishtar) would appear to be some technical method of expressing a diagnosis. In ll. (41) ff. it is not improbable that “to visit the Temple of Ishtar” indicates sexual over-indulgence, resulting in loss of physical power. It is therefore possible that to have “visited the Temple of Shamash (or Sin)” indicates exposure to the sun or moon.

³ Restored from *AM.* 4, 7, 8. See *JRAS.* 1924, 456, for different possibilities.

27. [If man's ear] . . . that man has been "visiting the Temple of Shamash," and . . . [For his recovery] thou shalt bray pine-turpentine (?), roll (it) up in wool, put (it) into his ears ¹ [*Lolium* (?)] ² in wheaten bread he shall eat . . . : thou shalt repeat it for [seven days], and he shall recover.

31. . . . [that man] has been "visiting [the Temple of . . .]", and (but) shall see seven happy (healthy) months ³ . . . thou shalt put (it) [into] his ear ; pure refined oil thou shalt put on his head . . . thou shalt repeat it for seven days, and he shall recover.

34. [If a man's ears have collected] secretion [into a solid] . . . (*here is AM. 37, 2, obv.*) . . . sickness, with heat (?) is sick ; that man comes (?) . . . nine [days (?)] . . . he shall see good fortune (health). For his recovery [nitre (?) in] oil of *opopanax in wool [thou shalt roll up, put (it) into his ear] ; cypress-oil thou shalt put on his head. . . . [He should eat] *puḫru*,⁴ [drink . . .] : thou shalt repeat it for [seven days], and he shall recover.

38. [If in a man's right ear] has collected secretion into a solid ⁵ . . . , it presses on him,⁶ that man (*here is AM. 35, 4*)

¹ Read *PI-šu*.

² Cf. *AM. 34, 1, 6*.

³ The sense is uncertain. It can hardly mean "after seven months", as the treatment lasts only seven days.

⁴ See No. 81, l. 9, n. 2.

⁵ Read *IR ana kir-bi-nu ip-ḫur*. The probability is that *IR* = *irru*, a word occurring in *AM. 74, iii, 13* as *ir-ra*, since *GIŠ.IR* has the value *irru* (*Br. 5385*) and *IR.DAM* = *irritu ša šaḫī* (*SAI. 3734*). *KAR. 159, r. 15*, "If a man ditto (unknown) *IR rabiš išip-ši IR kima mēp KU* . . . , i.e. there is much *IR* like water ; cf. also *AM. 83, 2, 10. CT. xiv, 32, K. 9061, 2-4, šammu IR parasi (si)* "drug for stopping *IR*" (the name of the drug being lost). *CT. xii, 32, 93070*, makes *IR* = *izutu*, which is comparable to *IIR. 62, 50, c, IR.TA.SUD.SUD = niḫilpū ša zu'utu* "to come, of sweat". *AM. 74, iii, 13* (quoted above) is apparently for a blister *ša ir-ra malī*, "which is full of *irri*". *Irru* must therefore mean a watery secretion or mucus, and in the case of the ear the reference is probably to obstruction of the Eustachian tube. *Kirbinu* was taken by

has been "visiting [the Temple of . . .," and (but)] shall [see good] fortune (health). For his recovery thou shalt roll up [a linen pledget],¹ sprinkle (it) with cypress-oil and cedar-oil, put (it) into his ears . . . thou shalt put [on] his head; he should eat [*puḫru* (?)],² drink mustard in beer; thou shalt repeat it for seven days, and he shall recover.

41. [If a man]'s left [ear] has collected secretion into a solid . . . , that man has been visiting the Temple of Ishtar, and (but) he shall see good fortune (health) . . . he shall see³ . . . For his recovery, thou shalt sprinkle oil of cedar, oil of cypress, oil of **Ferula communis*, oil of [**Acorus*] *calamus*, oil of *opopanax on red wool, (and) put (it) into his ear. Oil of *opopanax [thou shalt put on his head]; he should eat *puḫru*,² drink beer: thou shalt repeat it for seven days, [and he shall recover].

45. . . . speaks, *im ḥa mat šu* (? *ku* ?) *šarku ippušu-ni* (?) *aš-rat iu* . . .⁴

Col. IV (here is AM. 34, 1)

2. . . . water of pomegranate(s) . . . thou shalt wash him (?), sprinkle with oil . . . put on his temples . . .

3. If ditto, thou shalt bray salt, roll (it) up in wool, sprinkle

Küchler (125) to be connected with the *kurbanu* of *kurbāni ša abari* "lumps of antimony" (Tiglath-Pileser, v, 39), and therefore, in the stomachic trouble (Kü. ii, iv, 11) [*Šumma NA* . . .] *rupuštu-šu la ittadi mē kiširte libbi mariš UD.DA.DI.DI libbi-šu kirbinam imaraš*, as a euphemism for "Kotballen", which looks very probable. Cf. Scheil, *RA*. xviii, 13. 9, *Šumma NA kirbina imaraš* . . . : *AM*. 41, 1, 32, "three potions for *ša kirbinam imarašu* him who is sick of *kirbinu*" : *KAR*. 201, 42, . . . *ŠAR*. *ŠAR-ḫu u-na-pak kir-bi-nu imaraš um-ša-tum A.DAN* . . . Cf. p. 9, n. 6.

⁶ [*Uh-te* (?)]-*en-ni-iḫ-šu*.

¹ *Kūtī* (re-examined) *ta-ša-par*, see *PRSM*. 1926, 66, n. 6.

² See No. 81, 9, n. 2.

³ After re-examination, *KI ša*, and then as text.

⁴ Difficult line. Can it be "If the ear rings . . . (?), making (?) pus, [he has been visiting] the Temple of . . ."? Cf. *AM*. 35, 1, 8, 10.

with cypress-oil, put (it) into his ears : cypress-oil on his temples [thou shalt put] . . . hot he shall eat and drink : thou shalt do this for three days and . . .

5. If ditto, thou shalt bray pine-turpentine, roll (it) up in wool, put (it) into his ears : oil (from the(?)) gum of *liquid-ambar [on his temples thou shalt put] . . . *Lolium* with wheaten bread he shall eat : thou shalt do this for three days and . . .

7. [If ditto], thou shalt sprinkle cedar-oil on parti-coloured ¹ wool, [put (it) into his ears] . . . on his temples put and . . .

9. [If ditto], thou shalt sprinkle cedar-oil (and) cypress-oil on parti-coloured wool, [put (it) into his ears] . . . [on] his temples put. Mustard he shall eat . . .

11. If a man's right ear is dull (of hearing), *se-šir-rum* ² . . .

12. Tamarisk while yet green thou shalt bray, [roll (it) up] in a pledget of linen, [put (it) into his ears].

13. Cedar, pine-turpentine, *Nigella*, . . . [thou shalt roll up in wool], put (it) into his ears : oil of . . .

15. Gum of *Aleppo pine, pigs' fat, *BAR.HUŠ*-plant, hair of a [virgin] kid ³ [thou shalt reduce, bray, put into his ears].

16. Cypress-oil on wool [thou shalt sprinkle], . . . blood of a "cat of the plain" ⁴ . . .

¹ *Pusikku*. Ball, *PSBA*. xiv, 1892, 158, was probably right in comparing Syr. *paiskáyá* "parti-coloured"; Torczyner, *DKAW*. 1913, *Altbab. Tempelrechn.*, 126, "Bezeichnung eines Stoffes nach der Qualität."

² Uncertain. See *AM*. 53, 1, iv, 3; 58, 1, 5; and note *SE.ŠAR šir-rum*, 61, 5, 8.

³ See l. 34.

⁴ On this see *JRAS*. 1929, 340.

18. Water of pomegranate(s), black salt(petre) ¹ . . . a male bat ² its (?) head . . .

20. If a man's left ear is dull (of hearing), thou shalt bray myrrh, [roll up in wool, put (it) into his ears] . . . wild honey in fat of a lion (?) . . .

22. After this a "needle (?) " of antimony . . . cedar-oil . . .

23. Oil of cedar, *šigušu*-seed ³ . . . [thou shalt put into his ears].

24. Powder of ⁴ . . .

25. (If) his hearing it has affected . . . (*here is AM. 38, 1, Col. I*) spelt-flour ⁵ . . . thou shalt put [into] his [ears].

27. Oil in thy mouth into [his] ear [thou shalt blow] . . . thou shalt pour : "shoemakers' black" ⁶ . . . [into his ear] thou shalt blow.

¹ On *mil'u* = probably "saltpetre", see my *On the Chemistry*, 28, with which Eisler, *ZA.* xxxvii, 117, agrees.

² See *PRSM.* 1926, 55, n. 3.

³ A bitter seed cultivated round Seruj, apparently like the seed of **Chrysanthemum segetum* or **Anacyclus pyrethrum*, its flour being described as *kime ubbulu* (*JRAS.* 1924, 453).

⁴ *Siktu* (the *k* appears to be certain from the adjective discussed below). See note to *AM.* 8, 7 (*PRSM.* 1926, 37, No. 33), where instances are given of its use ("of parched corn", "of Lycium" (15 grains)), and cf. *AM.* 95, 3, 13 + 50, 6, 12: "½ *kx sikti* of mucilage of sesame, 1 *ka* of flour of . . ." What seems to indicate definitely that it means "powder" is the passage *KAR.* 194, i, 39, *si-ik-ti takAD. MAŠ tasalah* "with powder of *AD. MAŠ* stone thou shalt sprinkle". The root is used adjectivally of *Lolium* (*sahlē si-ka-a-ti*, *AM.* 39, 1, 33, and *si-ki-te*, *AM.* 81, 1, 4), dried roses (*si-ku-ti*, *AM.* 75, 1, 31, and *si-ku-u-ti KAR.* 192, iii, 19). Possibly *sikkatu*, applied to myrrh, *AM.* 69, 8, 11, (dup. 56, 1, r. 6) is a form of it, but it is doubtful. Everything appears to point to the words meaning "powder" and "powdered" respectively.

⁵ *KU.bu-tu-tu*.

⁶ Cf. *SM.* ii, 114, two drachms each of myrrh, aloes, frankincense, opium, and fresh shoemaker's vitriol in vinegar for a boil in the ears.

29. (*Dup. of KAR. 202, r. iv, 28.*) If a man's ears are dull (of hearing), [thou shalt sprinkle] one shekel [of pomegranate]-water [(and) one shekel of *opopanax-water on wool], put (it) into his ear(s): thou shalt do this for three days,¹ [on the fourth day] thou shalt cleanse his [ears], bray alum (and) blow (it) [into] his ears.

32. Root of *šimri*-wood (fennel?) . . . thou shalt take, while it is yet green thou shalt bray, its water into [his ears thou shalt put ?] (and) his hear[ing] will be opened.²

34. Gum of *Aleppo pine, pigs' fat, kelp (?), the hair of a virgin [ki]d thou shalt reduce, bray (*here is AM. 38, 4, Col. I*), put into his ears.

36. Onion,³ tops (juice) of laurel (?) . . . [wh]en he has done this *Lolium*, bread of . . . in beer he shall drink too.

38. A bandage . . . the cloth covers it (?),⁴ when thou (?) pourest (?) . . . three days thou shalt keep (it) bound on and he shall recover.

40. . . . thou shalt put into his ears.
. . . thou shalt put into his ears.

42. . . . thou shalt put into his ears.
. . . thou shalt pour into his ears.

44. . . . thou shalt put into his ears.

45. . . . thou shalt pour into his ears.
. . . thou shalt put into his ears.

(*After a gap is the Reverse of AM. 97, 4.*)

¹ "For three days" omitted in *KAR*.

² Reading [*niš*]-*mu-šu ippite*(te).

³ *SE.EL*, see *AH. 124*.

⁴ Or *ku-tul-šu*.

Catch-line of next tablet *Enuma* *HUL.GIG*¹ . . .

"Second Tablet of the Series 'When a man . . .'"

No. 81. *AM.* 35, 1 (K. 8264)

2. (*Unintelligible to me.*) Incantation for when his ears sing.

3. (*Dup. of KAR.* 202, *iv*, 31.) (If a man's ears sing)² . . . fat of ox-kidney,³ gazelle-dung, turmeric, *zabi*-plant,⁴ powder of box-wood over a fire thou shalt fumigate his ears.⁵

4. (*Unintelligible to me.*) Incantation for when his ears sing.

5. (*Dup. of AM.* 33, 1, 28 (No. 80), and *AM.* 38, 2, *iv*, 1 (No. 82).) Practical prescription for this: thou shalt fumigate the interior of his ears with seed of juniper,⁶ seed of laurel, *liquidamber male and female, horsehair, glue (?), by means of fire.

6. (*Unintelligible to me.*) Incantation for when his ears sing.

7. (*Dup. of AM.* 33, 1, 31 (No. 80, see note thereto) and 38, 2, *r.* 10 (No. 82).) Thou shalt fumigate the interior of his ears with fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, myrrh, cedar, **Acorus calamus*, **Ferula communis*, roses, *mercury by means of fire.

8. If a man's right ear "speaks", a "bar" (shutting)

¹ *HUL.GIG* = *zâru* (*Br.* 9515 and *SAI.* 7219); *HUL.GIG.GA* = *bil*(?)*-la-a-tum* and *pa-aš-ku* (*De Genouillac, RA.* 1913, 72).

² *AM.* has [*DÛ.DÛ.BI*] "Practical prescription for this".

³ *KAR.* adds "male" after *alpu*.

⁴ Cf. "root of *uza-bu* . . .", *AM.* 29, 1, 2.

⁵ *KAR.* "fumigate him".

⁶ The text of *AM.* 38, 2, *iv*, 1, here (*mat* and *en* for *man* and *zir*) is as it is on the tablet. **SU.MAN* is thus shown by the variant to be **dapranu*.

affecting him, he shall drink mustard in beer : he shall repeat (it) for seven days and he shall recover.¹

9. . . . *Lolium*, wheaten bread, *puḫru*,² dates let him eat : he shall repeat (it) for seven days, and [he shall recover].

10. If a man's left ear "speaks", a *nisip* of *lamši* (?),³ dates, *puḫru*,² let him eat : he shall repeat it for seven days [and he shall recover].

11. (*Unintelligible to m^c.*) Incantation for when his ears [sing].

12. [Practical prescription for this] : thou shalt roll up a *kuluttu*⁴ in thy left hand, with a finger

13. . . . of copper thou shalt put into his ears . . .

No. 82. *AM.* 38, 2 (K. 239) + *AM.* 42, 4 (K. 3261) ; *AM.* 37, 8 (K. 14436) may be the end of Col. III. *AM.* 45, 5 (K. 5416, A), appears to be part duplicate, and is included here. This latter has some similarity to *AM.* 87, 1 (K. 2513).

Obverse. Col. I (*fragmentary incantations, ending with one beginning "Charm : Thou art the evil god who against me hast exalted thyself."*⁵).

¹ Cf. *AM.* 37, 2, *obv.* 7 (No. 80).

² *Puḫru* or *būḫru*, a difficult word. Note first in comparison ll. 9 and 10, where it is used in the one passage before the dates, and in the other after ; this would suggest it as an eatable substance, and the variability of the position is definitely against it meaning "the whole", or "all", or, connected with *baḫru*, "hot." In *AM.* 35, 4, 7, *puḫra ikkal^u šikara išatti^u* ; 49, 6, r. 5, *šikara tāba išatti^u puḫrita ikkal^u puḫra lusadir*, shows that it is to be eaten at the same time as beer is drunk ; 69, 8, 14, *ina šikari u šizbi RAT puḫru UD.DU šaman . . .* ; 23, 3, 8, . . . *tusapir puḫra . . .* ; 80, 4, 3, [*p*] *puḫra ana pī-šu . . .* ; 37, 2, 4, . . . *-di puḫra ikkal*.

³ Text re-examined and correct. Or is it *ni-me-lam šī* ?

⁴ *Kuluttu*, unknown to me.

⁵ The traces of the first character may have another horizontal wedge within. but it looks like *ur* (*taš, lik, tan*), which makes *tan-na-šu-u*. Ll. 15 ff. appear to be duplicate of *AM.* 83, 2, 12.

Col. II (here is AM. 42, 4, obverse, joined to Col. II of AM. 38, 2; dup. of AM. 45, 5, obv. 1),¹

2. . . . thy [stomach], . . . thy stomach. Whom shall I send [to relieve (?)] thy stomach, to bring hoes of silver and pickaxes of gold, to open the rivers, to open the canals, that its excrement may escape, may come forth, that the wind-storm therein may come forth and see the light? The charm *ul ia-at-tu-un*, it is the charm which Marduk, the priest of the gods, performeth, and I have adopted: O Gula, quicken the recovery and take thy fee. Recital of the Charm.

11. Three incantations for a sick stomach.

Reverse. Col. III (here is AM. 42, 4, reverse).²

1. Charm: The strength (?)³ of Anu spawned the heaven . . . settled the herbage, . . . the rainstorm, . . . had been arranged . . .

(Possibly we should include here the reverse of AM. 45, 5.)

1. . . . Nin-aḥa-ḫuddu, the mistress of charm. Recital of the Charm.

2. Incantation for supporting the stomach.⁴

3. Practical prescription for this: thou shalt mix fat of

¹ The composite text runs (numbering as in AM. 42, 4): (2) . . . [libbi]pt-ka (3) . . . libbipt-ka (4) man-nu lu-uš-pur . . . ina lib-bi-ka (5) li-iš-ša-a *is* MARpl (= marru, SAI. 4126, cf. 4154, mar kaspī) ša kaspī (u) ki-din-ni-e (v. gi-dim-me-ti) ša ḥuraši (6) li-pat-ta-a nāripl li-pat-ta-a a-tap-pa-(a)-ti (7) li-par-ši-du-(u)-ni lu-šu-u-ni zu-(u)-šu (8) a-šam-šu-tu(m) ša lib-bi-šu li-ša-am-ma iluŠamaš li-mur (9) Šiptu ul ia-at-tu-un Šiptu ša iluMarduk mašmaš ilānipl iddi-ma ana-ku aš-ši (10) iluGu-la bulluṭi-ma ḫiṣta-ki likī(i) (TU).EN.

Gidimmeti in l. 5 must be from *gadāmu*. Syr. *g'dam* "to cut off, hack off". The variant *kidinnu* is difficult. The two natural tools for a Mosul digger would be the hoe and the pick.

² AM. 45, 5, continues in a different way: (11) . . . lib-ba-šu ka-si-šu-ma (12) . . . ma a-lak-ta-a-šu (13) . . . šu ul NIN-su (14) . . . ni u-ba-aḥ-ḫi zu-um-ri . . . (15) . . . nu . . .

³ *Šu-un-du* (?) (re-examined, and apparently correct), cf. *šanudu* "strong".

⁴ In the face of XIV KU *pa-tin-ni* . . . u-al-lad (Kū. II, I, 22, cf. II, 15), and *mē-šu u-al-lad* (AM. 80 1, 12), *ul-lad* in l. 6 cannot refer to supporting the abdomen of a pregnant woman. The group *ŠA.SI.SÁ* is to be read *kušur libbi* (SAI. 6007).

the kidney of a male sheep which has not (*sic*, re-examined) been preserved in salt, malt (?) of a vintner, seed of *pirhi*-plant with flour: thou shalt tie together fourteen head bands: over the head-bands thou shalt recite the incantation *ullad* and recover.

7. Charm: O support of the stomach, be firm, O ditto be firm, O support of the stomach: above, be firm, O support of the stomach, below, be firm, support of the stomach: be firm, support of the stomach . . . Recital of the Charm.

(Probably here should be included AM. 37, 8 (K. 14436) as the end of Col. III of K. 239.)

4. . . . Recital of the Charm.

Incantation for when a man's ear's sing.

(Reverse. Col. IV (here is AM. 38, 2, reverse.)

1. (Dup. No. 80, 28.)

3. Charm: (*unintelligible to me*) Recital of the Charm.

8. Incantation for when a man's ears sing.

9. (Dup. No. 80, 31, *this having the addition*: "Practical prescription for this" at the beginning.)

11. Charm: It hath flown against me, it hath escaped to earth, it hath attacked me. . . . O seven heavens, seven earths, seven winds, seven hurricanes, seven fires, seven faces, seven backs, seven sides . . . by heaven be ye exorcised, by earth be ye exorcised. Fly away like a bird of the heavens,¹ rise to the sky like smoke,² like a rainstorm [disappear] in the ground! May the magic of the Word of the great lord Ea of Eridu be not annulled! Recital of the Charm.

¹ Cf. my *Devils*, ii, 77, 143.

² Cf. *ib.*, 73, 88.

18. Charm ¹: O thou that spieth, O thou that spieth, O thou that pursueth, whatever its name, though on earth art seed of the heavens, unto his form as of heaven, come not nigh: like a mountain thou restrainest, his form thou hast troubled . . . O ye four devils of the roads, O ye four devils of the ways . . . get ye to your four quarters, get ye to your four quarters. . . . May Ninurta, lord of the sword, turn you back.² O . . . (?),³ by heaven be ye exorcised, by earth be ye exorcised!

26. Incantation for when a man's ears [sing] . . . three times in his right ear [thou shalt recite] . . .

(Remainder mutilated.)

No. 83. *AM.* 24, 3 (K. 10208). (Text also in *KMI.* 18.)

(1 ff. *Mutilated prescription for ears, the medicament being put on wool and inserted in the ears.*)

7. . . . a lizard of the house-wall in oil . . . and put into the ear . . .

9. Thou shalt hollow out (?) a hole (?) ⁴ in the warmth like a bird's nest, [catch ?] a lizard of the desert which [falleth alive therein], squeeze out the saliva from its mouth, put it on his tooth . . . human tooth (?) (or brain ? skull ?)

¹ The following charm is dup. of *CT.* xvi, 15, iv, 40 ff., which it restores almost entirely.

² By combining *CT.* xvi, 15, iv, 56-7, and the present text, we must read *GABA.ZU* (*irat-ka*) *li-ni'*.

³ *HUL.DUB*, with the value *za-ma-nu* (De Genouillac, *RA.* 1913, 72). Except for *nabnitū*, there is no indication either in this exorcism, or in that of *CT.* xvi, that a special atonement offering or figure is being made.

⁴ . . . *mu* (?) - *ša-ši ina išāti tar-ḥad*. Translation doubtful: the rest suggests the hollowing of a trap for a lizard. *Raḥātu* means "to bubble" (see my *On the Chemistry*, 68); cf. *Ku.* ii, iv, 24 (spread a medicament on a cloth, bind it on day and night); "he shall drink **Solanum* in beer without a meal; thou shalt boil in water, *tar-ḥat-su*" (end of prescription) where it would appear to have a transitive meaning. But what *tarḥad* (t, t) means is quite uncertain; it is perhaps ܐܪܬܐ "dig", and perhaps *BIL* should be read *digmenu* "ashes".

thou shalt reduce, apply . . . (?)¹ of caper which has not seen the sun [thou shalt put] on his tooth . . . of the right thou shalt roll up in wool, put into his ear: oil . . ., (plant), while it is yet green in a mortar thou shalt bray small . . .

No. 84. *AM.* 35, 3 (K. 8840). (*Perhaps part of same tablet as 35, 6.*)

Obverse.

1. [Incantation] for removing the annoying "Hand of Ishtar".

2. . . . over his ears right and left the Charm three times thou shalt recite, . . . the Charm *Ša-hu-u* (?) *ša kaḫkadi u šibit* (?) *kišadi* . . . cedar- "blood", human semen . . . together thou shalt mix, therein thou shalt put the blood of a goat.²

. . . thou shalt anoint him and he shall recover.

Reverse.

2. (*Unintelligible to m₂*.) Recital of the Charm.

3. Incantation for removing sorcery.

4. . . . his . . . in a *burzi*-vessel thou shalt receive . . . daily thou shalt anoint . . . (?)³

No. 85. *AM.* 35, 6 (K. 7624). (*Perhaps part of the same tablet as 35, 3.*)

¹ . . . *gi-id*. For the prescription cf. *CT.* xiv, 23, K. 259, 10, and *KAR.* 203, *obv.* 10, "Root of the (dry, or white) caper which as thou pullest it up does not see the sun; a drug for a decayed tooth, thou shalt dry, bray, mix in oil, put on the tooth." For the use of caper-root on teeth cf. *Diosc.* ii, cciv.

² See *JRAS.* 1924, 454, 10, where **BIR.ZU* = *kizzu*, the *ZU* here being explained as *edû* "to know", i.e. in distinction from the more common "virgin kid" (*NU.ZU*).

³ *KUR-su* at end; cf. *AM.* 93, 1, 9, at end.

2. . . . cedar, cedar-blood . . . together thou shalt mix,
anoint his ears.

4. . . . his ears thou shalt anoint.

5. (*Uncertain translation, containing the words isappar, ittanal, la ikalli.*)

No. 86. *AM.* 35, 7 (K. 16767). (*Cf. AM.* 21, 2, and 22, 2.)

1. . . . his eyes "wander", his ears [sing] . . . his head (?)
affects him . . . root of thorn and . . . on his neck thou
shalt put and he shall recover.

Suggestions for the Use of Latin Character in the Writing of Kurdish

By C. J. EDMONDS

THE Kurdish language resembles the Persian in that it belongs to the Western Iranian group, but is distinguished from it by striking differences of sound, form, vocabulary, and syntax. Before the year 1919 Kurdish was not ordinarily written: only poetry had been to any extent committed to writing, although a newspaper in the Bohtan dialect is recorded to have been published in Cairo and England between 1892 and 1902, and there was a certain amount of journalistic activity in Constantinople about 1912, following the Turkish revolution.¹

After the armistice of November, 1918, Turkish Southern Kurdistan was included in the territories occupied by the British Expeditionary Force in Mesopotamia. In pursuance of the policy of avoiding military commitments in the hills, a semi-autonomous Kurdish province was formed comprising the whole *liwa* of Sulaimani and the adjoining districts of the present *liwas* of Arbil and Kirkuk. Kurdish was introduced as the written official language of this administration in place of Turkish.

This is not the place to trace the political and administrative fortunes of the territory. Suffice to say that Turkish Southern Kurdistan was finally incorporated in the Iraq state, following the Mosul award of the League of Nations, in 1926; in giving this award the League made certain stipulations intended to ensure the continued official use of the local language in the Kurdish districts.

In the early days even native civil servants and officers had found great difficulty in expressing themselves, but a set official style gradually developed. By 1930 Kurdish has

¹ See *Encyclopædia of Islam*, art. "Kurds", by V. Minorsky.

largely ousted Persian as the medium of private correspondence, and is widely used far beyond the limits of the original experimental province.

The script employed is, of course, the entirely unsuitable Arabic. Arabic and familiar Persian words generally retain their original form, while in distinctively Kurdish words there is a tendency to follow the Turkish practice of using the letter *ä* to represent *e* or short *a*, and the letters *و* and *ی* to represent short *u* and *i*. Actually little consistency is observed, whether in official and private correspondence or in the press. For example, *ئه کەر* or *ئه گه* will be found alongside of *اکر* meaning *if*, and the bolder spirits freely introduce *ä*, *و*, and *ی* to represent short vowels in Arabic words, going so far as to write *عرب* *عاره ب*.

As early as 1920 the adoption of the Latin alphabet was considered, and the Department of Education in Baghdad even published a small pamphlet, *Kitab i Awalamin i Qiraat i Kurdi*, by two Sulaimani schoolmasters, Muhammad Zaki Effendi and Mirza Muhammad Bashka, assisted by Major E. B. Soane and Captain W. J. Farrel, explaining the proposed system in Turkish and Persian. The matter does not appear to have progressed much beyond this stage; in any case the system recommended would not be satisfactory. It is sufficient to note that the characteristically Kurdish velar *l* and rolled *r*, and the peculiar swallowed *dh* referred to below, are recognized.

The *Short Kurdish Accidence and Syntax* of Sa'id Sidqi (Mulla Sa'id), written in Kurdish, printed at Baghdad in 1928 and adopted by the Iraq Ministry of Education for the fourth and fifth primary classes, admits in addition to the ordinary Arabic alphabet and the Persian additions two consonants, *ف* (ف with three dots) already adopted in Arabic-speaking countries to represent *v*, and *ل* (ل with a dot)

to represent the velar *l* resembling the Russian. Mulla Sa'id also suggests, but does not use owing to absence of type, the diacritical mark [˘] over و and ی to distinguish the open sounds *ô* and *ê*, which have quite disappeared in Modern Persian but appear in Kurdish and survive in Persian as pronounced in India. As regards spelling, Mulla Sa'id lays down that Arabic words must retain their Arabic form; in other words also it is unnecessary to represent short vowels (the examples given are the Persian words خدا god, غنچه bud, برنج rice) unless the pronunciation is open to doubt (the examples given are کرد Kurd, and the Kurdish words کور boy and کودر a bitter herb).

The *Kurdish ABC* of Ahmad-i-Aziz Agha (second edition, Baghdad, 1929) follows the system of Mulla Sa'id with the added recognition of rolled *r*: the distinction is again not made in writing owing to absence of type.

An important stage in the development of Kurdish as a written language is marked by the publication in August, 1929, of the first part of a new grammar, *Usage of the Kurdish Language*,¹ by Tewfiq Wehbi Bey, Commandant of the Iraq Royal Military College at Baghdad. This talented officer has succeeded in evolving a system of spelling Kurdish based on the Arabic alphabet, which renders possible the reproduction of the nicest subtleties of Kurdish grammar and opens the road to the satisfactory employment of Latin character. Tewfiq Bey has, moreover, caused to be constructed at his own expense a special type including the new letters required for his publication.

It should be clearly understood that neither Tewfiq Bey's alphabet nor the Latin equivalents I suggest in the following paragraph are intended to be systems of phonetic transcription. The intention is to produce a practical alphabet of reasonable

¹ ده‌ستووری زمانی کوردی. Part i by Tewfiq Wehbi (Haditha Press, Baghdad).

size which shall be adequate to represent accurately the grammatical phenomena of the language. The systems, nevertheless, are sufficiently accurate phonetically to enable any Kurdish boy or foreigner knowing Kurdish to read any word correctly.

The following table shows Tewfiq Bey's alphabet, the suggested Latin equivalents, and the names of the letters spelt accordingly.

Modified Arabic.	Latin.	Name.	Modified Arabic.	Latin.	Name.
ء	'	<i>Hemze</i>	غ	<i>gh</i>	<i>ghejn</i>
ب	<i>b</i>	<i>bê</i>	ف	<i>f</i>	<i>fê</i>
پ	<i>p</i>	<i>pê</i>	ق	<i>v</i>	<i>vê</i>
ت	<i>t</i>	<i>tê</i>	ق	<i>q</i>	<i>qaf</i>
ت	<i>th</i>	<i>thê</i>	ك	<i>k</i>	<i>kaf</i>
ج	<i>c</i>	<i>ciim</i>	گ	<i>g</i>	<i>gaf</i>
چ	<i>ch</i>	<i>chiim</i>	ل	<i>l</i>	<i>lam</i>
ح	<i>x</i>	<i>xê</i>	ل	<i>lh</i>	<i>lham</i>
خ	<i>kh</i>	<i>khê</i>	م	<i>m</i>	<i>miim</i>
د	<i>d</i>	<i>dal</i>	ن	<i>n</i>	<i>nuun</i>
د	<i>dh</i>	<i>dhal</i>	و	<i>w, u</i>	<i>waw, 'u</i>
ر	<i>r</i>	<i>rê</i>	ه	<i>h, e</i>	<i>hê, 'e</i>
ر	<i>rh</i>	<i>rhê</i>	ی	<i>j, i</i>	<i>jê, 'i</i>
ز	<i>z</i>	<i>zê</i>	ی	<i>ê</i>	<i>'ê</i>
ژ	<i>zh</i>	<i>zhê</i>	ی	<i>y</i>	<i>'y</i>
س	<i>s</i>	<i>siin</i>	و	<i>o</i>	<i>'o</i>
ش	<i>sh</i>	<i>shiin</i>	ا	<i>a</i>	<i>'a</i>
ع	'	<i>'ejn</i>			

It will be seen that of the twenty-nine Arabic letters (including *hemze*) six disappear entirely : ط, ظ, ض, ص, ذ, ث.

Three letters, representing sounds taken over by the Kurds in rather softened form with the Arabic words containing them, are retained : ق, ع, ح.¹ Similarly, the four Persian additions : گ, ژ, چ, پ and the modern ف are retained. Seven letters are entirely new. Of these five represent sounds already noticed in this note : ی, و, ل, ب, د. The sixth ب represents a swallowed *t* and corresponds to د, as ت to د. The seventh is ی written without dots (alike in the initial, medial, and final forms) and represents both consonantal and short-vowel *i*, which I distinguish in transcription by using *j* and *i*. The letter ی with the dots is reserved for the neutral vowel.

Tewfiq Bey recognizes three double consonants ; ند *ndh*, نگ *ng*, and لل *llh* : and three "compound vowels" ; یی *ii* representing long *i*, وو *uu* representing long *u*, and وی *uy* representing French *eu*. (He has a fourth long compound vowel یو *yu* to represent the sound of German *ü*, but since the sound does not generally occur in Sulaimani it may be treated as a provincialism for *uu* : the peculiar pronunciation can, when necessary, be indicated by writing *ü*.)

Since the letters ه, و, and ی have each a consonantal and a vowel value, thirty-eight Latin symbols are required to correspond to Tewfiq Bey's alphabet of thirty-five letters. These are found by adopting the twenty-six letters of the alphabet, nine digraphs composed of simple consonants combined with *h*, one vowel distinguished by a diacritical mark, the apostrophe and the inverted comma.

My choice of symbols may require some justification. Since the intention was to evolve a system for ordinary

¹ These sounds appear in a very few native Kurdish words.

everyday use and not merely a method of phonetic transcription, it seemed essential to avoid invented letters and, as far as possible, diacritical marks, without sacrificing the accuracy so particularly necessary in Kurdish ; no existing letter of the alphabet has therefore been left unused.

C for چ has the advantage of corresponding with the Turkish, and unless used here would go begging and necessitate another diacritical mark elsewhere ; incidentally, it contributes to uniformity in the construction of the digraphs ; *j* is not available. The use of *x* to represent the sound of خ is familiar, but *kh* is adequate for this ; and since a distinct symbol is required to represent the allied sound of ح, *x* appears suitable, and moreover, as remarked below, serves to hint at the foreign origin of the sound. In Kurdish words the proportion of vowels and weak consonants to strong consonants is peculiarly high and every available symbol is required for them. To take an example almost at random, 'ew *njawe*, that man, contains, besides inaudible *hemze*, only one strong consonant against three weak consonants and three vowels. I do not therefore suppose that anyone will be disposed to quarrel with my adoption of *y* as a vowel and of the consonant *j* with its German value.

Of the nine digraphs, in seven the *h* reflects the additional dots on the Arabic letter corresponding to the simple letter to which the *h* is attached, thus :—

ت <i>t</i> has	ت <i>th</i>	ح <i>c</i> has	چ <i>ch</i>
د <i>d</i> has	د <i>dh</i>	ر <i>r</i> has	ر <i>rh</i>
ز <i>z</i> has	ژ <i>zh</i>	س <i>s</i> has	ش <i>sh</i>
ل <i>l</i> has	ل <i>lh</i>		

In the remaining two cases, غ *gh* and خ *kh*, I have preferred to keep the existing convention, though *xh* would have been typographically possible. But the apparent inconsistency is not without its significance. The letters

غ, خ represent native Kurdish sounds and are best represented by natural combinations such as *gh* and *kh*, while the corresponding undotted letters of the Arabic script being foreign to Kurdish are not inappropriately represented by distinct and exotic-looking symbols ‘ and *x*. Thus all the digraphs either correspond to existing convention or, in the case of new letters, satisfactorily suggest the sound to the eye.

The two sounds represented by *th* and *dh* can perhaps best be produced by endeavouring to pronounce *t* and *d* while pressing the tongue against the lower teeth. The necessity of admitting them to independent places in the alphabet is open to argument. They appear to be restricted to part of the Sulaimani *liwa* only and the use of the simple sound in place of them could never be considered incorrect. Nevertheless in and around Sulaimani, the dialect of which is rapidly establishing itself as standard Kurdish, the distinction is very marked.

There is no *shadda* in Tewfiq Bey's script, and double consonants are written twice as in the Latin.

Initial *hemze* need not be written when the Latin character is used, but it is important, for certain purposes, to remember that in theory it is there before the initial vowel.

Where in the same word independent *h* follows a simple letter having a corresponding digraph, a short hyphen would be used to separate the two. Instances must be rare : I have not found a Kurdish example at the time of writing and can only give in illustration the Persian proper name, *Fer-had*, and the Arabic word محلول (which becomes *mec-huul*), unknown, passive voice.

Of the seven vowels four, *e*, *i*, *u*, *y*, are always short, and three, *a*, *ê*, *o*, are always long ; long *i* and long *u* are represented by doubling the letters, *ii*, *uu* ; the diphthong which approximates to the sound of French *eu* is represented by *uy*, following Tewfiq Bey's Arabic وي. It is to be noted

that *e* represents the sound approximating to the English short *a* and should be pronounced as in *bat* rather than as in *bet*.

In order that the system here suggested may be adequately judged, three passages of some length are appended to this note. Before they are read, however, five simple rules touching modifications of vowel forms in certain circumstances must be mentioned:—

(a) Three of Tewfiq Bey's symbols—*ا, و, ي*—have each both a consonant and a vowel value; he therefore gives a set of rather elaborate rules for distinguishing between them. In the Latin script, where separate symbols are used, little difficulty arises. Briefly, the principle is that no two vowels (except the two members of the recognized “compound vowels”) may come together; consequently if *i* or *u* is brought into juxtaposition with another vowel, it is changed into the corresponding weak consonant: e.g. *Kerkuukii*, man of Kirkuk, makes *Kerkuukijeke*, the man of Kirkuk; and *khanu*, house, makes *khanweke*, the house.

(b) If the weak consonant *j* follows the compound vowel *ii*, the second member of the compound is dropped; e.g. *tancii*, gazelle-hound, makes *tancijan* not *tanciijan*, their gazelle-hound: this spelling actually represents the shortening of the long vowel *ii* before the suffix.

(c) The neutral vowel *y* may be dropped between two consonants of which the second is followed by a vowel, e.g. *shywan*, shepherd, has the alternative form *shwan*; and *'asyn*, iron, with the demonstrative adjective makes *'em 'asyne* or *'em asne*, this iron.

(d) Initial *hemze* following a word ending in a vowel is sometimes suppressed by contraction, e.g. *ser*, head, and *'éshe*, ache, make *seréshe*, headache; and *'echym 'e malhewe*, I go home, makes *'echyme malhewe*, or again, by rule (c), which now becomes applicable, *'echme malhewe*.

(e) The *y* of the imperative prefix *by*, when followed

by the *i* or *j* of the enclytic pronouns of the third person, becomes *i*, e.g. *bykho*, eat ! *biikho* eat it ! and *bijankho*, eat them !

The measure of the unsuitability of the Arabic script is given by the circumstance that it has only three symbols to represent all vowels and the weak consonants, while the Latin, as here suggested, offers no fewer than nine or, counting the "compound vowels", twelve. In Kurdish, as I have already remarked, the proportion of vowels and weak consonants to strong consonants is high, and careful analysis of vowel sounds is required for the comprehension of the nicer points of the grammar.

Nevertheless, there can hardly be any question of substituting either Tewfiq Bey's system or the Latin character for the Arabic in present circumstances. Religious prejudice against such a change would undoubtedly be strong. Furthermore, Kurdish is now ordinarily written only in Iraq, where the Kurds are a minority and where the official language of the state as a whole is Arabic. Kurdish boys who wish to rise in Government service or are obliged, like men of the hills everywhere, to seek their fortune in the plains of the south, must be proficient in Arabic : there are many Arabic words currently used in Kurdish, and to learn them first in the modified Kurdish alphabet would lead to confusion and the serious handicap of bad spelling. The use of the Latin character for instruction in Kurdish would obviate these disadvantages but would tend to make Arabic, with its different script, even more than at present a foreign language difficult to acquire. Tewfiq Bey's grammar, must, however, be indispensable to every serious student of Kurdish, and to every Kurdish schoolmaster, even though precluded from imparting to his pupils its contents as they stand.

The possibility of using the Latin alphabet has always, since the early experiment of 1920 already noticed, excited keen interest in enlightened Kurdish circles ; and indeed several of my friends, having doubtless heard that I was

studying the matter, have recently written to me in Latin character. An increasing number of Europeans, whether civil officials, military and air officers, or servants of the great oil companies, are being brought into contact with Kurds and require to use their language. Use of the Latin character would contribute to rapidity in learning and ensure far greater accuracy than can be attained through the medium of the vague and inconsistent approximations of the Arabic script as used by the Kurds themselves. The adoption of the Latin character by the grown-up intelligentsia for literary and scientific purposes might well give a valuable fillip to Kurdish culture.

EXAMPLE I

Chiïroki Merh u Bzyn

Byznêk u merhêk legelh jek dost bun. Byzneke be merhekej wut, "Ewa zystan hat, ba bo khoman khanujêk bkejn, em zystanej tija helh kejn." Merhe wuti, "Myn duugi khom khosh bê le serma natyrsym." Byzneke khanujêki bo khoj duryst kyrd.

Zystan hat. Terh u tuushii w befr u baran desi pê kyrd. Merheke hate laj byzneke, wuti, "Le rhêj khwadha cêgam bkerewe; eger cêgat keme cêj serym bkerewe, cêj duugym mekerewe; jan cêj duugym bkerewe, cêj serym mekerewe." Byzneke bezeji pija hat, cêj ser u niiwej leshi kyrdewe. Shewê le shewan gurgê merhekej frhandh u rhoji. Byzneke le ser eme dergajêki bashi bo khanwekej duryst kyrd.

Khwan te'ala lem khanwedha chendh bêchuulejêki dhaje. Rhaburdyni zor bash bu; be rozh echu bo lewerh, êwaran gwan pyrh le shiir egerhajewe. Ke echuwe derewe mnalhekani teme ekyrd ke le khoj zijatyr derga le kes nekenewe.

Tumez gurgêki xeramzadhe chawi le bêchwê besezmanekani byzne bêdeselhateke brhii bu. Byzne agaj le Mexmuudhi bê zewadh nebu. Rhozhê le rhozhan ke puure bzyn le derewe bu, mam gurg be heli zani chuwe ber dergakejan. Derga

kliil u kulhom kra bu. Le dergaj dha. Karzholekan pyrsijan, "Ewe kêje?" Wuti, "Tiitile w biibilej daje, derga we ken le daje, shiiri spiim le byn gwanaje, gijaj sewzym le byn danaje." Bêchuulekan le kuni dergawe rhwanijan, tê gejishtyn ke eme dajki khojan nije, wutjan, "Dajki ême suure." Gurge chu khoj le qurhe suurewe dha w gerhajewe. Disanewe le dergaj dha, wuti, "Tiitile w biibilej daje, derga we ken le daje; shiiri spiim le byn gwanaje, gijaj sewzym le byn danaje." Karzholekan wutjan, "Dajki ême spiye." Gurge chu khoj le gle spijewe dha, gerhajewe ber dergakejan. Wutjan, "Dajki ême dêze." Gurge chu, khoj le kholhe mêshewe dha, gerhajewe serjan. Jekê le karzholekan wuti, "Be khwa, eme dajkmane, ba dergakej lê bkejnewe." We weha dergakejan lê kyrdewe. Gurge lêjan chuwe zhuurê. Bêchuulekani khward u hate derewe. Belham jekê le bêchuulekan ke le hemuujan bchuuktyr bu le gulhbênej tenuura khoj shardbwewe, le kelhbej mam gurg ryzgar buu bu.

Katê dajkekejan hatewe, temashaj kyrd; dergake le ser pyshte, bêchwekani niin dijar. Desi kyrd be qurh pêwan. Ew bêchwe ke khoj shardbwewe desi kyrde myl dajki we be gyrjanewe xikajetekej bo gerhajewe. Byzne hezhareke nej ezani kê em ketnej pê kyrdywe, wuti, "Her kesê emej kyrdybê ebê bgerhêm biidozmewe bangi kem bo sherh legelh kyrdyn ke tolhej lê bsênym."

Hesta le pêsha chuwe serbani khanuj seg, desi kyrd be tepetep. Sege le khwarewe wuti, "Xuu, xuu, xuu! Ewe kêje, le ser ban teptepan eka; kase w kewchkym pyrh le kholhan eka, le miiwananym shermesar eka?" Byzneke wuti, "Maa! Mnym, mnym, myn mnoke, duu shakhym pêweje, bêlh bêlhoke, duu chawym pêweje byz bzoke; kê khwarduuje tiiti myn, kê khwarduuje biibi myn, bête sherh u cengi myn." Sege wuti, "Myn nemkhwarduwe tiiti to, myn nemkhwarduwe biibi to, najeme sherh u cengi to." Lewêwe byzneke chuwe bani khanuj cheqelh, disanewe desi kyrd be tepetep. Cheqelh le zhuurewe wuti, "Iiw! iiw! iiw!

Ewe kêje, teptepan eka, kase w kewchkym pyrh le kholhan eka, le miiwananym shermesar eka ?” Bzyn wuti, “Mnym, mnym, myn mnoke duu chawym pêweje, byz bzoke, duu shakhym pêweje, bêlh bêlhoke ; kê khwarduuje tiiti myn, kê khwarduuje biibi myn, bête sherh u cengi myn.” Cheqelh wuti, “Myn nemkhwarduwe tiiti to, myn nemkhwarduwe biibi to ; najeme sherh u cengi to.”

Lewêwe chuwe ser bani gurg, desi kyrd be tepetep. Gurgeke le khwarewe wuti, “Huu, huu, huu ! Ewe kêje, teptepan eka, kase w kewchkym pyr le kholhan eka, le miiwananym shermesar eka ?” Byzneke wuti, “Mnym, mnym, myn mnoke, duu shakhym pêweje, bêlh bêlhoke, duu chawym pêweje, byz bzoke ; kê khwarduuje tiiti myn, kê khwarduuje biibi myn, bête sherh u cengi myn ?” Gurgeke wuti, “Myn khwarduume tiiti to, myn khwarduume biibi to, dhême sherh u cengi to.”

Hestan chune laj qazii. Gurgeke le gelh khoja be dijarii hemanejêki hêna bu ; prhi kyrdybu le fuu ; derkekej tundh bestybu, belham le pêsha denke nokishi tê hawishtybu. Hemanej le ber dem qaziidha da na, wuti, “Qazii gijan, em dijarije tuutni Shawure henawmete khyzmetyth.” Byznesh kase mastêki ke le shiiri khoj duryst kyrdybu be destewe rha gyrtybu.

Khalho Qazii, chunke dijarii gurgekej la khoshtyr bu, be khyzmethkarekej wut, “A biikerewe temashajêki bkem.” Khyzmethkareke le ber demi qazii dha, derki hemanekej kyrdewe, denkenok der perhii, dhaj le chawi qazii, chawêki kuyr kyrd. Desubyrd puure bzyn kasekej byrde pêshewe. Ke qazii emustêki le masteke dha chawi cha bwewe. Emca qazii le ber khojewe wuti, “Ej gurgi zolhek ! shert bê em dakheth pê brhêzhym.”

Fermuuj mejdhan rhêk khen bo sherh, we nardi duu shakhi asyn u duu shakhi lbadhjan bo hena. Shakhe lbadhekani kyrd be ser gurgekewe, kiife asniinekani kyrd be shakhekani byznekedha. Emca henanje mejdhan, we wuti, “De bcengyn.” Gurg u bzyn destjan kyrd be sherhe qoch.

Mam gurg le pêsha qochêki dha le byzneke, shakhekani nushtajewe. Ke byzneke qochêki dha le wurgi gurgeke drhii. Karzholekan hatne derewe. Dajkjan desi kyrd be lêstnewejan, we lêj pyrsiin, " Rholhe, lekuy bun ? " Wutjan, " Le mali khalthman danuuleman ekhward." Wuti, " Ej beshi myn ! " Hemuu be dengê wutjan, " Kyrdme koshym, koshym suuta ; kyrdme desym, desym suuta ; kyrdme demym, demym suuta." Wuti, " Rholhej dajkiine, ja khwa, be khêr bènewe."

Herwa be jektyr shadh bunewe ; mnish hatmewe, hiichjan nedhamê.

TRANSLATION

Fable of the Sheep and the Goat

A goat and a sheep were friends together. The goat said to the sheep : " Now winter has come, let us make a house for ourselves, where we may spend this winter." The sheep said : " All being well with my tail, I am not afraid of the cold." The goat made a house for herself.

Winter came. Wet and bad weather and snow and rain began. The sheep came to the goat and said : " In the way of God, make room for me ; if your room is scanty, make place for my head and do not make place for my tail, or make place for my tail and do not make place for my head." The goat took pity on him and made place for his head and half his body. One night of the nights a wolf snatched the sheep and went. The goat thereupon made a good door for her house.

God Almighty gave her some children in this house. Her existence was very good. By day she used to go to graze ; in the evening she used to return, the udder full of milk. When she used to go out she used to admonish the children not to open the door to anybody besides herself.

But a base-born wolf had fixed his eyes on the poor young ones of the helpless goat. The goat was not aware of the fate awaiting her. A day of the days when Aunt Goat was out, Uncle Wolf thought it a good opportunity and went to their

door. The door had been locked and barred. He knocked on the door. The kids asked : " Who is that ? " He said, " Mother's darlings and sweetings, open the door to Mother ! I have white milk under my udder and I have green grass under my teeth." The youngsters looked through the hole in the door ; they understood that this is not their mother ; they said : " Our mother is brown." The wolf went, smeared himself with brown mud and returned. He knocked again on the door and said : " Mother's darlings and sweetings, open the door to Mother ! I have white milk under my udder, I have green grass under my teeth." The kids said : " Our mother is white." The wolf went, smeared himself with chalk and returned to their door. They said : " Our mother is grey." The wolf went, smeared himself with ash and returned to them. One of the kids said : " By God this is our mother, let us open the door to her." And so they opened the door to him. The wolf went into the room against them. He ate the youngsters and came out. But one of the youngsters, who was smaller than all of them, had hidden himself in the flue of the oven, and had escaped from the fangs of Uncle Wolf.

When their mother returned she looked ; the door is open, the young ones are not visible. She began to pour dust on her head. That young one which had hidden himself threw his arms around his mother's neck and weepingly related the story to her. The poor goat did not know who has done this mischief to her and said : " Whoever may have done this, I must look for and find him and challenge him to a duel, that I may take vengeance on him."

She got up and first she went onto the roof of the dog's house and began to stamp. The dog from below said : " Bow, wow, wow ! who is that stamping on the roof, filling my bowl and spoon with dust and making me ashamed before my guests ? " The goat said : " Maa ! It is I, I, little I ! I have got two horns like two little hoes, I have got two eyes, open wide ; whoever has eaten my darling, whoever has eaten my sweeting,

let him come and fight and war with me. The dog said : “ I have not eaten your darling, I have not eaten your sweeting ; I will not come to fight and war with you.”

From there the goat went to the roof of the jackal's house and again began to stamp. The jackal from below said : “ Yap, yap, yap ! who is that stamping, filling my bowl and spoon with dust and making me ashamed before my guests ? ” The goat said : “ It is I, I, little I ! I have got two eyes wide open, I have got two horns like little hoes ; whoever has eaten my darling, whoever has eaten my sweeting, let him come to fight and war with me. The jackal said : “ I have not eaten your darling, I have not eaten your sweeting ; I shall not come to fight and war with you.”

From there she went onto the wolf's roof and began to stamp. The wolf from below said : “ Hoo, hoo, hoo ! Who is that stamping, filling my bowl and spoon with dust and making me ashamed before my guests ? ” The goat said : “ It is I, I, little I ! I have got two horns like two little hoes, I have got two eyes open wide ; whoever has eaten my darling, whoever has eaten my sweeting, let him come to fight and war with me.” The wolf said : “ I have eaten your darling, I have eaten your sweeting ; I will come to fight and war with you.”

They started off and went to the Qazi. The wolf had brought a small skin sack with himself as a present ; he had blown it up, and tied the mouth tight, but beforehand he had thrown a single pea inside it. He put the skin down in front of the Qazi and said : “ Qazi dear, this present is Shawr tobacco, I have brought to your service.” The goat also was holding a bowl of curds which she had made of her own milk.

As the wolf's present was more acceptable to him Uncle Qazi said to the servant : “ Here, open it and let me have a look at it.” The servant opened the mouth of the skin in front of the Qazi, the pea flew out, hit the Qazi in the eye and blinded one eye. Immediately Aunt Goat carried the bowl forward. When the Qazi took a fingerful of the curds his eye got better again. Then the Qazi said to himself : “ O bastard wolf ! I swear to take vengeance on you for this hurt.”

He ordered the ring to be prepared for the fight and sent to fetch two horns of iron and two horns of felt for them. He put the felt horns on the head of the wolf and the iron scabbards on the horns of the goat. Then he brought them into the ring and said : " Off ! fight ! " The wolf and the goat began to have a bout of butting. Uncle Wolf first butted the goat, his horns bent. When the goat gave a butt in the belly of the wolf, he ripped it. The kids came out. Their mother began to lick them and asked them : " My pets, where were you ? " They said : " We were eating porridge at our uncle's house." She said : " And my share ? " They all said with one voice : " I put it in my shirt tail, my shirt tail burnt ; I put it in my hand, my hand burnt ; I put it in my mouth, my mouth burnt." She said : " Mother's pets ! O God ! May you be welcome."

And so they rejoiced over each other. I too have returned and they gave me nothing.

EXAMPLE II

Dwanze Swarej Meriwan

Egêrhnewe ke le zemani xakmêtii Brajim Pashaj Bebedha, ke ew xele le Qelha Chwalan da nishtybu, Nadhyr Shaj Êran be leshkrêki dwanze hezar kesijewe wistybuj be ser wulhati Bebedha rha buurê bchête ser shari Muusylh, ke ew deme be des Tyrkekanewe buwe. Nadhyr Sha kheberêki nardybu bo Brajim ke rhêgaj bdhatê be ser wulhati Kurdekana bchête ser Muusylh, ke biigrê. Brajim Pasha lew serdemedha legelh Tyrkekan dost bu. Cge leme be shiini ezani ke leshkri bêgane be ser wulhatja byrha. Em tekliifej pesendh nekyrd, cwabi narhezaji bo Nadhyr Sha nardewe. Nadhyr Sha le ser eme zor dylhgiir u zür bu, we wuti : " Her ebê be ser wulhati Bebedha brhom." We bem core qerari dha.

Brajim Pasha kheberi wer gyrtybu ke chy rhozhê Êranijekan xereket eken. Desubyrđ leshkrêk ke be destewe ebê koj ekatewe. Dwanze swar ke zor dynjadiiw u shareza bun kyrdni be pêshrhewi em leshkyrej khoj. Emane le pêsh

leshkyrekewe be ghar erhon we le niiwej shewdha egene leshkrekej Nadhyr Sha, ke le deshti Meriiwan helhjan dha bu. Her dwan dwan u sjan sjan ebyne destejêk, le rhast u chep u pysht u pêsh dewrej leshkyreke edhen, we le hemuu lajekewe ejkene hera w desrêzh.

Be helhkewt ew shewe zor tariik u nuutek u befr u baran ebê. Be cheshnêk serjan lê eshêwênyn ke leshkyreke wa ezanyen ke quwetêki zor dewrej dhawyn. Be rhengêki wa shêwan ke dost u dyzhmynjan pê lêk nekrajewe. Pelamari jektyr edhen. Ew shewe ta beri bejan le naw khojana le jektyr kushtar eken. Qelachojan khystanaw khojan.

Ke dynja rhuunak ebêtewe ebiinyn ke gelekjan le jektyr kushtuwe, zor shpyrze bun we pelupoj xereket u hêzi beramber westanjan nemawe ; be nacharii egerhênewe dwawe.

Em azajije her le lajeni em dwanze swarewe krawe. Xele ke leshkrekej Brajim Pasha egat temasha eken ke leshkyri Êran hiichjan nemawe we zor pêjan nakhosh ebê ke be ser hewari khaliidha egen.

TRANSLATION

The Twelve Horsemen of Meriwan

They relate that in the time of the rulership of Ibrahim Pasha Baban, who at that epoch resided at Qala Chwalan, Nadir Shah of Persia with an army of twelve thousand persons had wished to traverse the Baban country and march against the city of Mosul, which at that moment was in the hands of the Turks. Nadir Shah had sent a message to Ibrahim to give him passage through the country of the Kurds, for him to march against Mosul, to take it. Ibrahim Pasha at that particular moment was friendly with the Turks. Apart from this he thought it disgraceful that a foreign army should go through his country. He did not approve of this demand and sent an answer of refusal back to Nadir Shah. Nadir Shah for this reason became very annoyed and upset, and he said : " I must nevertheless go through the Baban country." And thus he decided.

Ibrahim Pasha had received information as to which day the Persians are to start. As quickly as possible he collects an army such as can be got. He made twelve horsemen, who were very experienced and acquainted with the ground, the advance-guard of this army of his. These gallop in front of the army and in the middle of the night reach the army of Nadir Shah, which had camped in the plain of Meriwan. They form sections by twos and threes. They surround the army to right and left, in rear and in front, and shout and fire volleys from every side.

By chance that night is pitch dark with snow and rain. They confuse them in such a way that the army think that a very large force has surrounded them. They were confused in such a way that friend and enemy could not be distinguished by them. They attack one another. All that night till dawn they make a slaughter of each other among themselves. They reduced themselves to exhaustion.

When it gets light they see that they have killed many of each other, they have become very demoralized and ability to move and strength to resist has not remained. They are obliged to retreat.

This brave deed was performed by these twelve horsemen only. When the army of Ibrahim Pasha arrives they see that none of the Persian army have remained and they are very sorry that they find an empty camp.

EXAMPLE III

From "Usage of the Kurdish Language," by Tewfik Wehbi Bey

(a) Edati nida dengêke ke bo pishandhani xissêki weku khoshii, 'acbatii, pzhare, tyrs . . . htd : be kelhk ehênre. Emame legelh kelimekanityri cumledha laqejêkjan nabê ; weku :—

Aj ! le biïrym chu.

Okhkhej ! rhyzgar bum.

Of ! le des to wekhte shêt bym.

Lem cumlanedha “Aj!” bo ‘acbatii, “Okhkhej!” bo khoshii, “Of!” bo pzhare be kelhk hênrawyn.

(b) Bonawi lêkdher emanen : ke, -i ; weku :—

Myn le khanweke ke par êwe krhiitan da nishtuum.

Ew pjawej bêredha rha burd nasjawym bu.

Emane ew mnalhanen ke duyne le imtixan der chun.

Le cumlej jekema duwem “ke” bonawi lêkdhere ; chunke cêj nawi “khanweke” egrête we cumlej “myn le khanwekedha da nishtuum” -i be cumlej “êwe par krhiitan” -ewe nuusandhywe. Le cumlej duwema “j” -i dwaj “ew pjawe” bonawi lêkdhere, chunke cêj “ew pjawe” egrête we cumlej “ew pjawe bêredha rha burd” -i be cumlej “ew pjawe nasjawym bu” -wewe nuusandhywe. Le cumlej sejema “ke” -j dwaj “ew mnalhanen” bonawi lêkdhere, chunke cêj “ew mnalhane” egrête we cumlej “emane ew mnalhanen” -i be cumlej “ew mnalhane duyne le imtixan der chun” -ewe nuusandhywe.

TRANSLATION

(a) An interjection is a sound which is used to express a feeling such as joy, surprise, grief, fear, etc. These can have no connection with the other words of the sentence, e.g.,

Oh ! I forgot.

Hurrah ! I am freed.

Alas ! I shall soon be driven mad by you.

In these sentences “Oh !” is used for surprise, “Hurrah !” is used for joy, “Alas !” is used for grief.

(b) Relative pronouns are the following : *ke*, -i, which, that, e.g.,

I am living in the house which you bought last year.

That man that passed by here was an acquaintance of mine.

These are the children who passed the examination yesterday.

In the first sentence the second *ke* (which) is a relative pronoun, because it takes the place of “the house” and has

connected the sentence " I am living in the house " to the sentence " You bought last year." In the second sentence the " that " (-î) after " that man " is a relative pronoun because it takes the place of " that man " and has connected the sentence " that man passed by here " to the sentence " that man was an acquaintance of mine ". In the third sentence the " who " (*ke*) after " those children " is a relative pronoun because it takes the place of " those children " and has connected the sentence " these are those children " to the sentence " those children passed the examination yesterday ".

On the Tibetan Transcriptions of Si-Hia Words

By STUART N. WOLFENDEN

SINCE, during the last few years, Si-Hia texts with transliterations into Tibetan character have been brought to light,¹ it seems that a new aspect may be put upon the morphology of this language.

Previously the texts studied provided us only with transcriptions into Chinese characters, and it is on their evidence that reconstructions of Si-Hia words were first based. Writing in 1916 with this class of material before him, Laufer² consequently stated that "consonantal prefixes can be pointed out only in four cases: *k-ñü* or *k-ñu* ('five'), *k-ñum* ('heaven'), *r-ni* ('ear'), and possibly *m-ru*, *m-lu* ('worm')".

Again, more recently (1926), though in this case with the evidence of Tibetan transcriptions at hand, Nevsky³ has stated his belief that the prefixed letters in the Tibetan transcriptions of Si-Hia words were probably not pronounced, a conclusion to which he was evidently largely led "by keeping in mind its Chinese transcription" when dealing with a Si-Hia word and its variants.

But there seems very little justification for this. In Nevsky's material the Tibetan transcriptions actually give us directly contrary evidence powerful enough to go far, with supporting material from related languages (examples of which are given below), to negative the idea that Si-Hia was a language devoid of spoken prefixes. It is not exactly probable, to say the least, that in the eleventh century, when the script was invented and introduced, that the language had no such prefixes to record. All the evidence, internal and external, is opposed to such a view.

¹ See Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. iii, pl. cxxxiv, and Nevsky, "A Brief Manual of the Si-Hia Characters with Tibetan Transcriptions," *Research Review of the Osaka Asiatic Society*, No. 4, March, 1926.

² *Toung Pao*, vol. xvii, p. 103.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

It was natural enough for the earlier investigators, working from the Chinese side only, to have concluded that Si-Hia was badly abraded, for Chinese is ill equipped for recording prefixed elements of the Tibetan type. But there is one source of support for the Tibetan transcriptions which has not yet been given the attention it deserves, viz. the existence still, no very great distance from the old Si-Hia territory, of forms often containing the old Si-Hia prefixes—a fact which makes it appear rather likely that the old transcriptions of Si-Hia words in Tibetan characters are really telling the truth.

Among such the following may here be given ¹ :—

- (1) Si-Hia རྩ་ *rme*, man, Jyarung *t-r-mi* (v. R.), *ti-r-mi* (H.).
- (2) Si-Hia དམི་ *dmi*°, དམི་ *dmi*, མི་ *mi*, eye, Jyarung *d-mye* (L.), *te-mniöök* (v. R.), *tai-myek*, *tă-myek* (“*tam-myek*” ; H.).
- (3) Si-Hia གཤ་ *gša*, ག་ *ša*, seven, Jyarung *ko-š-nés*, *ko-š-ne* (v. R.), *k-š-nis* (L.), *kû-š-nés* (H.).
- (4) Si-Hia དགུ་ *dgu*°, བུ་ *bgu*, head, Jyarung *ta-ku* (v. R.), *ta-ko* (H.), T. མགོ་ *ngo*.
- (5) Si-Hia གམུ་ *gmu*°, དམུ་ *dmu*, དམི་ *dmi*,² fire, Jyarung *te-mi*, *te-me* (v. R.), *ti-mi* (H.).

¹ The Si-Hia forms are from Nevsky's *Manual* already quoted, those of Jyarung from Laufer (L.), *T'oung Pao*, xv (1914), pp. 106–8, v. Rosthorn (v. R.), *ZDMG.*, Bd. 51, pp. 524–33, and Hodgson (H.), *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, pt. ii, pp. 65–82, and Vocabulary following (v. *JRAS.* 1928, pp. 897–8). The reader is also referred to the writer's *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, R.A.S. Prize Publication, vol. xii, pp. 141–3, where this language is dealt with in connection with Central Nāgā. Chinese sense equivalents are given here from Nevsky when the exact standing of the Si-Hia word—substantive or verb—is in doubt. Tibetan ར as a final is transcribed °, by analogy with Jäschke's practice with ར as a prefix and Burmese *ok myit* (°) the representative of earlier final ར (= T. ར).

² For the *i* <> *u* interchange, see *JRAS.* 1929, p. 582, and *Morphology*, pp. 114–115.

(6) Si-Hia གཡི་ *g-yi*°, གཡི་ *g-yi*, གཡི་ *g-yyi*, ཡི་ *yi*°, ཡི་ *yi*, sun, T. (ninth cent.¹) གཉི་ *gni*, Jyarung *ka-ni* ("kě-ni"; v. R.), *ki-ni* (H.), Si-fan *gni-ma*, *gnê-ma*, Moso *gni-me*, Kami *ka-nî* (Lewin), *ka-ni* (Phayre).

(7) Si-Hia དམེ་ *dme*°, woman, Jyarung *te-mi*, *te-me* (v. R.).

(8) Si-Hia གསོ་ *gso*°, གསོ་ *gswon*,² གསོ་ *gsôn*,² གསོ་ *gso*, three, Jyarung *ko-som*, *ko-sôm* (v. R.), *ka-sâm* (H.), T. གསུ་ *gsum*.

(9) Si-Hia བསུ་ *bsu*°, བསུ་ *bswi*³ (Nevsky's "bsi"), seed, T. འདྲུགས་པ་ *adzugs-pa*, *zug-pa*, P. བཙུགས་ *btsugs*, *zugs* F. *gzugs* Imp. *zug(s)* to plant, to set a plant into the ground, and cognates. The Si-Hia word here appears to be from a "Perfect" form, lit. "(that which is) inserted or planted (in the ground)".

(10) Si-Hia གཤེ་ *gčē*°, གཤེ་ *gče*, to go (行),⁴ T. གཤེགས་པ་ *gšegs-pa* to go, to proceed, Jyarung *kop*⁵-*či* to go on foot (v. R.).

(11) Si-Hia འཇི་ *aji*, འཇི་ *aji*, ཇི་ *je*°, going, a walk, a journey (行 subst.⁵), T. མཆི་བ་ *mči-ba* (eleg.) to come, to go (cf. also T. འཇི་བ་ *ači-ba* P. *ši* to disappear, go away or go out (as a flame or life), whence: to die; death, lit. "going away").

(12) Si-Hia དང་ *dña* (好, 善), T. དག་པ་ *dga-ba* to rejoice; glad, happy; good (cf. also T. དག་པ་ *dge-ba* happiness, welfare; happy).

¹ See *JRAS.* 1928, p. 898.

² Exact reading uncertain. Cf. next entry.

³ See note 2 on p. 48.

⁴ See Morisse, "Contribution Préliminaire a l'Étude de l'Écriture et de la Langue Si-Hia," *Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1904 (t. xi, 2me Partie), p. 41.

⁵ *kop* = foot; *ko-po* in Hanniu Jyarung (v. R.).

(13) Si-Hia རྩ་ *rtsi* (藥 ? ; cf. 津 *sap*, juice ¹), T. རྩ་ *rtsi*, *sap*, juice.

(14) Si-Hia གཉི་ *gni*°, གཉི་ *gni*, two, T. གཉི་མ་ *gnis*, Jyarung *ko-nes* (v. R.), *ka-nês* (H.).

(15) Si-Hia གཉེ་ *gte*°, alone, single, one (獨, 一), Jyarung *ko-tie* (v. R.), *ka-ti* (H.), one. (Cf. ? T. གཉེ་ག་ *gčig*.)

(16) Si-Hia འགི་ *agi*°, འགི་ *dgi*°, nine, T. འགུ་ *dgu*,² Jyarung *ku-nû*, *ko-nû* (v. R.), Lushei *pa-kuá*, Shonshe *ma-ko*, and others.

(17) Si-Hia བསུ་ *bsu*°, བསུ་ *su*, བུ་ *zu*°, བུ་ *zu*, resemble, equal to, like (如), T. བུ་བ་ *śu-ba* F. བུ་ *bśu*, Imp. (b)śu(s) to copy.

(18) Si-Hia གཞོ་ *gno*°, ཞོ་ *no*, ཞོ་ *no*, 又, 及, 復, 更, 遂, 後, T. གཞོ་པ་ *gnon-pa*, ཞོ་པ་ *non-pa*, P. *gnan* to overtake, to reach, to come up with.³

(19) Si-Hia གསེ་ *gse*°, སེ་ *se*, clean, pure (淨), T. གཙང་ *gtsaṅ* (also *tsaṅs-pa*, Perf. of *aṭsaṅ-ba*; cf. also *saṅ-ba* P. (b)saṅs F. *bsaṅ* to cleanse, to purify).

(20) Si-Hia རྒྱ་ *rku*⁴ (天), T. རྒྱ་བ་ *dgu-ba* to bend, bent, རྒྱ་ར་ *dgu-r*, རྒྱ་ར་ *rgu-r*, རྒྱ་ར་ *sgu-r*.⁵

(21) Si-Hia གཉེ་ *gne*°, གཉེ་ *gne*, ཉེ་ *ne*, heart, Nyi Lo-lo *gn(i)-ma*, T. སྒྱིང་ *śniṅ*, Jyarung *te-ś-ni* (v. R.).

(22) Si-Hia བདེ་ *bñi*°, བདེ་ *ñu*,⁶ five, Lepcha *fă-ño*, Lushei

¹ See Nevsky, No. 186.

² See note 2 on p. 48.

³ Cf. also སྒྱུ་པ་ *snon-pa* P. and F. *bsnan* to add, to increase; increase, growth, approximating other meanings of the Chinese synonyms.

⁴ Reading doubtful. Queried by Nevsky (No. 271), who suggests རྒྱ་ *rñu* as a possible alternative.

⁵ See *Morphology*, p. 29 (No. 22 and n. 1).

⁶ See note 2 on p. 48.

pa-ñá, *Dîmâ-sâ bo-ñá*, etc., *Jyarung ko-mú*, *ko-mu*¹ (v. R.), T. ལྷ་ *lha*.

In some cases Si-Hia naturally shows independence in the matter of its prefix, as in :—

(23) Si-Hia གཤེད་ *gse*°, གསེ་ *gse*, ཟེ *ze*, to know (識), T. བཤེས་པ་ *bšes-pa*, ཤེས་པ་ *šes-pa*.

(24) Si-Hia གདེ་ *gde*°, གདེ *gde*, class, category, kind (部, 類), T. རྟེ་ *sde*.

In these the substitution leans definitely towards the usage of Eastern Tibetan dialects.²

It must surely be admitted, in view of such evidence, that we no longer have any valid reason for questioning the accuracy of the Tibetan and favouring that of the Chinese transcriptions. Quite apart from anything else, it is, *a priori*, to be expected that Si-Hia, as a Tibeto-Burman language dating back seven to nine centuries, would be well provided with just such prefixes as the Tibetan transcriptions contain.

It also seems not improbable that the Jyarung tribes, at present settled just west of the Cheng-tu plain in Sze-ch'uan, are descendants of a stock whose language was nearly allied to Si-Hia, though our knowledge of their dialect is as yet so fragmentary that but little can be said with certainty. It is, however, at least a fact that correspondence is, in general, a good deal closer between Si-Hia and Jyarung than between Si-Hia and the "Tangutan" material collected by Prejevalsky³ in former Si-Hia territory, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that a body of Si-Hia speakers were displaced southwards by Chingiz Khân's conquest of their kingdom, and that it is their word material which we have surviving in Jyarung. In this latter, prefixes instead of

¹ Cf. Laufer's *k-ñü*, *k-ñu* quoted above, and see his *Si-Hia*, pp. 41-2 (No. 35).

² Cf. *JRAS.* 1928, p. 898.

³ *Mongolia, the Tangut Country and the Solitudes of Northern Tibet*, London, 1876, vol. ii, pp. 136-8. See also pp. 112-13 and 301-4.

being lost have been retained, and have even had placed before them still others of later date.¹ We consequently are not compelled to expect Si-Hia to be represented now by word forms more abraded than the Tibetan transcriptions we have considered above, and need feel no surprise if the language is eventually found to survive in Jyarung and to have suffered less phonetic decay than we might expect.

¹ See *Morphology*, pp. 141-3.

The Kālavāda and the Zervanite System

BY O. G. VON WESENDONK

- I. INTRODUCTION.
- II. INDIAN CONCEPTIONS OF TIME.
 - 1. Attitude of different religious and philosophical schools towards the problem.
 - 2. Allusions to the Kālavāda.
- III. IRANIAN CONCEPTIONS OF TIME.
 - 1. Iranian sources.
 - 2. Christian references.
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I. INTRODUCTION

THE manner in which Mānī presented to the Sāsānian court his new doctrine seems to demonstrate that the mazdayasnian theology of that period conceived time, *zrvan-*, as the highest principle. Zarathuštra's own doctrine had been distinctively monotheistic and spiritual. But it had fallen into oblivion and had been superseded by a polytheistic system such as was the official creed of the Achaemenian empire and such as it is recorded in the later Avesta. At a certain moment religious reaction appears to have made itself felt against the alteration of the true spirit of Zarathuštra's teaching. In trying to reconstruct this doctrine the mazdaïst theologians had hit upon speculations considering time as the supreme essence. The question, when this system may have been first evolved, will be treated later on. For the present, it may suffice to state that the Zervanite theology was officially recognized during the beginning of the Sāsānian epoch, but without leaving traces in the Avesta or in the bulk of the Pahlavī literature.

On the other hand philosophical speculations on time formed the essential part of a special system of Indian philosophy, the Kālavāda, a school which disappeared and was absorbed by the recognized systems. Again, in the Hellenistic world the question of time, of its relation to certain philosophical conceptions and scientific aspects was treated under a number of different points of view.

The wide diffusion of the speculations concerning time as the leading principle calls for a closer study of this special development of thought. It must be borne in mind that the representation of time as a philosophical or religious factor is only possible when certain astronomical features have been observed, comprising a system of measurement of time and showing that nothing visible can be taken as existing outside this conception. Where therefore time has been promoted to the rank of supreme essence, the scientific spirit and the philosophical or theological speculations must necessarily have already attained a certain level. All this contends to make the examination of the problem more attractive, but it adds considerably to the difficulty of handling it.

The scope of the following lines is to present the features of the question in a manner showing the similarities and the differences of the conception of time in Iran, in India, and in the Hellenistic world. If absolutely convincing results cannot be arrived at on the subject of the origin of the speculations on time—speculations which may have been taken up in different countries and at different epochs independently of each other—it may be of interest at least to be able to compare the doctrines in question. However, it must never be forgotten that between India, Iran and the Western world frequent intercourse took place and that important features like the Indian alphabet point to the conclusion of Western influences having worked on the Indian mind—through direct contact by the neighbourhood of Iran or through other channels like southern Arabia. Sir John Marshall's important discoveries in the Punjab show that very early relations

existed between north-western India and the countries situated on the Persian Gulf.

But one fact must not be overlooked : Indian thought has developed mainly on its own lines. Even if outside influences are to be taken into account, Indian philosophy has always gone her own way, not troubling about other nations. Mahā-yāna-buddhism has first carried Indian ideas into wider circles. It may be that certain features of Buddhism like the non-recognition of the caste system¹ and its adversity to ascetic practices have been the main instrument in making Buddhism unpopular in India, so that the Hindoo movement was able to suppress Buddhism in India proper.

When the special position of the Indian development is taken into consideration, it will appear useful to examine the Indian theories on time as the first point of this paper and to follow up with Iran as the country which was in touch both with India and the regions of the West. After treating the Iranian conceptions of time as the highest being it will be good to turn to the Hellenistic world extending the studies to such Mesopotamian, Anatolian or other elements which may have been taken up by Hellenism.

After the situation concerning the philosophy of time in Iran, India and the Hellenistic world has been made clear, it will be possible to propose certain solutions explaining the different speculations. In doing this, it must, however, be understood that the author does not intend to engage himself in unproved theories, but that he only wishes to present some suggestions for further studies.

¹ This does not mean that Buddhism was in any way a reaction against the system of castes. On the whole early Buddhism was an aristocratic movement, in which the *kṣatriya* are prominent. It was against the privileges of the Brāhmaṇas and the authority of the Veda that the new doctrine was directed. For attaining the state of freedom from pain and the entanglement in the world it was indifferent whether the follower of the Buddha was a Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya. But the Indian Buddhists were aware of the caste distinction. Nobles and Brāhmaṇas form the surrounding of the Buddha and Buddhist tradition believes that a Buddha can only be born as a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya.

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A number of special points of the subject under review has been dealt with already by eminent scholars whose work in elucidating parts of the problem have greatly advanced our knowledge of it. Such valuable contributions are principally due to Wilhelm Bousset, Franz Cumont, Louis Mariès, Carl Clemen, Eduard Norden, Heinrich Junker, Hans Heinrich Schaeder, Richard Reitzenstein, Louise Troje, Robert Eisler, and Isidor Scheftelowitz.¹ The work accomplished by these and other scholars has given the impulse for undertaking the following study, which tries to consider the subject under a more general aspect, but which would not be possible without the preparatory investigations mentioned here. It will not in every case be feasible to accept the explanations or deductions proposed by other authors, but this does not mean a criticism of their work. The strongest impulse given by scholarly labour is not always contained in the fact that the result expounded must be maintained for ever and ever, but that it incites discussion and further investigation. If a problem is attacked from more sides than one, the probabilities of a sound solution will by necessity be larger than if only a restricted circle of persons deals with it. As the field which the present study has to embrace is large and as the traditions of many nations and countries have to be taken into account, the chances for errors are greater than if the author had limited himself to only one or two sectors.

¹ After the completion of this paper, which was read in August, 1928, at the 17th International Oriental Congress at Oxford, the following studies have touched the subject under consideration: K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ii, 1928, 145 ff. A. Christensen, *Études sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse Antique*, 1928, 45 ff. A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies*, 1928, 31 ff. J. D. C. Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, 2nd ed., 1929, 64, 26. I. Scheftelowitz, *Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit in der indischen und iranischen Religion*, 1929. H. Junker, *Wörter und Sachen*, xii, 1929, 132 ff. E. Benveniste, *The Persian Religion*, 1929, 76 ff. *JAS.* ccxv, 1929, 287 ff. H. S. Nyberg, *JAS.* ccxiv, 1929, 198 ff. G. Messina, *Der Ursprung der Magier und die zarathuëtrische Religion*, 1930, 94 f. F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 4th ed., 1929, 277 f.

II

INDIAN CONCEPTIONS OF TIME

1. *Attitude of different religious and philosophical schools towards the problem*

The R̥gveda employs the term *kāla* like the word *ṛtu* not in the general sense of time but in that of "certain moment", "right moment".¹ In the latter meaning *kāla* was often used in connection with the sacrifice ritual and although the etymology of the word has not yet been cleared up in a completely satisfactory manner² the sense "right moment for a purpose" seems to be the original one, as Oldenberg has been able to show.³ On the other hand, it has been suggested that *kāla* may have meant at first something like "driver" and that this figure was a so-called "special god" in the sense accepted by Usener.⁴ In a similar manner Gūntert has tried to explain the character of Savitar.⁵ There remains however a certain difficulty. It is in the Artharvaveda that *kāla* is mentioned for the first time as a god. He appears there already as an abstract conception of highly philosophical tendencies. How this abstraction developed is not known and only conjectures can be put forward concerning the original character of *kāla* as a deity. There is even no explanation to be given how *kāla* came to be the term for "time", in which meaning the word is generally employed in Sanskrit, where the conception of a deity *kāla* does not come into consideration. We can only state that the Atharvaveda treats *kāla* as a god, without being able to ascertain in what way this notion grew up.

The question whether the abstract idea of time was turned into a deity or whether a concrete god *kāla*, the

¹ Cf. the post-Vedic expression *ṛtukāla*, "season, menses".

² H. Gūntert, *Der arische Welthōnig und Heiland*, 232 ff.

³ *Lehre der Upanisaden*, 18, 1; *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, 40.

⁴ W. Wüst, *ZII.* v. 1927, 166 f.; cf. Usener, *Gōtternamen*, 75 f.

⁵ Gūntert, loc. cit., 155 ff.; cf. Oldenberg, *Rel. des Veda*, 2nd ed., 63 ff; *ZDMG.* li, 473 ff., lix, 253 ff; *Vedaforschung*, 79 ff.

“ driver ”, was at a certain period connected with the abstract conception of time, can hardly be answered, if one desires to remain on the solid ground of facts.

Atharvaveda, xix, 53 and 54, presents Kāla already as the highest principle, as the creator of Prajāpati and of the universe.¹ On the other hand, Atharvaveda, xiii, 2, 39 ff., says that Rohita, a solar deity, is Kāla and Prajāpati. In the Ṛgveda Rohita often designs a red horse, and the conception of the sun as a horse is well-known. Atharvaveda, xix, 53, 1, calls Kāla a horse with seven reins and a thousand eyes.²

It is practically impossible to fix even approximately the age of the Atharvaveda. In any case, this *saṃhitā* is of special interest, because it preserves numerous opinions which were not considered as orthodox. The philosophical speculations on time which the Atharvaveda exposes reckon with Brahman. It is to be assumed that these notions on Kāla as time cannot have been introduced before Brahman had been recognized by philosophical speculation as the one principle which contains everything. The two hymns about Kāla, who is said to enclose Brahman, and to be superior to him, must therefore belong to a period when the idea of Brahman had been developed, and they denote an opposition to the teaching of Brahman being the highest essence. In general the philosophical and cosmogonical parts of the Atharvaveda are believed to be of relatively recent origin,³ although it cannot be proved why such portions should not contain very ancient conceptions. In any case, the Atharvaveda shows that

¹ On these hymns cf. Deussen, *Gesch. d. Philos.* I, i, 209 ff.; Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Lit.* i, 132; Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig*, 231 ff.; O. Strauss, *Indische Philosophie*, 34.

² It must not be forgotten that Rohita means “ the red one ” and Kāla “ the blue-black ”. Etymologically this word has nothing to do with Kāla “ time ”. A certain parallel may have been drawn between the two expressions, but the comparison of Kāla with a horse does not seem to point to ancient mythological connections, which have been seen here by some scholars.

³ Winternitz, loc. cit., 130; Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung*, 40, thinks that the two hymns in question may belong to the period of the Brāhmaṇas.

Kāla had become the subject of philosophical meditations. It is to be understood that time was connected with Prajāpati in his character as *Samvatsara* "the year", and that astronomical notions were taken into account. The seven reins, the seven wheels of Kāla as mentioned in Atharvaveda, xix, 53, 1 f., have been explained as the seven planets or the seven Ādityā. Kāla's thousand eyes are said to be identical with the stars as governed by time. Güntert believes the notion of time to be synonymous with Aditi.¹ Space and time are often enough linked up together, but there is no clue to show that "boundlessness" *Aditi*, has really influenced the notion of Kāla as we find it in the Atharvaveda. The Iranian Zrvan- akarana- has evidently been the cause of connecting Aditi and Kāla. Without accepting the correctness of a theory which believes in relations between Aditi and Kāla, it will be useful to remember the controversies about Aditi and the Ādityā, which have been explained in the most divergent manner, this group of deities having been put in parallel with the Aməša-spənta- and having been connected with influences from Mesopotamia.

After the Atharvaveda, Kāla "time" is not unfrequently mentioned in philosophical and religious texts. But the conception is generally taken in a different character than in the Atharvaveda, where Kāla is the highest principle of a somewhat mystical tint. The Mahābhārata occasionally considers time as fate.² The doctrine of Karman has influenced such considerations.³ Bali, Namuci and Vṛtra find according to the Mahābhārata⁴ their consolation in the idea, that Kāla has shaped their destinies and that nothing can be done against time and fate. The Mokṣadharma points

¹ *Der ar. Weltkönig*, 231.

² xii, 28, 18 ff.; 153, 44; cf. 25, 5 ff.; 33, 14 ff.; xiii, 1, 50 f., etc.

³ Time as a deity of destiny in India has been treated by I. Scheftelowitz at the Fifth German Orientalists' Meeting in 1928. He arrives at the conclusion that Kāla as destiny is a conception which developed only after astrology became known in India. Cf. his book *Die Zeit als Schicksals-gottheit* mentioned above.

⁴ xii, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 280.

to Kāla as the mediator between Prakṛti as the non-apperceiving cause and the non-apperceiving effects, the evolutions of matter. These considerations are greatly complicated by the speculations on the true nature of the relations between Puruṣa and Prakṛti and the explanation of the fact how non-spiritual matter came to create the cosmic and psychical world. Repeatedly time is compared to the consuming fire : it is said that Kāla cooks or burns the world. In such cases Kāla is identified with Agni like later on with Māyā or Prakṛti.

The senses of time and fate given to Kāla include the notion of death, primarily as being the fate from which no living being can escape. Kāla gradually becomes synonymous of death. The deity of time and the god of death form one heavenly being ; Kāla is the same as Yama. Śiva is Mahākāla, the great time and at the same time the great death ; Mahākālī is a form of Durgā. Though Kālī originally means " the blue-black ", the similarity of sound with Kāla must not be neglected. Like Śiva, Viṣṇu has been assimilated to Kāla,¹ but time, the general destroyer and giver of life, seems on the whole to be more appropriated to the character of Śiva. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, i, 2, mentions time as one of the four shapes of the highest essence, the other three being *pradhāna*, *puruṣa* and *vyakta*. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa makes Viṣṇu act through Kāla. Occasionally Viṣṇu is called Kāla or Kāla appears as an independent element besides Viṣṇu.²

The testimonies hitherto examined show Kāla in the sphere of mythology and religion.³ They are probably only the remains of a once rather widely spread philosophical speculation, which considered absolute time as the fundamental principle and which was superseded and rendered

¹ Schrader, *Über d. Stand d. indischen Philosophie z. Zt. Mahāvīras u. Buddhas*, 30.

² *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, i, 6, 9 ; 8, 28 ; 9, 14 ; 13, 16 f., etc.

³ Religion and Philosophy are interdependent in India. Cf. M. Winternitz' clever remarks, *Hochschulwissen*, 1927, 687, on the formation of the notion Theosophy by Oltramare and Speyer.

obsolete by other victorious systems. It is typical that just the Atharvaveda, which enjoys the least great reputation amongst the *saṃhitās* and which has preserved many beliefs not recognized by orthodoxy, and sectarian developments like Śivaism retain notions of Time as the uppermost god.

That the problem of time came to occupy the minds of Indian philosophers is easily to be understood. The idea that every existing thing has but a transitory nature and is subject to decay led by itself to speculation on the character of time, generally linked up with space, *diś*, meaning a part of the world, and *ākāśa*, "infinite space," a much discussed notion.

But time being connected with the everyday life of man, it was, too, subjected to a purely scientific treatment. The science of time, *kālaḥjñāna*, comprising the knowledge of the division of time, *kālaḥjñānagati*, forms a part of astrology.¹ Without understanding the system of time-division it was impossible to follow the movements of the stars. Therefore the study of time was of the highest importance. The notion of Kāla belonged to the field of research of one of the most difficult branches of Indian science, astronomy and astrology; astrology again remains in close connection with other parts of scientific study as well as with religion and magic rites. The mathematical and astronomical problems concerning time have had their bearing on the philosophical side of the aspect, the character of Kāla as a deity of fate and death, such as it was developed in certain circles, making the whole term most appropriate for astrological systems.

In the field of philosophy, however, speculation hit on the great difficulty of defining the character of time, a puzzle which was not answered till Kant's explication of time and space as forms of conception of the human mind was propounded. Indian thought looked on time as a substance or as an attribute and occasionally tried to tackle the problem whether time is eternal or not. On the whole, the question

¹ J. v. Negelein, *ZDMG*, x.s. 7, 1928, 3.

of the nature of time does not seem to have taken up much room in the systems known to us. It is more or less accidentally that the problem is treated. Buddhists were on the other hand ready to negate the existence of time at all, and this point of view has given rise to controversies which allow us to get acquainted with the opinions of the Brāhmanic opponents.¹

The reflections of the Maitrāyaṇa-Upaniṣad² on the transitory nature of everything existing lead already to the consideration that time is a substance identical with Brahman, while the Brhadāranyaka-Upaniṣad³ makes time only proceed from Brahman through *ākāśa*, "space," a much discussed term which is often equalled to the ether. The Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad, i, 2, mentions Kāla with nature, Svabhāva, necessity, Niyati, chance, Yaḍṛcchā, the fundamental substances, Bhūtāni, Yoni and Puruṣa among the possible primary principles which may have caused the world to come into existence. On the other hand Gauḍapāda tries to demonstrate that Kāla, Īśvara or Svabhāva cannot be the original causes of the world's existence.⁴ One of the questions which puzzle the Indian philosophers is how time can be eternal and still subjected to being divided into determinated portions. For those schools who consider time as a substance the problem presents itself in the shape of having to accept the eternity of a substance. While the Sāṃkhya explains time and space as eternal and coexistent attributes of primar matter, Pradhāna, other systems like the Vaiśeṣika accept two different times, an eternal indivisible time and the different parts of time such as the movement of the stars calls forth.

These short hints may suffice to show how complicated

¹ Cf. the excellent survey given by Th. Stecherbatsky, *La théorie de la connaissance et la logique chez les Bouddhistes tardifs*, 12 ff.

² i, 4 ; vi, 14-16.

³ iii, 8, 6-10.

⁴ *Ad Sāṃkhyakārikā*, 61 ; cf. H. Jacobi, *Gottesidee*, 39.

the whole problem appeared to the philosophical mind.¹ It is of interest to note that the Vedānta, which gives to the conception of *ākāśa* its place in speculation, passes more or less in silence over that of time. Śaṅkara,² who attacks the Buddhists because they negate the outward world, accepts only an empirical reality. Therefore time does not exist in his eyes, there being no succession of psychic phenomena and no changement in the exterior world, a point of view strongly resembling that adopted by Buddhism.

The Vaiśeṣika system ranges time amongst the eternal substances. But it must not be forgotten that for the philosophy of the Vaiśeṣika *dravya* only means something possessing quality or movement and being the immediate cause of a phenomenon.³ In any case, Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya do not recognize time and space as qualities.⁴ Kaṇāda calls time like *dīś*, "space," as distinguished from *ākāśa*, "ether," a unique, boundless and eternal substance which cannot be apperceived.⁵ This substance is measured by the sun. On the other hand the Nyāya system looks on the substances as elements of matter, *bhūta*.⁶ Time and space are eternal substances, coexisting with everything and all-penetrating like *ākāśa*, "ether."⁷

The speculations of the Naiyāyikas on the nature of time as a substance of a character not subjected to human apper-

¹ It may be allowed to draw the attention to Henri Bergson's idea of the "Evolution créatrice", metaphysical time being distinguished from the mere succession of phenomena, and to the literary treatment of the problem by Marcel Proust, *A la recherche du temps perdu*.

² Deussen, *System des Vedānta*, 260 ff.

³ Max Müller, *ZDMG.* vi, 24. *The Six Systems*, 2nd ed., 441 f.

⁴ It may be mentioned that Indian logics did not arrive at a doctrine of conclusion in the Aristotelian sense. H. Jacobi, *Nach. d. Gött. Ges. d. W.*, 1901, 461 f.

⁵ Deussen, *Gesch. der Phil.*, I. iii, 351; M. Müller, *The Six Systems*, 2nd ed., 444 f.

⁶ *Nyāya Darśana*, I, i, 13.

⁷ *Nyāya Darśana*, II, i, 22; cf. H. v. Glasenapp, *Hinduismus*, 279; O. Strauss, *Indische Philosophie*, 152, contends that the *Nyāya* considers time and space as eternal uniform realities.

ception lead to the declaration that time and space are identical.¹ Modern Nyāya philosophers pronounce time and space to be Īśvara. The modern Naiyāyikas being mostly Śivaites,² this assimilation could point to their having accepted the popular belief that Śiva-Īśvara is Mahākāla. It is very doubtful whether in this instance influences of the Kālavāda are to be taken into account, but in any case it is perhaps worth while to note that the Śivaites were represented in north-western India and that they may there have come into closer contact with Iranian ideas.

It will be useful to retain the fact that the Nyāya-sūtras may belong to the period between A.D. 200 and 450, while the Vaiśeṣika-sūtras are believed to have been written between A.D. 250 and 300³; the origin of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy as such can reach up to the second century B.C.⁴

According to Madhva (probably A.D. 1199-1278) time is with Prakṛti an eternal principle; Kāla proceeds from Prakṛti, and it is differenced by itself, not by any accidental happenings. In any case time depends on Viṣṇu.⁵ This is the same attitude as that which the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa adopt.

A certain interest attaches to the Jaina interpretation of time.⁶ Time having contrary to other substances no expansion and occupying no parts of space, Pradeśa, some Jaina philosophers separate it from the substances, Dravya, while others again declare Kāla to be a Dravya, but no Astikāya, i.e. time does not belong to one of the classes of being, such as Jīva and the four other non-spiritual substances.

¹ Vācaspatimisra, cf. *Tātparyasūddhi*, 281, refutes this opinion.

² Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Lit.*, iii. 477. According to a legend, Śiva is said to have revealed the Vaiśeṣikasystem to Kaṇāda in the shape of an owl. Cf. Peterson, *Three Reports*, 26 ff.

³ Jacobi, *Nachr. der Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1901, 460 ff.; 476, 482; L. Suali, *Introduzione allo studio della filosofia Indiana*, 64 ff.; B. Faddegon, *The Vaiśeṣikasystem*, 10 ff.; H. v. Glasenapp, *Hinduismus*, 277 ff.

⁴ Winternitz, loc. cit., 472.

⁵ H. v. Glasenapp, *Madhvas Philosophie des Vishnu-Glaubens*, 53.

⁶ Cf. H. v. Glasenapp, *Jainismus*, 154 f.; O. Strauss, *Ind. Phil.*, 113.

In all the systems and religious communities mentioned before, the speculations on time only play a modest and more accidental part. But there existed one school of thought, which like the two hymns of the Atharveda mentioned before, considered time as the central notion and as the fundamental principle. This system, the Kālavāda, has disappeared. It is only through occasional polemics of Buddhist writings and by mentions in Jaina literature that the existence of this school is known. Why it disappeared is not to be said with certainty. The explanation proposed by certain scholars that the Kālavāda was absorbed by astrology,¹ does not sound very probable. On the contrary, astronomical and astrological reflections may have led to construing a philosophical school which pronounced time to be the first principle.

As has been shown, the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad, i, 2, mentions Kāla as the first of the principles which have been considered as the original cause. After Kāla Svabhāva, nature, Niyati, necessity, Yadṛcchā, chance, Bhūtāni, the fundamental substances or elements, Yoni and Puruṣa, primar matter and spirit, are enumerated. The Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad introduces a new principle, Īśvara; thus theistic philosophy, which proceeds from the speculations on Ātman, has been of the greatest importance for the development of Śivaism and Viṣṇuism. In this Upaniṣad we further meet for the first time the theory of the three Guṇas,² the whole treatise being a kind of compromise between Vedānta and Sāṃkhya teachings.³ The age of this Upaniṣad is difficult to fix. It has been suggested that the treatise is the product not of one author, but of a school and that the original was limited to i, 1-12, containing the doctrine of the threefold brahman, the complete theism of the other part of the

¹ Stcherbatsky, *Théorie de la connaissance*, 15.

² M. Müller, *The Six Systems*, 2nd ed., 216.

³ M. Müller, loc. cit., 262; the *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad* mentions *Vedānta*, vi, 22, *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga* vi, 13.

Upaniṣad connected with Rudra being developed at a later period out of the theory of the threefold brahman.¹

In any case the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad points to the existence of a philosophical school which considered time as the first cause.

The Maitrāyaṇa-Upaniṣad² compares time with Brahman. Time and Not-time are called the two bodies of Brahman. Perhaps the authors of those passages of the said Upaniṣad tried to arrive at a compromise between the Kālavāda and the orthodox systems.

The Jaina literature further offers a few mentions of the systematic Kālavāda. There is a definition of time given according to the views of the Kālavāda by Śiṣaṅka in the Ācārāṭikā, calling time amongst other things the form of action of everything.³ In his commentary to the Nandī written in the twelfth century A.D. Malayagiri⁴ quotes certain principles which may come from a Sūtra of the Kālavāda. Here time is called the cause of everything. Amongst the 360 *darśana*, which the canonic literature of the Jainas enumerates, the Kālavāda is mentioned as a sub-division of the Kriyāvāda. This conception is common to Buddhists and to Jainas and comprises such philosophic systems as recognize the three principles of freedom of will, responsibility and reincarnation. Malayagiri⁵ says that Kāla is like Īśvara, Ātman, Niyati, Svabhāva and Yadṛcchā, one of the metaphysical principles of the six schools of agnosticism (*Ajñānavāda*).

These same systems are mentioned in the Buddhacarita⁶ with the exception of the Kālavāda, about which the Buddha

¹ F. O. Schrader, *Der Stand der Philosophie*, 42 ff. For the importance of the *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad* for the development of Śivaism cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇaism*, 106 ff.

² vi, 14 f.

³ F. O. Schrader, *Der Stand der Philosophie*, 28.

⁴ Ed. Calcutta, *samvat* 1936.

⁵ F. O. Schrader, *Der Stand der Philosophie*, 12 f.

⁶ ix, 47 f., ed. Cowell.

is made to pronounce himself in another passage of this work.¹ The *Āṅguttaranikāya* enumerates the *kālavādī*, *bhūtavādī*, *atthavādī*, *dhammavādī*, *vinayavādī*.² Whether Buddha himself was acquainted with the Kālavāda, appears as doubtful as the idea that Mahāvīra knew about this and other similar systems.³ But it may be assumed that such schools existed really at a later period and that the literature of the Jains and Buddhists does not merely reproduce an imaginary schedule, but gives an account of actually taught systems, a conclusion which, as has been demonstrated, can be drawn as well from Brahmanic sources.

The testimony of Bhaṭṭotpala, a commentator of Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā*, may close the list of quotations about Kāla. This author says⁴ that some consider time as an eternal, unfold and ever-present substance, the measure of all actions; others describe it as the movement of the sun, the planets, and the fixed stars, others again call time the difference of the periods. Here Bhaṭṭotpala does not seem to treat a philosophical system, but to reproduce opinions current in the circles of astronomers.

III

IRANIAN CONCEPTIONS OF TIME

1. *Iranian Sources*

Time, *zrvan-*, occupies but a very secondary position in the avestic pantheon. The name itself has been read as *zurvan-*, or by some scholars as *zruvan-*. *Zrvan-* belongs to the same root as *zaurvan*, or without epenthesis *zarvan-*, "old age," who appears as a demon in *Vidēvdāt*, xix, 43, as the *daēva-* of decrepitude making the parents lose their intelligence, if we follow the interpretation of the

¹ xviii, 55 f.

² iii, 69, 9, cf. *Puggala-Paṇṇatti*, iv, 57 f. ed. Morris.

³ Schrader, loc. cit., 13.

⁴ *ad Brhatsaṃhitā*, i, 7, ed. Dvivedi.

passage given by Bartholomae.¹ *Zrvan-* appears in two forms, as *akarana-*, "boundless time," and as *darəghōχ^vadhāta-*,² as the all-governing or self-created time of the long period. The second shape of time corresponds to the well-known period of 12,000 years in which the evolution of the corporal (*astvant-*) world is comprised. This epoch is contained in eternity, boundless time. The two conceptions are distinct from one another, but at the same time there exists a close connection between them inasmuch as *Zrvan-darəghōχ^vadhāta-* is but a section of *Zrvan-akarana-*.³ This easily explains the fact why *Zrvan-darəghōχ^vadhāta-* always appears together with the other deity, *Zrvan-akarana-* and is never mentioned isolatedly as has been observed by H. Junker.⁴ The two-fold *yazata-* *Zrvan-* is invoked Nyāyišn, i, 8 after Tištrya-, Vanant- and Thwāša- and before Vāta- and other deities. Vidēvdāt, xix, 13; 16, has Vayu- (*vāyu-*) instead of Vāta-. Thwāša- is the space full of air, or rather ether, the sphere lying beyond that of the stars, because air is really an element not familiar to the Iranians. Vāta- and Vayu- are geniuses of air and of the winds. Yašt xv is dedicated to Vayu- together with Rāman- *χ^vāstra-*, probably because a favourable wind brings "peace with good pastures", while hot or cold storms ruin them, whilst Vāta- is named *oado* on Indo-scythian coins. The winds are known to Herodotus, i, 131, as belonging to

¹ *Altiran. Wörterb.*, 757. For another interpretation see Jackson, *Grdr. d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 659 f.; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, s.v.; Darmesteter *Zend-avesta*, ii, 275.

² Joh. Hertel takes *χ^vadhāta-* as "self-created", an expression opposed to *stidhāta-* "given through the existing," i.e. Ahura- Mazda-. *Die Sonne*, etc., 146, 50.

³ v. Selle, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1927, 438, believes that *akarana-* and *darəghōχ^vadhāta-* (*dərang χ^vadato*) are but two epithets belonging to one god *Zrvan-*. Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörterb.*, 696, explains *darəghōχ^vadhāta-* as "der lange Zeit immer der eigenen Bestimmung untersteht", i.e. eternal. The *Rivāyat*, cod. xii, suppl. Anquetil, 14 ff., calls time the creator, but Ōhrmazd, himself an offspring of boundless time, creates *Zamān direng hūdāi*, both aspects of time being considered as distinct. By *Zrvān i dērang χ^vadhāi* the cosmic *aion* is understood.

⁴ *Warburg- Vorträge*, i, 1921-22 126 ff.

the number of Persian gods. Space, Akaša-, is a notion only to be found in Pahlavī literature, to the Avesta it is unknown. Vayu-, "air," "wind," is according to the Bundahišn the emptiness between the realms of Ōhrmazd and Ahriman, wherein the reign of Zrvan-darəghōχ^vadhāta- the great meeting between the two spirits will take place. Yasna lxxii, 10 has Rāman-, Vayu-, Thwāša- and the two shapes of Zrvan-mentioned before. A synonym of Thwāša- or at least a strongly similar conception is Vayah-, "airy space," Nyāyišn, i, 1, where this deity is termed darəghōχ^vadhāta- like Zrvan-.¹ Time appears together with space, but only in later periods, not in the Avesta, we find Zrvan- in connection with fate, a point which will still call for attention. The notion of fate itself, Baxt, is not mentioned before the Pahlavī period. To Zrvan- akarana- "boundless time" may be compared *anaghra-raočaḥ*-, "the lights without beginning"²; these are opposed as transcendent light as χ^vadhāta-, as sovereign or as self-created, to the light created only for the material world, which is called *stidhāta*- in Vidēvdāt II, 131, Mazdaism distinguishing between the purely spiritual sphere and the material existence.

The result for our investigation is but meagre, as far as the purely Avestic sources are concerned. Nowhere Zrvan- is an important *yazata*-, and there is no hint of his being considered as the highest principle. Only a comparatively small part of the Avesta has been preserved and it might have been possible that an epoch which rejected the Zervanite

¹ Misvan- gātu-, the place where the souls remain who are neither good nor bad, is considered as lying between earth and the sky. It is the Hamēstakān of Pahlavī books. This eschatological notion might be different from space and airy space as physical factors. J. Hertel, *Die Sonne*, pp. 64 f., believes *misvan- gātu*- to be the same as the domain of the wind.; cf. Lommel, *Die Yāsts*, 145 ff.

² The term appears in the Avesta always in the plural. J. Hertel thinks that *anaghra- raočaḥ*- meant originally probably the stars (*Die Sonne*, 147, text of note 1 to Yāšt, x, 50) and that it is later one of the designations of the heaven of light (loc. cit., 10) and synonymous with *aša*- and other expressions for the fire filling this heaven of light (loc. cit., 78).

conception eliminated all allusions to this teaching. Such conjectures cannot, however, be proved. It is therefore the safest to assume that the Avestic texts do not consider Zrvan- as the supreme god and that time plays but a reduced and rather obscure part in these writings.

Outside the Avesta, Iranian allusions to Zervanism are too not frequent. At a later period the dualistic view was alone considered as orthodox and all other opinions were treated as heretic. The clergy apparently cleansed the texts of all allusions to Zervanism. Some passages, however, remain to show that the sacred writings did once speak of boundless time as the highest being. The Pandnāmak i Zarathušť¹ calls Ōhrmazd eternal, immortal, boundless and perfect, without mentioning his relation to Zrvan-. H. Junker² presumes that both are taken here as identical. In reality, the said Pahlavi text simply gives the traditional Pārsēe point of view, which considers Ōhrmazd and Ahriman not as equals, the victory in the end belonging to Ōhrmazd and the forces of light being superior to those of darkness.³ The Gāthīc doctrine is different, Ahura- Mazda- being there the supreme essence in the spiritual realm, the antagonism of Spēnta- and Anra-Manyu- remaining confined to the tangible world. The Pandnāmak i Zarathušť therefore does not seem to refer even indirectly to Zervanism. On the other hand, the Mēnūk i xrat positively calls the self-existing Zrvān the Pādišāh, with whose benediction alone Ōhrmazd can create. Time and fate

¹ Cf. Freiman, *WZKM.*, 1906, xx.

² *Warburg-Vorträge*, i, 1921-22, 132 f. It may be mentioned here that *Dēnkart*, § 279, ed. Sanjana, letting all creatures return to the creator Ōhrmazd, corresponds to the Stoic view that God takes back to Himself everything, when a period of the world is terminated. In the same way, the Pahlavi expression *vardišn* for the cosmic movement can be explained by referring it to Stoic conceptions, which probably reached the Zoroastrian priests through some channel or other.

³ This is why the Mazdaist theologians do not accept the Jewish opinion of the evil being a power rivalising with the good. Cf. *Dēnkart*, § 211, ed. Sanjana.

rule everything.¹ H. Junker has seen justly that the Zervanite tendencies of this text have been weakened, Zrvan- akarana-, Baxt, "fate," and "God's providence", Bāgh Baxt, becoming fighters on the side of Ōhrmazd in his war against Ahriman. The Mēnūk i xrat is imbued with the spirit of astrology and this attitude can be taken as typical for everything connected with Zervanism. Besides the Mēnūk i xrat the Great Bundahišn, vi, 68 ff.,² and the Zādsparam, iv, 5,³ contain allusions to the Zervanistic theology.

Two later texts are of interest because they expose the Zervanite system at an epoch when the orthodox dualism had already triumphed and when Pārsism was a religion only tolerated by Islām. The controversial theological treatise '*Ulemā i Islām*'⁴ written in modern Persian calls time the creator. Everything done by Ōhrmazd was done by the help of time, who is the sovereign⁵ of creation. The same point of view is adopted by a Rivāyat.⁶ Except time everything is created. Both texts are full of astrological allusions. The conceptions in the two treatises are very similar. Ōhrmazd is the result of the union of fire and water, the first elements created by Zrvan-.

In the second part of the ninth century A.D. the Škand gumānik vičār attacks the opinion of the Daharī.⁷ These

¹ The Mēnūk i xrat representing Zervanite views, it is comprehensible, that this text resembles Manichæan writings, Mānī having adapted his new religion to the Zervanite theology. For the transliteration Mēnōkē xrat which is not followed here, cf. Nyberg, *JAS.* cexiv, 1929, 242 ff.

² H. H. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, 222 ff.

³ H. H. Schaeder, loc. cit., 223 n.

⁴ ed. Olshausen-Mohl, *Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre*, Paris, 1829, 1 ff., transl. by Vullers, *Fragmente über die Religion des Zoroaster*, Bonn, 1831, 43 ff.; Chr. Bartholomae, *Zendhandschriften*, 152 f.; E. W. West, *Grundr. d. ir. Phil.*, ii, 123.

⁵ *hūdāvand*.

⁶ Code *Anquetil*, xii, suppl., 14 ff. Spiegel, *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, 161 ff.

⁷ vi, 6 ff. West, *SBE.*, xxiv, 146; H. Junker, *Warburg-Vorträge*, i, 1921-22, 171; the Daharī are compared to the Islāmic sect of the Dahriya by M. Horten, *Die philos. Systeme d. spekulat. Theologen im Islam*, 81 ff.; 274 ff.; 320 ff.; *Die Philosophie d. Islam*, 110 f.

consider the world as a creation of Zrvān akanārak.¹ According to the Škand gumānik vičār space, *gyak*, and time, *zamān*, are considered as *akanārak*, as boundless.²

The scarce mentions of Zervanism in the Iranian literature would by themselves not be sufficient to prove that the theology of Zrvan- was once officially recognized by Mazdaism. Yet a number of names composed with Zrvan- tend to show that this deity was highly considered in the Sāsānian epoch. The son of Mihr-narsēh, minister to the king Yezdegerd II, bore the name Zorvāndād and the father called a village given to him Zorvāndādhan.³ The daughter of Šāhpūhr II and wife of Xosrau III of Armenia was called Zorvānduxšt.

2. Christian References

Besides the important, though only indirect, testimony of Mānī in the fragments of his Šāpūrakān luckily preserved in the sands of Turfān⁴ some Christian authors speak of Zervanism.

Theodoros of Mopsuestia, author of a βιβλιοδάριον περὶ τῆς ἐν Περσίδι μαγικῆς, says that Ζουρουάμ, whom Zarathuštra also calls τύχη, is the origin of everything and that through sacrificing he gave birth to Hormisdas and to Satan.⁵ Before Theodoros, St. Basil the Great, Bishop of Kaisareia in Kappadokia calls Ζαρνοῦας the beginning of the race of the Magusæans.⁶ Diodoros of Tarsos, who came into contact with St. Basil, is said to have written books κατὰ

¹ *phl. akanārak* "without border" corresponds to Avestic *akarana-*.

² xvi, 53 f.; Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück manich. Schrifttums*, 20.

³ Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 109 ff. For the name Zorvāndāt cf. Bartholomae, *Zum sasanid. Recht*, v, 11; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch* s.v. *Zarwāndād* and *Zrovānduxšt*.

⁴ H. H. Schaeder, *Warburg-Vorträge*, iv, 1924-25, 144.

⁵ ap. Photium, *Bibl.*, 81. According to Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandl.*, 149, this book was addressed to an Armenian bishop.

⁶ *ep. 258 ad Epiphan.*, 4.

ἀστρονόμων καὶ ἀστρολόγων καὶ εἰμαρμένης and κατὰ Μανιχαίων, but nothing of his works is left.¹ He like Theodoros of Mopsuestia and perhaps the Mesopotamian bishop Mārī “the Persian”, author of a lost book against the Magians of Nisibis, was probably inspired by Berossos as the ultimate source of knowledge on the Persian religion, though these men must have been able to collect, too, direct information about the Magian belief.

It has been assumed that Diodoros and Theodoros of Mopsuestia were sources for the Armenian author Eznik of Kolb, who wrote in the fifth century A.D.² The works of Theodoros of Mopsuestia became important for the Nestorian church; even before the Nestorian schism took place his writings must have been widely read. Therefore Eznik, who studied in Syria and in Constantinople, made extracts from Theodoros with the aim of instructing the Armenian clergy. Eznik's description of Zervanism is of the highest importance. His book is not an original work as he wrote after foreign sources, and it is quite probable that he used two different authors,³ but this is irrelevant. The fact that men like Diodoros and Theodoros of Mopsuestia treated Zervanism is significant enough, and Eznik, bishop of Bagrevand,⁴ had no literary ambitions. His aim was merely practical. He wanted to enlighten the Armenians and give them the means of fighting against the Mazdaists, the Heathens,

¹ Photius, *Bibl.*, 223; 85.

² ed. Smyrna, 1762; ed. Venice, 1825-6, 1863 ff. Paris, 1860, Constantinople, 1864 ff. English translation by A. Aganon in J. Wilson, *The Persian Religion*, Bombay, 1843. German translation by J. M. Schmid, *Des Wardapet Eznik von Kolb Wider die Sekten*, Vienna, 1900. S. Weber *Bibl. der Kirchenväter, Der armen. Kirchenväter ausgewählte Schriften*, i, 25 ff. Eznik's text exists only in one manuscript, *Eḥmiadzin* no. 111, written in A.D. 1280; cf. Ajarean and K. Ter-Mkrtčean, *Handēs amsoreay*, 1904, 33 ff.

³ L. Mariès, *Le de Deo d'Eznik de Kolb*, 25, 86 f. The ultimate source for these authors may have been in a certain degree Berossos.

⁴ Cf. S. Weber, loc. cit., 14 ff.

against Markion, Mānī and other religions considered as false.¹

Now at the time of Esnik, who according to the Armenian sources took part in the synod of Artasat of A.D. 449, the Sāsānian king Yazdegerd II tried to convert the frontier province of Armenia to Mazdaism. An edict which the Persian minister, Mihr-narsēh, is said to have addressed to the Armenians, is reproduced by Elišē,² while Lazar of P'arpi³ speaks of a letter sent by the king of kings to the Armenian nobility and this royal document was accompanied by an exposition of the Mazdaist faith elaborated by the Mōbēdhs.⁴ This treatise, composed by the Persian priests, may have been retained by Elišē, while the royal letter has been left out. This statement is of interest because it has been pretended that Elišē only gave an excerpt from Esnik.⁵ Although the so-called edict of Mihr-narsēh and the description of Zervanism given by Esnik resemble each other closely, and although Elišē may have read Esnik, it must be borne in mind that the synod of Artasat, where Esnik was present, refuted the said royal order. Esnik composed his book between 445 and 448, i.e. just before the synod of Artasat.⁶ We have seen that Mihr-narsēh must have been an adherent of Zervanism, as he called his son Zorvāndādh. That Esnik

¹ ii, 9. Esnik says that the Persian religion is not exposed in books. This is right, if he should mean a systematic explanation of the system. because the Avestic literature can certainly not be considered as such. Theological treatises giving the Zervanite point of view may have remained unknown to Esnik, if such a literature existed at all in his time.

Euhemeristic traditions have influenced Esnik ii, 3, when he says that Zrvān was a human being and a mighty titan. Here he obviously followed simply his sources, and it may be remembered that Berossos gives similar rational explanations of ancient myths.

² c. 2.

³ 19 ff.

⁴ Lazar of P'arpi, 26.

⁵ F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, i, 17 ff.; A. Meillet, *JAS.* n.s. xix, 1902, 548 f.; H. H. Schaeder, *Studien z. antik. Synkret.*, 239; A. Carrière, *Handēs amsorey*, 1900, 183 ff.; L. Mariès, *Le de Deo*, 39 f.

⁶ Harnack, *Marcion*, 2nd ed., 372*; Junker, loc. cit., 142; Mariès, loc. cit., 5.

used Theodoros of Mopsuestia and Diodoros of Tarsos does not exclude the fact of his having known the edict addressed to the Armenians. The just named authors must in their time have had before them some materials giving details on the Zervanite religion. These may have been similar to the explanations joined by the Magian clergy to king Yezdegerd's address. The step undertaken by Mihr-narsēh had the effect of adducing a number of Armenian nobles to embrace Mazdaism; this again provoked the rising of Vardan the Mamikonian, who saw the Sāsānian Great king occupied by a war with the Hephtalites. In 451 Vardan was, however, subdued by the Persians. All this shows that real facts, not only literary loans, account for Elišē's writing.

The mention of Zrvan by Ps. Moses of Chorene, i, 6, is only a translation of Kronos.¹ It is, however, interesting to state that in Armenia Zrvan was considered the fit translation of Kronos.

The Armenian sources describe the Zervanite system in a very similar way as the Syrian literature does. Syrian and Armenian Christians had to fight the same theological adversary. The acts of the Christian martyr Pūsai (+ 340)² give only the usual Mazdaistic view, when they say that the Magians pretend Hormizd to be the brother of Satan, but this fact may just as well contain an allusion to Zrvan- as the supreme father, just like it is to be found in a Manichæan fragment polemizing against the Zoroastrian faith.³

The acts of Ādhurhormizd and Anāhēdh⁴ and Theodor bar Kōnai⁵ show the points on which the Christians tried to

¹ Geffcken, *Nachr. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1900, 37 f.

² O. Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten persischen Märtyrer*, 1915, 67.

³ Muller, *Handschriftenreste*, ii, 95. The Manichæans regard it as a blasphemy to pretend that the Father of Greatness, i.e. Zrvān, created Good and Evil.

⁴ *Acta Martyrorum et Sanctorum* ed. Bedjan, ii, 576 ff., 592. Th. Nöldeke, *Festgr. an R. v. Roth*, 34 ff. Schaeder, *Studien z. antiken Synkretismus*, 233; 353; *Warburg-Vortr.* iv, 1924-25, 141, believes these acts to reproduce an excerpt of a lost treatise by Theodoros of Mopsuestia.

⁵ Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouābir*, 111.

attack Zervanism. Apparently the Zervanite conceptions were not throughout clear and they were intermingled with mythological, symbolical and astrological elements. It is not necessary to search for a primar source for all these authorities,¹ the necessity of combating the Zervanite theology in writings and in religious discussions being alone sufficient for explaining the similarity of the different Armenian and Syrian records.

The Muslim author aš-Šahrastānī reports of three Mazdaist opinions.² He calls them Zarāduštiya, Zarvāniya and Kayūmarthiyya. Aš-Šahrastānī's sources cannot be traced. He came from Ḥorāsān from the border of Ḥvārizm and was an Aš'arite, a student of *fiqh*, *kalām* and *hadīth*, who considered religious questions from the point of view of Islāmic scholasticism. It is not impossible that he had personal contact with Zoroastrian circles, but he probably followed principally literary traditions. His declarations must not be taken as absolutely certain, but when using a certain dose of critic spirit, they yield interesting items. That the Zoroastrians were divided into parties can be inferred from Plutarchos.³ The later Mazdaist literature speaks repeatedly of heretics, whose prototype is the Grēhma- of the Gāthās. Esnik and Elišē know of different currents of opinion among the Mazdaists.

3. The Testimony of Eudemos of Rhodos

The earliest mention of the Zervanite system could be found in a passage ascribed to Eudemos of Rhodos.⁴ Eudemos belongs to the Peripatetic school and he was in Athens with

¹ The reports of Theodor bar Kōnai, Esnik and Elišē have been compared by A. Carrière, *La naissance d'Ormīzd et d'Ahriman*, Paris, 1900, cf. *Handēs amšoreay*, 1900, 183 ff. s. above p. 74.₅.

² 179 ff., ed. Cureton.

³ *De Is.*, 46 ff., and the contention that Mithra- is the *μεσότης* between light and darkness, an opinion unknown to the Avesta.

⁴ ap. Damaskios, *Ἀπορίαι καὶ Ἀύσεις* 125 bis, 322, ed. Ruelle.

Aristoteles. He wrote on astronomy, astrology¹ and theology, and his book *τῶν περὶ τῷ θεῷ ἱστορία*² appears to have treated the cosmogonies of Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod, Pherekydes, etc., as well as those of the Zoroastrians and other oriental religions, according to the impulse given by Aristoteles in the first book *περὶ φιλοσοφίας*.³ Now Eudemos appears to have studied the question, what original causes were believed to be the starting point of creation. In an important fragment on the Babylonian cosmogony Eudemos seems to speak of the fact that the Babylonians apparently passed in silence over the question of the primar principle. At first sight it would therefore not be improbable that Eudemos mentioned the highest principle of the Mazdaist faith. But there is a number of doubtful points which already made J. Darmesteter believe that the Eudemos quoted by Damaskios was not the same as the well-known follower of Aristoteles.⁴

The testimony on the Babylonian theogony given by Eudemos is of importance because it corresponds to the Babylonian poem *Enuma eliš* and because it shows that Eudemos used trustworthy sources.⁵ The explanations about the primar cause in the Persian religion ascribed to Eudemos seem, however, suspicious. Damaskios, who has conserved the quotations from Eudemos, occupied himself with the unity of the original being and wrote *Ἀπορίαι καὶ λύσεις περὶ τῶν πρώτων ἀρχῶν* as well as *Συγγράμματα περὶ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τόπου καὶ χρόνου*.⁶ This fact and the whole tendency of the philosophy of Damaskios make it probable that he interpreted into the text of Eudemos such notions as were familiar

¹ Cf. Simplicios, *Comm. in Aristot. de caelo*, 488, 19, ed. Heiberg. Diogenes Laërtios, i, 23; Clemens Alex., *Stromata*, i, 14.

² This work, falsely ascribed to Theophrastos by Diogenes Laërtios, v, 48, belongs to Eudemos. Usener, *Anal. Theophr.*, 17.

³ W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, 238, 2.

⁴ *Le Zend-Avesta*, i, 221, 10; iii, lxix, 3.

⁵ Diogenes Laërtios, *prooem.* 8 f., names Theopompos and Eudemos as reporting the Magian doctrine of immortality and resurrection. Cf. for Theopompos Aineias of Gaza, *Theophr.*, 72, ed. Boissonade.

⁶ Simplicios, *Phys.*, 146a; 151a; 183a-185a; 189b.

to him. Now Damaskios belonged to those Neo-Platonists who had to leave Athens and who took refuge in Persia. Xosrau Anōšarvān allowed them to settle in Gundēšāpūr. It may be assumed that Damaskios got into touch with the then still reigning Zervanite theology and simply rendered his own impressions when he cited Eudemos. If the identification of the highest principle with time by Eudemos has to be abandoned, Eudemos' view as to the true nature of Zoroastrian dualism being confined to the differentiated nature is correct and this part of the quotation can therefore be in order.

But even when accepting the statement of Damaskios¹ as really belonging to Eudemos, the Zervanite system would only be shown to exist in the period of the late Achæmenian empire.² There are no other mentions of the Zervanite theology in the same period, all other classical authors down to the Sāsānid epoch knowing only the usual dualistic aspect of Mazdaism. For Dion Chrysostomos has, as will be shown below, probably only exposed Stoic conceptions of his time, perhaps mixing them up with some dim recollections of what he heard about the opinions of the Magians of Anatolia.

That the Mazdaist religion, certainly in the form contained in the Younger Avesta, was strongly influenced by the Babylonian doctrine and by other teachings is evident. In the development of the Mazdaist theology it seems, that the Magian element did much to amalgamate Babylonian and Iranian beliefs. The possible contact between Elam and Persia and between Assyria, the Haldians and Hittites and the Medes can here be left out of account. It is therefore very probable that even the Avestic mentions of the boundless time and of the time of the long period show already a

¹ M. Haug, *Essays on the Sacred Language, etc., of the Parsis*, 12, apparently ascribes to Damaskios the Zervanite views given as those of Eudemos.

² In a paper published by the R. Academy of Copenhagen, A. Christensen exposes the view that the Zervanite system can be traced to the Achæmenian epoch; *Études sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse Antique*, 45 ff.

connection with notions current in Western Asia and that they represent Hellenistic speculations on Chronos and Aion, perhaps modified by Chaldæan conceptions. In this line of thought the use of Aramæan is of importance, this language being officially employed in the western parts of the Persian empire since the days of Dareios I.

IV

MESOPOTAMIAN CONCEPTIONS OF TIME

Already Spiegel in his *Eranische Altertumskunde*¹ has pointed to Babylonian conceptions as the possible origin of the Iranian theory of time as the first principle.² Other scholars have seen in the Zervanite system influences of the astral cults of Mesopotamia.³ The combination of the veneration of time as supreme deity with the ideas of fate and space show their near connection with astrological notions. The age of astrology and of astronomical observations in Mesopotamia cannot be denied, although it is quite uncertain to what period the development of astrology as a science belongs. Even if the Chaldæan astronomers began from the eighth century B.C. onwards to measure the movements of the stars as such and not as religious or magic functions,⁴ there is nevertheless no sign of the Chaldæans having proclaimed time as the highest principle. They knew of great world periods, just like the Egyptians or like the ages which Hesiodos treats, but absolute time was apparently unknown to them. It may be therefore assumed that the philosophical notion of absolute time did not develop in Mesopotamia without the influence of Greek thought. From

¹ ii, 9, 187; J. Darmesteter, *Ormuzd*, 319.

² The "Old man of the days" in Daniel, vii, 9, has first been compared to Zrvan- by Movers, *Phönizier*, i, 262.

³ R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel*, ii, 505; F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, i, 20.

⁴ *Synkellos*, 389, 20 ff., ed. Dindorf; Schnabel, *Berosos*, 163, 178; Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 416; Cl. Ptolemæus, *Almagest*, iv, 5, ed. Heiberg; Kugler, *Sternkunde u. Sterndienst*, ii, 7 ff., 68 ff.; Gressmann, *Die hellenist. Gestirnsrel.*, 6.

the sixth century B.C. onwards Babylonia and Persia have been in touch with Greek elements. The Hellenistic period rendered this contact closer. Greek philosophy and science were studied in Babylonia. Kidinnu,¹ the Kidenas of the Greeks, and his successor Sudines as head of the school of astronomy at Sippar left Greek treatises written shortly after the death of Alexander the Great.² If these men did perhaps only use Greek for such books as were to be distributed throughout the Hellenistic world, it is in any case quite probable that they were not ignorant of the Greek studies, principally such as the Pythagorean school had pursued. At an earlier period Eudoxos of Knidos had already taken a lively interest in the results of astronomical observations of an empirical nature which the oriental sages had taken up since old times. Eudoxos seems to have communicated his knowledge to Platon and to the Academy, amongst whose members a Chaldaean appears.³ While Eudoxos condemns astrology as such, without telling us whether he knew it already as an organized system or only as an empirical collection of data, Platon apparently did not occupy himself with this science; partly inspired by Eudoxos he developed in the later stage of his philosophy an astral mysticism of great depth, but no astrological system.⁴ The systematic study of the astronomical and astrological facts collected in the East begins under Greek impulse, and it is only in the period after Platon that astrology as a science seems to start. Berossos, the Babylonian priest,⁵ held a school of astrology at Kos.⁶

¹ Kugler, *Im Bannkreis Babels*, 122. Bezold in Gundel-Boll-Bezold *Stern glaube*, 14, considers the identification of Kidinnu with Kidenas as probable, but not as absolutely certain.

² Vettius Valens, *Anthologia*, ix, 11, 352, 22 ff., ed. Kroll.

³ W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, 133 f. The position taken up by Eudoxos towards astrology is illustrated by Cicero, *De div.*, ii, 42, 87, cf. Bezold-Boll, *Reflexe*, etc., 9 ff.

⁴ Boll, *Stern glaube*, 25; Kerényi, *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.*, xxii, 245 ff.

⁵ Lehmann-Haupt, *Neue Studien zu Berossos*, Klio, xxii, 1928, gives the latest results of the study of the questions concerning Berossos.

⁶ Vitruvius, *De architect.*, ix, 6, 2. According to Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, vii, 123, a statue was erected for him at Athens.

He taught the great circle of cataclysms connected with the planets and with certain constellations. At the same time he exposed Babylonian theories on the moon. The scientific foundation of the heliocentric system discovered by Aristarchos of Samos was given by Seleukos from Seleukeia in Babylonia, called the Chaldæan.¹ All this shows that a keen scientific interest in astronomical questions prevailed at that time in Babylonia. It seems that the scholarly party amongst the Chaldæans did not approve of astrology, in which domain the ancient religious superstitions remained in power, if we believe an assertion of Strabon, apparently inspired by Poseidonios.² For the scientific consolidation of astrology the Greek work of Teukros the Babylonian completed in the first century A.D. was of the highest importance. In the East as in the West this book has been translated and used widely, amongst others by Varāhamihira.³

It is to the Hellenistic period that such movements as the Mithriacic cult, the description of the teachings of the Magi of Kappadokia by Dion Chrysostomos and other factors belong. Therefore it can be assumed that Greek influences have made themselves felt in all these phenomena. No other source can be given for the system, which considers time as the highest essence. The Chaldæan Bēl, the lord of fate as a Latin inscription calls him,⁴ becomes the prototype of the highest god, Ὕψιστος; as such we find Sabazios, the Jupiters of Doliche, of Heliopolis and other deities.⁵ Kronos has often been thrown together with Chronos. As Saturn took in Babylonia in certain respects the place of the sun,⁶ Kronos was

¹ Plutarchos, *Plat. quaest.*, viii, 1; *Strabon*, xvii, 1, 6.

² *Strabon*, loc. cit.

³ J. V. Negelein, *ZDMG.*, n.s. vii, 2.

⁴ *CIL.*, xii, 1227.

⁵ F. Cumont, *Pauly-Wissowa Reallex*, 2nd ed., s.v. Hypsistos.

⁶ Saturn was considered as the star of Ninurta-Ninib and at the same time as that of Šamaš; H. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform inscr. from Western Asia*, ii, pl. 49, 3, 19. In certain aspects Saturn is looked upon as the representative of the sun; *Cun. Texts from Babyl. Tablets*, xxv, 50; Jastrow, *Rel. Babyl. und Assy.*, ii, 445, 483 ff.; Furlani, *La religione babilonese-assira*, i, 168.

identified with Helios and we find Ēl-Kronos as the god of Byblos whom Philon of Byblos describes.¹ An African dwarf-god Bes who was adopted by the Egyptians and got mixed up with other deities has been considered as a god of time,² but a representation of his which has been ascribed to the sixth century B.C. shows him simply like Kronos-Ēl with four wings and with astrological signs. In Phoenicia Bes was taken up like other Egyptian deities. Repeatedly Kronos-Saturn is considered as representative of the Ba'al šamēn, the lord of the heavens, so in Roman times in north Africa.³ All such conceptions are syncretistic and the assimilation of Kronos to Ba'al or Ēl in Syria and Phoenicia can only be traced to the beginning of the Hellenistic epoch.⁴

The notion of time is closely connected with that of fate. This conception again plays an important part in all astrological questions, every happening in the sublunar world being dependent upon the movement of the stars. The Near Eastern nations knew a goddess of fate under different names: Šimat, Sima, Manāt in Arabia.⁵ For the Greeks this deity was Tyche, in Persia it is Baxt. Here, too, it is doubtful, whether the oriental goddess ever assumed the character of a personification of fate, before the East came into closer contact with the Greek teachings about *τύχη, μοίρα, ἀνάγκη*, and *εἰμαρμένη*. All over the Hellenistic Orient the local gods were assimilated to Greek conceptions and got mixed up with them. For Phoenicia and Asia Minor this process is very old. In Arabia the deities of fate, Manāt and Sa'd, may, as some

¹ Euseb., *Praep. ev.*, i, 10, 36 f.

² Gressmann, *Hellenist. Gestirnel.*, 25.

³ *CIL.*, viii, 8443, 8444, 8451, 8453. Although the cult of Mithras is found in the same place Sitifis, it is not necessary to connect this identification of Saturn and Ba'al šamēn with Mithriacism. For the monument of Sitifis cf. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, i, 170, 405 f.

⁴ R. Reitzenstein, *D. iran. Erlösungsmysterium*, 129.

⁵ H. Zimmern, *Islamica*, ii. On Manāt and similar deities like Sa'd, Gad, 'Audh, cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, ii, 28 f. For Gad in Syria, etc., s. Jeremias, Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religionsgesch.*, i, 4th ed., 628.

scholars believe, have been introduced from foreign countries, Arab names having been used for such conceptions, for the idea of fate and destiny (al Mani'ya) is not strange to the original Arab mind. In any case these abstract notions took a very concrete shape in Arabia and those new forms of perhaps old traditions do not seem to point any more to fatalism and to astrology.¹

Now Marduk of Babylon, the Bēl rabū, the great lord, as successor of Enlil-Bēl of Nippur, is the master of fate.² His temple E-sagila at Babylon contains the chamber of destiny which was probably copied from that in the temple E-kur of Nippur, representing the heavenly hall of the gods.³ It was believed that Marduk distributed the destinies on New Year's Day. The idea that the fate of the world and that of man are determined beforehand is old in Babylonia, but it cannot be decided with certainty, whether this conception was in early times already connected with the position and movement of the stars.⁴

Berossos, who was a priest of the Bēl of E-sagila and who dedicated his *Βαβυλωνιακά* to Antiochos I Soter,⁵ seems to

¹ Wellhausen, loc. cit., 211. Certain hints to astral connections are contained in the Qur'ān, s. 53, 1; 81, 15 f. Besides al Manāt there remains al Mani'ya as a formless and unpersonal force (De Lacy O'Leary, *Arabia before Muhammad*, 195). This conception has been an important contribution of the Arabs to Islam, cf. W. Caskel, *Das Schicksal in der altarabischen Poesie*.

² M. Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. und Assyriens*, i, 110,₁; 289. A. Jeremias believes Marduk to have inherited from the son of Ea of Eridu the faculty of deciding destiny; *Handb. der altor. Geisteskultur*, 274 f., c. 238 f. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religionsgesch.*, i, 4th ed., 561, 589 ff. Marduk continues in general the parts of Enlil, Ea and Anu. For the whole question of the Babylonian conception of fate consult H. Zimmern, *Verh. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1918, 70, 5; *ZDMG.*, 1922, n. F. 1., and the article in *Islamica*, ii; Br. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, ii, 124 f., 130 f. As the heavenly scribe, Nabū is sometimes considered as the keeper of the tables of fate.

³ Jastrow, loc. cit., 457, cf. 337, 2, 463.

⁴ A. Jeremias, *Das alte Test. im Lichte des alten Orients*, 247 f., believes this, but other authorities utter more reserved opinions on this subject.

⁵ Juba of Mauretania, *Περὶ Ἀσσυρίων*, according to Tatianus, *Or. ad Graecos*, c. 37, 38 ed. Schwartz, cf. Clemens Alex. *Stromata*, i, c. xxi, 122, 1 f., p. 391 s.; Eusebius, *Praep. ev.*, x, 11, 493.

have assimilated Bēl to Kronos. In his history of the Flood Berossos appears to have said that Kronos warned Xisuthros of the coming cataclysm.¹ On the other hand Bēl is translated by Zeus in Berossos' description of the origin of the world according to Oannes, but it is more probable that Alexander Polyhistor or even some later author simply tried to give an explanation of the Greek meaning of Bēl, which has nothing to do with Berossos himself.² The Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronica*, which may belong to the fifth century A.D., distinguishes between Kronos as father of Aramazd called by some Zrvan, "time," and Bēl as Zeus-Aramazd.³ Ps. Moses of Chorene, i, 6, apparently used some Sibylline book which goes back to Berossos; Berossos was later on even made to be the father of the Babylonian, Egyptian, or Jewish Sibylle.⁴ In translating the verse which has come down to us in the *Oracula Sibyllina* iii, 110⁵ Ps. Moses rendered Kronos in the usual way by Zrvan, giving the end of the verse 'Ιαπετός τε as a name "Japetost'e". It is very probable that Berossos himself identified Kronos with Bēl. On the other hand Agathias writing in the sixth century A.D. pretends that according to Berossos Zeus and Bēl were identified by the Persians.⁶ A number of details like the employing of the term ἐκπύρωσις point to Berossos' intimate knowledge of Greek philosophy and religious thought, a fact which cannot surprise in a man who was the leader of a school of astrology in Kos.⁷ He and other oriental circles were apparently familiar with the speculations on Kronos and Chronos⁸ and it

¹ Berossos fr. 34 = Eusebius *ap. Syncellum* 53, 19 ff. ed Dindorf.

² Berossos fr. 12 = Eusebius *ap. Syncellum*, 52, 1 ff.-53, 15, ed. Dindorf. On the nature of the text of Alexander Polyhistor which Eusebius had before him cf. Schnabel, *Berossos*, 134 ff.

³ Eusebius, *Chron.*, x, 19 ff.; 7, 29 ff., ed. Karst.

⁴ *Pausanias*, x, 12, 9. Suidas s.v. Sibylla, *Justinus, coh. ad gentiles*, c. 37.

⁵ ed. Geffcken.

⁶ *Agathias*, ii, 24, ed. Niebuhr.

⁷ s. above, p. 80.

⁸ *Macrobius*, i, 837; Proclus, *Plat. Theolog.* v, 3 ff.; in Timaeum, 295, B. ff.

is evidently here that the system rose which gave time the pre-eminence as the primar principle of the world. That Berossos was acquainted with the rationalistic explanation of mythology current in certain Greek circles appears from the curious way in which he treats the ancient Babylonian legends of the origin of the world, presenting them as pure symbols. Berossos may be regarded as the ultimate source from which Diodoros of Tarsos, Theodoros of Mopsuestia and others drew their knowledge.

As we have no clue leading from purely Iranian premises to the Zervanite system, it will be safe to assume that this belief did only come into existence when the Babylonian ideas on Bēl-Marduk as the lord of destiny had been combined with Greek philosophical speculations on time. The monotheistic tendencies which the Gāthās show may have rendered certain Iranians more ready to accept such theories. It must be remembered that Mazdaist Mages and Chaldæan priests were in close contact just in Babylon. The Zervanite theology which dominated at any rate at the beginning of the Sāsānid epoch, can therefore be defined as the result of a combination of Chaldæan and Greek influences on Iranian thought.

V

GREEK AND HELLENISTIC SPECULATIONS ON TIME

Speculations on time, Chronos, as the first principle seem to be connected with the Orphic and Pythagoræic school. The original *ἑρὸς λόγος* of the Pythagoræans appears to have identified the sacred number four with the seasons; this doctrine was in any case known to Aristotle and to Androkydes.¹ According to other opinions ascribed to the school of Pythagoras, the world is a living organism which creates through breathing out of an airy boundlessness space and time, these two being the *principia individuationis* which

¹ K. Joël, *Gesch. der antiken Philos.*, i, 354.

allow the plurality to come into existence.¹ Little enough is known about the teachings of Pythagoras and his immediate followers. In any case, this school, which was organized like an order, somehow took up the cosmogonic speculations ascribed to Orpheus and other mystical seers. Already Herodotos² declares the so-called Orphic and Bacchic doctrines for Egyptian and Pythagoræic. The possibility of an Egyptian origin of such speculations can be left out of account, but it is significant that the Orphic teachings appeared to Herodotos to have been influenced by Pythagoras. In these circles speculations on Kronos and Chronos seem to have been spread. The cosmogony of Pherekydes (sixth century B.C.) as contained in his *ἐπτάμυχος* began with the following sentence: *Ζεὺς μὲν καὶ χρόνος εἰς ἀεὶ καὶ χθὼν ἦν*.³ Here we see time considered as one of the eternal principles. Pherekydes takes up an intermediate position between Orphic speculations and philosophy.

A very profound definition of time is given by Platon in his dialogue *Timaios*.⁴ He distinguishes there between absolute time, eternity, remaining a unity and its image which moves according to numbers and which is bound to the world of appearance. This time is nothing but the rhythmically moving simile (*εἰκῶν*) of Timelessness. The sun, the moon, and the other five planets are said to have been created through the rational reflection of God on time. It must not be overlooked that *Timaios*, whose words Platon pretends to reproduce, is a Pythagoræan philosopher.

Here again the notion of time is connected with astronomy. Platon mentions the so-called "great year", i.e. the period

¹ K. Joël, loc. cit., 373.

² ii, 81, cf. 123.

³ Diogenes Laertios, i, 119. The title of the prose work of Pherekydes is sometimes given as *Πεντέμυχος*. That Pherekydes calls Zeus *Zās*, the living, is of no importance for the problem of time. It must be noted that for Pherekydes time is not the highest principle, but only one of the eternal factors.

⁴ *Timaios*, 37, 38.

which is thought to revolve once during a certain epoch of the world. Such periods are known to Eastern nations like the Babylonians and the Egyptians, although the way of computing the time is in each case different. The doctrine of the various ages of the world is already exposed by Hesiodos. Herakleitos and Euripides speak of Aion as a young boy¹ rendering poetically concrete the spiritual conception of the great world period. Aion, in the meaning of a certain period, is only relative time, while Chronos is time in the absolute sense.² The theory of the Great Year is known to Aristoteles and to Theopompos. Notions of the oriental doctrines about the Great Year may have been brought to Greece by the astronomer Eudoxos, a friend of Platon, who visited Egypt, but the idea itself is not strange to Greek speculation. Therefore the news introduced by Eudoxos from the East may only have fomented the interest for the whole question, but he did not give a new notion to Greek philosophy. Aristoteles developed in his work *περὶ οὐρανοῦ* the theology of Aion on the lines of Platon's indications,³ on the other hand time is according to Aristoteles a number concerning movement by reference to before and after, but time is a number which cannot exist without a counting being, i.e. it is no absolute number.⁴

It is a well-known fact that just the *Timaios* influenced strongly the speculations of later philosophers, especially those of the Stoic school.⁵ Amongst this school oriental tendencies were strongly pronounced. Already Zenon, the

¹ Herakleitos, fr. 52; Euripides, *Heraklid.* 900: Αἰὼν χρόνου παῖς, treating Chronos as the higher and more comprehensive notion.

² U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Euripides' Herakles* ii, 2nd ed., 155. Platon distinguishes between the two notions, *Anth. Pal.*, ix, 51: humanity owes to Aion individuality, name and shape, but the *δολιχοδρόμος χρόνος* alters everything.

³ W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, 318, *περὶ οὐρανοῦ*, A, 9, c. B, 1 on ἄπειρος χρόνος.

⁴ *Phys.*, iv, 11 p. 219 b 1, 8; 220 a, 24. The notion of time comes according to Aristoteles from two sources, from the soul and from movement.

⁵ c. R. M. Wenley, *Stoicism and its Influence*, London, 1925.

founder of the Stoa, came from a town with a mixed population,¹ for Kittion was a Greek city with numerous Phoenician inhabitants. Chrysippos was a Cilician like his pupil Zenon of Tarsos, who must not be confounded with his namesake, Zenon of Kittion. Diogenes of Seleukeia on the Tigris was called the Babylonian; Tarsos was the birthplace of both Antipater and Athenodoros. While Panaitios of Rhodos did not recognize astrological and mantic practices, the Syrian Poseidonios of Apameia did a great deal to diffuse Platonic, Aristotelic and Pythagorean doctrines in the Eastern hemisphere. His commentary on *Timaios* is said to have been the starting point of many movements.²

The Hellenistic period brings the cult of a deity αἰών, the great world-epoch. This god appears first in the Egypt of the Ptolemæan dynasty. In Egypt, Aion seems to have been identified with a native god of the earth and of harvest, and he became the tutelary deity of Alexandria.³ The feast of Aion was celebrated on the 6th of January, and this date was fixed in 1996 B.C., as some eminent scholars have been able to demonstrate.⁴ Aion was mixed up with Dionysos⁵ and there seem to have existed relations between the mysteries of Aion

¹ Cicero, *De nat. deor.*, i, 36, says that Zenon taught a mystic doctrine of time, but this testimony has mostly been interpreted in the way that Cicero gives Epicurean views of Zenon's opinion.

² It may be mentioned that it has been denied by certain scholars that Poseidonios ever wrote a commentary to *Timaios*, cf. K. Reinhardt, *Poseidonios*, 1921; *Kosmos und Sympathie*, 1926. This opinion does, however, not seem founded. According to K. Reinhardt, Poseidonios was the first Greek philosopher who proclaimed the mystical correspondence between macrocosm and microcosm, thus introducing this ancient oriental conception into the Stoic philosophy.

³ R. Reitzenstein, *Nachr. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1904, 317 ff.

⁴ c. K. Sethe, *Nachr. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1919, 287 ff., Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, I, ii, 3rd ed., § 163. E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, 38 f. The birthday of the sun was celebrated in Alexandria on December 24th–25th. At the time of the foundation of Alexandria, 331 B.C., this date corresponded to that of the winter solstice.

⁵ About the cult of Dionysos in the temple of Jerusalem and the festival introduced by the Seleukides cf. Kern, *Archiv. f. Rel. Wiss.*, xxii, 198; F. Wilbrich, loc. cit., xxiv, 1926, 170.

and those of Osiris.¹ The Nabataean god Dusares whom the Greeks considered as a form of Dionysos or Helios was honoured by a festival resembling that of the Alexandrian Aion; we further hear about such celebrations from Syria.² This Hellenistic αἰών need not be connected with Iranian conceptions. It seems to be a deification of the idea of the great world-epoch, evolved in Lagide Egypt.³

Philosophically, the very ancient ideas contained in the cult of Aion under various shapes were propagated by the Stoa and the notion of Aion was combined with that of fate, μοῖρα. From the Stoic school, principally represented by Poseidonios, these speculations passed into other systems, into the mysteries and all the varied schools of theological thought which sprang up in Hellenistic times. We have seen that the Stoic ideas can be followed up to Greek precedents and that influences flowed in from various oriental sources. On the other hand, the philosophers spread the doctrine of Aion; we find it in Rome at the time of Sylla and Caesar, and Aion was identified there with Janus.⁴

The mixture of philosophical and religious conceptions appears in such phenomena like the cult of Mithras. This Iranian deity became the centre of a syncretistic religion based on mysteries. How far Iranian elements combined with "Chaldæan", Anatolian and Greek notions cannot be

¹ Cf. Damaskios in his life of the Neo-Platonician Isidoros of Alexandria = Photius Bibl., 242, see R. Asmus, *Byzant. Ztschr.*, xviii, 19.

² K. Holl, *Berl. Sitzungsber.*, 1917, 428; Wilh. Weber, *Arch. für Rel. Wiss.*, xix, 1919, 330 ff. On an Arabian festival cf. R. Eisler, *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.*, 1924, 631 f.

³ Cf. Zepf, "Der Gott Αἰών in der hellenistischen Theologie," *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, xxv, 1927, 225, ff. The whole problem has been studied by Jul. Kaerst *Gesch. des Hellenismus*, ii, 2nd ed., 239 ff., where the spontaneity of the Greek conceptions is underlined. Valuable works on the question are due to E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, W. Weber, *Der Prophet und sein Gott*, to H. Junker, loc. cit., to Weinreich, *Archiv. f. Religionswiss.*, xix, 174 ff., to Lackeit, *Aion*, i and ii, to J. Kroll, *Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos*, 67 ff., and especially to R. Reitzenstein in his numerous studies.

⁴ *Lydus de mens.*, iv, 1, p. 64, 12 Wünsch; cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 210 f., 211,4.

determined in every detail. In any case, Greek notions play a very prominent part in the Mithriacism which can be followed through the Roman Empire. It must be borne in mind that already the Achaemenian religion was evidently strongly influenced by Elam and Babylonia, while Hittite and Haldian conceptions may have been important for the development in Media. Now the figure of an original god Kronos is known to Mithriacism.¹ The representations of this god show a mixture of oriental types. Besides monuments, which belong to Mithriacism, there are similar figurations on coins of Mallos in Cilicia giving Ēl-Kronos or on those of Byblos corresponding to the description given by Philon of Byblos of the winged god.² Even if Iranian factors have to be taken into consideration it is probable that the speculations about Kronos in the Mithriac cult were dependent on the Stoic doctrines. In any case the Mithriac ideas are of no avail for settling the question of the age of Zervanism in Iran proper.

The same can be said about the interesting description which Dion Chrysostomos of Prusa³ gives of Persian religious beliefs of eastern Anatolia. This passage reflects Stoic opinions and not ancient beliefs of the Magi of Asia Minor. We can therefore not follow the different conclusions which have been founded on Dion Chrysostomos' mention of the horses of the sun, etc. It is certain that he and other authors of his time possessed a certain knowledge of Persian religious beliefs, but just like Herodotos they were apt to draw comparisons with Greek conceptions and to interpret Greek ideas into their description of Iranian conceptions. Therefore the mention of an original principle "ἀπαυστον ἐν ἀπαύστοις αἰῶνος περιόδοις" does not refer to the doctrine of Zrvan- akarana-

¹ F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, i, 74 ff.

² Eusebius, *Praep. ev.*, i, 10, 36 f. For the coins of Mallos cf. J. de Morgan, *Numismatique orientale*, 62 f.

³ Or. 36, 39 f., ed de Arnim. Dion lived from about A.D. 40-120; cf. Jackson, *Grds. d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 671, for the Greek influences reflected by Dion. His doctrines combine Stoic and Cynic notions, cf. Kafka-Eibl, *Der Ausklang der antiken Philosophie*, 77.

but it reflects simply speculations generally current at the time of Dion, the well-known Stoic teaching of the revolving periods of the world.

The tomb of king Antiochos I of Kommagene on the Nimrūd Dāgh has often been adduced as a proof of Zervanite conceptions. This semi-Persian monarch is proud of the Achaemenian descent to which he pretends like the dynasts of Pontos or of Kappadokia, while the house of Kommagene is at the same time linked with that of Seleukos, the founder of the little kingdom Mithradates Kallinikos having married Laodike, daughter of Antiochos VIII Grypos. Persian and Greek deities are named together in the inscriptions¹ of this monument and the representations of these gods are typical for the religious syncretism of the Hellenistic period. Identifications similar to those used by Antiochos I of Kommagene are known from Armenia, where dynasties were founded after the battle of Magnesia by two generals of the Seleukids, Artaxias and Zariadres, the descendants of Artaxias reigning in Armenia proper and those of Zariadres governing Sophene.

Now Antiochos I mentions the *ἄπειρος αἰών* and the *χρόνος ἄπειρος*. If the boundless Aion does not simply mean the eternity which receives the king after his death, the passage could be so constructed as to infer that the king's body is to rest till the boundless eternity begins² and this might be the Zrvan- akarana- of the Avesta, not however Zrvan- as Kronos or the supreme god. It seems preferable to see in the *ἄπειρος αἰών* of the Nimrūd Dāgh only eternity in the sense in which Aristotle uses this expression.³ Again nothing else is meant by the expression *χρόνος ἄπειρος*. This boundless Chronos is to regulate the succession in Kommagene according to the *μοίρα* of the different genera-

¹ Cf. Dittenberger, *Orientalis graeci inscr. sel.*, Leipzig, 1903, no. 383; L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscr. grecques et latines de la Syrie*, fasc. i; *Commagène et Cyrrestique*, Paris, 1927, No. 1; cf. A. Wilhelm, *Wiener Studien*, 1929, 127.

² H. Gressmann, *Die hellenistische Gestirnsreligion*, 23 f.

³ *περὶ οὐρανοῦ*, B 1.

tions of humanity. It is in any case quite impossible to identify this Chronos with the Zrvan- darəghōχvadhāta-, Chronos being the more comprehensive notion which alone could render Zrvan- akarana-. But it seems unnecessary to search in the Kommagene inscription for proofs of the Iranian belief in Zrvan- as the highest deity, the passages referred to being easily explained by the teachings of Hellenistic philosophy without having to go back to any oriental conception in particular.

The monument of Antiochos I of Kommagene is imbued with the spirit of astrology. It is typical and quite comprehensible that the speculations on time are in close contact with those on fate and the influence of the stars on the world.¹

At a much later period, about A.D. 400, the Alexandrine poet Claudianus describes the primar god Aevum immensum in his cave which is encircled by a snake.² Alexandria was, as we have seen, a centre of the cult of Aion. The Kronos of Mithriacism is generally represented as a deity with a lion's head. A serpent is twisted round this figure. It need not be denied that Claudianus may have heard of the Persian Zervanism, but it is not necessary to look there for a prototype of Claudianus' Aevum immensum, the more so as we hear nowhere of an Iranian belief connecting Zrvan- with a serpent. The Alexandrine surroundings with their mixture of creeds and philosophies explain by themselves the interesting poem of Claudianus.

VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ZERVANISM

1. *The probable epoch of Zervanism*

It is possible to connect monotheistic tendencies in Mazdaism with the teachings of Zarathuštra. The doctrine of the Gāthās knows a spiritual deity reigning supreme in the non-corporal

¹ Cf., however, H. H. Schaeder, *Warburg-Vorträge*, iv, 1927, 140, 1.

² *De consulatu Stilichonis*, ii, 424 ff.

world. But the "wise Lord" of Zarathuštra was not considered by him to be time. Such notions were quite foreign to Zarathuštra. His Ahura- Mazda-, the supreme god, is of a different stamp. Whether he represents somehow an offspring of the so-called original monotheism (monotheistic pre-animism) of primitive nations as taught by Andrew Lang, is another question, which can remain untouched here.¹

The original doctrine of the Gāthās fell into oblivion. Under the Achaemenian kings a polytheistic creed can be traced. Ancient Aryan beliefs were taken up again, or, if they ever had been forgotten, they were connected with the preaching attached to the name of Zarathuštra. For it must not be left out of mind that Zarathuštra's field of work lay in eastern Iran and that his doctrine, already misunderstood, only spread slowly in other parts of the country. There are a number of passages in the Avesta showing this process. Ahura- Mazda- is made to sacrifice to deities, which are received in the pantheon. Bloody sacrifices and the cult of Haoma-, both rejected by Zarathuštra, are in use. These facts may be explained as the result of a compromise between the popular belief and the reform of the great prophet of eastern Iran, ending in his monotheistic and spiritual teaching being superseded by a polytheistic creed. Besides Aryan elements a number of influences can be traced pointing to western Asia. The Persian conquest of Babylonia and before it the annihilation of the Assyrian empire by the Medes mark the beginning of this development.

It is outside of the scope of the present study to trace here the different stages of the Mazdayasnian evolution. Besides some testimonies from classical sources, there remain only the Avestan texts and the Persian inscriptions. This material is incomplete, but still it offers many clues. The texts of the Avesta belong to very different periods and they have been

¹ Cf. P. W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, i, 2nd ed., 1926, principally chap. iv. See, however, R. Pettazzoni, *Dio*; J. G. Frazer, *Worship of Nature*, i, 20; Haydon, *Journal of Religion*, 1926, 24.

manipulated at a late epoch, when their language was no more understood.

It is quite possible that the idea of Zrvan- akarana- itself even in the rather shadowy aspect of this notion retained in the Avesta is not older than the Hellenistic period, when the conception of absolute time became familiar to the East. The theory of the periods of the worlds can be however assigned to earlier epochs. This doctrine was familiar to Aristoteles,¹ and to Theopompos.² About 300 B.C. it was certainly known in Greece.³ It is useless to demonstrate here how far the doctrine of a succession of ages of the world is diffused. In any case this teaching is not typically Iranian. But it is of importance that such speculations are only possible when a system of calculating time has been evolved—apart from the simple notion of a golden age and of a lost paradise, a conception which may be as old as human thinking. In the eyes of the Aryans the sky was originally a vault of stone behind which there was fire. The sun, the moon and the stars were openings in the heavenly vault.⁴ This is a very different primitive conception than the complicated periods during which Ahura- Mazda- and Anra- manyu- are imagined to fight out their war.

The contact between the Aryan Iranians and western Asia can be old. Nevertheless the opinion that time is absolute and that it is the supreme principle does not seem to have been diffused among the Iranians before Greek philosophy became familiar to the East.⁵

Many details let the Parthian epoch appear as the starting point of the new Zervanite theology. Under the Arsakides,

¹ W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, 136.

² Born 376 B.C., cf. Plutarchos, *De Iside et Osiride* 46 s.

³ H. Junker, *Warburg-Vorträge*, i, 1921–22, 146.

⁴ Without following his deductions about the age of Zarathuštra, of the Vedas, and other details, attention may be drawn to the merit of Joh. Hertel in exposing clearly this early conception proper to the Aryan mind.

⁵ Zervanism has been considered as a very ancient doctrine by R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel*, ii, 518 f.; Alfarc, *Revue d'hist. et litt. rel.*, vii, 1921, 1 ff.; cf. Reitzeustein, *Hellenist. Mysterienrel.*, 3rd ed., 360; H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, Tübingen, 1930, p. 23 ff.

the ancient texts of the Avesta were collected. At the same time the Parthian rulers remained on good terms with the Greeks living in their realm, and Babylonia was one of the centres of the empire. As nomad conquerors, coming from the steppes of inner Asia, the Arsakides formed an aristocracy, leaving the subject races and local rulers undisturbed. Atropatene with the neighbouring parts and the Persis¹ were apparently centres of the Magian priesthood² and there perhaps some of the ancient traditions were preserved of the once monotheistic teaching of Zarathuštra. Greek and Babylonian traditions were not unknown to these priests, and it is in such circles that the new theology rose, recognizing absolute time as the first principle. Whether the Parthian clergy or that of the vassal principality of Pārs developed the Zervanite system, cannot be determinated with absolute certainty. It is worthy of notice that, according to Andreas, the Manichæan fragments in the Arsakide dialect never use the term *Zurvōn* as designation of the highest god, but replace this expression by "father".³ This points to the south-west of Persia as the more probable origin of Zervanism. Even if the roots of this dogma should lie in earlier periods, Zervanism did not become a recognized system before the end of the Parthian dynasty.⁴ At least there are no earlier testimonies left than the remains of Mānī's writings, and these reckon with the Zervanite system as the official theology of the epoch, although in the scarce fragments to be attributed to Mānī himself *Zrvān* is not mentioned. But as he called the

¹ The two Middle-Iranian languages correspond to these centres: Pahlavik and Pārsik.

² On their coins the Frataraks, Governors, of Pārs call themselves "of godly descent" like the Sāsānid sovereigns, "the spiritual offspring of the gods".

³ Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Berl. Abh.*, 1926, 4, 71. *Zurvōn* designates in the northern dialect always "age" (Andreas, loc. cit.), i.e. = avestic *Zarvan*.

⁴ J. Scheftelowitz, *Ztschr. f. Indol. u. Iran.*, iv, 334, believes that Zervanism cannot be older than the introduction of astrology into Iran and that this system is post-Christian (loc. cit. 343).

"Son" of the "Father of Light", the Primeval Man, Ōhrmazd, Zrvān must have designated the supreme god, and later Manichæan texts use, therefore, Zrvān as the denomination of the highest Being. As Mānī was born under the rule of the last Arsakide and became acquainted with the Mazdaist religion in his youth, the Zervanite system must have been in vigour already then and must have rendered dualistic views more or less obsolete, because it would undoubtedly have been easier for Mānī to connect his dualistic religion with Mazdaism in its usual form.¹ In any case he would have called himself a reformer of such a dualistic Zoroastrianism, but the monotheistic creed of the Mazdaistic clergy of his epoch was absolutely contrary to his system. Just this circumstance offers with other items an explanation for the violent enmity with which Mānī was pursued by the Mōbēdhs.²

That Dion Chrysostomos apparently only exposes Stoic views under the disguise of Persian opinions or that he interpreted them at least in this way has already been stated. But if the passage Or. 36, 42, ed. de Arnim, should really refer to Zrvan- as the supreme god, this testimony would again bring us to the Parthian epoch. The whole passage leaves, however, the impression as if Dion only wanted to express his own philosophical ideas according to the current notions of the Stoic school.

As far as the outside history of Zervanism is concerned,

¹ Mānī's system belongs to the Gnostic line and he was probably influenced by Bardesanes, by the Markionites, and by the sect known to Islamic authors as the Mughtasila. Manichæism is non-Iranian in spirit and Mānī adopted Mazdaist names and conceptions only to show that his new creed was the completion of the existing religions. Christian authors sometimes put Zervanism and Manichæism on the same line like Esnik of Kolb, 115 ff.

² If Philon *In Gen.*, i, 100, means Persian notions when he says according to Aucher's rendering of the alone extant Armenian translation "tempus ut Cronus vel Chronus ab hominum pessimis putatur deus", this testimony would prove the existence of Zervanism for the first century A.D. But it is not known to what creed Philon alludes; the most probable thing would be to think of the Alexandrine cult of Aion.

the result of the present investigation may be presented in the following way :—

In the Parthian epoch the reminiscences of the originally monotheistic tendency of Zarathuštra's doctrine seem to have led to a new system, combining Iranian motives with Hellenistic philosophical conceptions and with astrological notions. This theology considered absolute time as the first principle. It is probable that south-western Persia and Babylonia were the principal strongholds of the new creed, which was at first officially recognized under the Sāsānian kings. Whether Zervanism ever was dominant under the Arsakides cannot be stated, though the teaching itself must have existed already before the Sāsānian dynasty. In defending the Zoroastrian position against the Christians, principally in Armenia, Babylonia and Mesopotamia, it was favourable for the Mōbēdhs to be able to prove that Mazdaism was monotheistic in its tendency.

When the dualistic current was recognized as the alone orthodox one, can only be fixed approximately. Both theological systems may have existed beside each other, before the Dualists gained the victory. Under Yezdegerd II the Zervanite system was apparently still officially recognized if we assume the edict of Mihr-narsēh to represent at least some remains of an authentical tradition.¹ Religious movements are reported under the reign of Šāhpuhr II, but just the fifth century offers testimonies of the supremacy of Zervanism. The first serious attacks on this dogma may refer to the new translation of the Avesta texts into Pahlavī under Xosrau I. The quotation from Damaskios concerning the so-called passage of Eudemos the Rhodian seems however to speak for Zervanism having remained in favour under that enlightened ruler, while Xosrau II Āparvēz ordered new comments of the

¹ Gelzer, *Ztschr. f. armen. Philol.*, i, 149 ff.; Pettazzoni, *La religione di Zarathustra*, 197, believes Yezdegerd himself to have been an adherent of Zervanism, what can apparently be said too of other Sāsānian monarchs.

sacred literature to be undertaken.¹ This period would appear to be a fit time for the victory of dualism.

In the eastern parts of Iran and in central Asia Zervanism seems to have remained longer in force. Even the latest Manichæan fragments retain the name Zrvān for the "Father of light", the highest Manichæan deity. Lamaistic Mongols use for Brahma the Manichæan designation Äzrua, Zrvān, and call Indra Ōhrmazd.² The eastern Iranian dialects often identify Ōhrmazd with the sun.³ In these regions he was therefore not considered as the highest god, but as a heavenly force depending on a supreme Being.

2. *The Zervanite Doctrine*

The religious system founded by Zarathuštra does not explain clearly why the purely spiritual Wise Lord allowed the corporal world to come into existence and where the evil came from. These questions seem to have puzzled the priests who worked out the theology of time as the highest principle. They tried to show how Zrvan- came to let the world be created. We cannot expect a purely philosophical deduction. The whole doctrine was intermingled with symbolic and mythological elements, giving the teaching a phantastic appearance.

The starting point must have been astrological considerations. Damaskios makes Eudemos say that the Magians call the highest principle Space or Time. Theodoros of Mopsuestia has instead, fate, *τύχη*. This corresponds to the Iranian Baxt, a conception which we find in the *Mēnūk i xrat*.⁴ It is evident that in the sense of astrology time as the absolute consequence was identical with destiny, fate coming in the

¹ Haug, *Essay on Pahlavi*, 147.

² Chavannes and Pelliot, *Un traité manichéen*, 513-4, 2, 520 n., 543.

³ Sten Konow, *Manuscript remains of Buddhist Literature found in eastern Turkestan*, i, 219, 261; H. Junker ap. Joh. Hertel, *Die Sonne und Mithra im Avesta*, 253; *Das Awestaalphabet*, 106,3.

⁴ H. Junker, *Warburg-Vorträge*, i, 1921-22, 142, 171,66, shows that the opposition of *baxt* and *bāgh baxt* points to different sources having been used in working out the text of the *Mēnūk i xrat*.

fixed moment. While the Iranian text co-ordinates Zrvān and Baxt, it calls both rulers (Pādišāh), thus permitting to assume that the two are really the same. For a philosopher like Damaskios it was not astonishing, that he considered as identical the temporal consequence as time and the expanse as space. He is however the only author ascribing such doctrines to the Iranians. In the younger Avesta we have seen airy Space or ether (Thwāša-) mentioned with the two aspects of time as an absolute conception and as the worldly aion. Air, i.e. wind, Vayu-, and ether seem to have been distinguished, but probably not in a very early period. In the Pahlavī literature alone Akaša-, absolute space, is mentioned, not in the Avesta. But this notion is not treated as being the same as time. Therefore the passage of Damaskios-Eudemos remains obscure. Perhaps the designation of Zrvan- akarana-, Thwāša-, Anaghra- raočah-, Vayu- and Misvan- gātu as χ vadhāta- would offer a certain clue, if χ vadhāta- is taken as "self-created", not as "ruler", but the latter sense is the more probable, χ vadhāta- meaning "following its own laws"; furthermore, the enumerated notions are co-ordinated, not subordinated to Zrvan-. An explanation could be obtained if we believe the Zervanites to have regarded time, light, and space as one essence with different aspects.¹

The sages tried to ascertain the designs of Time and Fate by studying the sky and the movement of the stars. The complicated system of classical astrology gives specified meanings to every aspect and to every constellation. The planets, including sun and moon, govern the destinies through their position in the twelve signs of the Zodiac.² Now evil

¹ c. Schaefer, *Warburg-Vorträge*, iv, 1924-25, 141 ff.; Junker, *Wörter und Sachen*, xii, 153 ff.; but see Christensen, *Etudes*, 53.₃.

² In the Iranian version of the Manichæan doctrine the twelve signs of the Zodiac are the daughters of Zrvān. *Šikand gumānīk vičār*, 16, 29 f. ed. West, 170, transl. *SBE.*, xxiv, 245; Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück manichæischen Schrifttums*, 19; F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, 60 f. By using Nēryōsang's Sanskrit translation H. H. Schaefer, *Warburg-Vort.* iv, 1924-25, 83, text of 82, 2, has been able to explain this difficult passage.

forebodings attach to some planets, but only in certain aspects. Yet the Mazdaist astrological traditions treat the planets throughout as nefarious powers, an opinion which the Avesta reflects indirectly in so far as Tištrya-, Vanant-, Satavaēša- and Haptōiringa- are the keepers of heaven. But no stars are yet opposed to these keepers, who resemble the Indian Lokapālas more than anything else. The condemnation of the planets which the books in Pahlavī pronounce cannot be original¹; besides some of these demonic beings like Hvar- xšaēta- and Māh-, Vərəthraghna- and Anāhita- are Yazata-s; Tīr-, Mercury, appears in names and on coins. He was replaced in the sacred texts by Tištrya-.² The Avestan calendar retains the ancient names, showing a number of planetary gods as Ahuric beings, amongst them Ahura-Mazda- himself as Jupiter. Later on legends have efforced themselves to explain the fact that names of the good creation have been attached to daēvic powers. The circumstance alone that the planets are in the eyes of the Zoroastrian astrologer evil beings, proves the comparative independence of the Magian system. The Magians were known as competent astrologists already in classical times. Tištrya- had replaced Tīr-, when Plutarchos got acquainted with the Iranian system, for he mentions Seirios as the principal star.³ The Mēnūk i xrat, a treatise with Zervanite tendencies, describes the part played by the sun, the moon and the twelve signs of the Zodiac on the side of Ōhrmazd.⁴ The seven planets, the leaders of the army of Ahriman, are opposed to the Ahuric constellations.⁵ The 'Ulemā i Islām have an altered con-

¹ Cf. I. Scheftelowitz, *Entst. d. manich. Religion*, 10.

² *Yašt*, xiii, 126, has the name of a Mazdayanian Tirōnakathwa-.

³ *De Iside et Osiride*, c. 47.

⁴ When the signs of the Zodiac were taken over by the Iranians is difficult to state. A. Weber has thought of the similarity of the Iranian Zodiac and that propagated by the school of Bardesanes, *Berliner Abhdlg.*, 1860, 326 ff. cf. Spiegel, *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, 99.

⁵ Sun and moon appear here on the side of Ōhrmazd, but at the same time they belong to the seven generals of Ahriman. This shows the syncretistic character of the whole tradition.

ception, the names of the planets having been replaced by such of demons. Again the Rivāyat cod. xii suppl. Anquetil, distinguishes evil and beneficial planets.

The Armenians replaced the name of Saturnus, Kēvān, by Zrvan (Zrovan)¹; we find in Armenia this designation too as the translation for Kronos. Here an Iranian influence is to be felt only in so far as the Armenians took Zrvan- in the meaning of Chronos-Kronos. The Bundahišn c 2 makes Kēvān the principal leader of the dark forces. If other deities including sun and moon have been considered as nefarious planets, it cannot surprise to find Kēvān-Zrvān in this company.

Eznik declares that Zrvan can be translated by Baxt, "destiny," and by P'ark', "glory".² Theodoros of Mopsuestia only has $\rho\upsilon\chi\eta$. P'ark' corresponds to the Avestic $\chi^{\text{arənah-}}$. It may be remembered that Šahrastānī makes Zrvan- proceed from light, this being then the first and highest principle. Anaghra- raočah-, the lights without beginning, are known to the Avesta, and the $\chi^{\text{arənah-}}$ is a form of light. Whether the Zervanites considered time, space, and light as different aspects of the same essence, cannot be decided. The possibility of such a conception may however be kept in mind.

On the whole the Zervanite theology apparently found a number of theoretical difficulties to surmount. It is not clear why Zrvan- started the creation. Even if it was admitted that he called into being the elements of good, the existence of evil is not to be accounted for. In this connection the Gāthic teaching itself has to face problems without solving them. The system of the Zervanites apparently tried to answer such questions in different ways. Repeatedly our sources speak of diverging opinions amongst the Mazdaists. The theory making Zrvan- himself proceed from light has

¹ Hübschmann, *Armen. Gramm.*, i, 94; 42; 506. Gelzer, *Z. arm. Götterlehre, Sächs. Akad.*, 1895.

² 113, 131 f.

been mentioned above. According to the 'Ulemā i Islām time alone being non-created was the first principle and it made fire and water and their union again produced Ōhrmazd. How Ahriman came into existence remains uncertain. In the Iranian sources he is suddenly there.

The Armenian and Syrian authors as well as Šahrastānī all give a mythological explanation for the creation of evil. Whether all these reports come from one and the same source or not can be left an open question, because an original description of Zervanism by Theodoros of Mopsuestia, Diodoros of Tarsos or some other author would lead ultimately to the Zervanite belief such as it got known to the non-Mazdaist circles. The acts of the Christian martyrs can in any case be considered as comparatively independent testimonies.¹

Now Theodoros of Mopsuestia², Eznik,³ Elišē,⁴ Theodor bar Kōnai⁵ and the acts of Ādhrhormizd⁶ all pretend that Zrvan- offered up a sacrifice for a more or less long period. The critics of Zervanism immediately put the question, to whom Zrvan- sacrificed, because he must have recognized a higher deity. This is not necessary, although Šarahstānī mentions light as the highest principle from which Zrvan- was evolved. Eznik again calls Zrvan- synonymous with P'ark', the *χ^αarənah-*. He says later on that as "they", i.e. the Mazdaists, pretend Zrvan- sacrificed to P'ark'.⁷

The *χ^αarənah-*, the mystical heavenly glory, a form of light, was therefore the object of Zrvan-'s adoration. This *χ^αarənah-* was the symbol of kingdom and we have seen Zrvan- treated as sovereign⁸ and Pādišāh. Sacrifices to the *χ^αarənah-*

¹ Cf., however, above H. H. Schaeder's opinion about the acts of Ādhrhormizd depending on Theodoros of Mopsuestia.

² Loc. cit.

³ 113, 118 f.

⁴ 375a.

⁵ Pognon, loc. cit., 111.

⁶ Nöldeke, *Festgr. an Roth*, 36; ed. Bedjan, 577.

⁷ 118.

⁸ The possible double sense of "ruler" and "self-created" attached to the term *χ^αadhāta-* could refer to the heavenly sovereign as well as to the king on earth, meaning that he draws his power not from a human source.

are not mentioned in the Avesta, but in Yt 19, 46 ff. we find Spənta- Manyu- and Anra- Manyu both trying to obtain it. The comparison of the heavenly hierarchy with a monarch and his court on earth is a notion common to the East. It goes back to the idea that the material world is but an image of the sky, and this conception again is the base of all astrology. The movement and position of every constellation in heaven corresponds to events in the sublunar sphere.

According to the Mazdaist theology Zrvan- apparently was figured as sacrificing to the *χ^νarənah-*, which is a characteristic of the gods and of Ahuric institutions in general. If the description given by Theodoros of Mopsuestia is correct, that Zrvan- begat Ōhrmazd and Ahriman, *σπένδων*, it was a Zaothra- ceremony which was meant. Sacrifice in itself is believed to possess magic power. This opinion underlies the Vedic ritual, and it is noteworthy that in Iran such ancient Aryan superstitions may have again been introduced by the clergy. Šahrastānī does not mention a sacrifice, he speaks of Zrvan- "murmuring",¹ meaning evidently prayers, a proceeding which is typical for the Mazdaist ritual. The Avestic texts praise often enough the force of certain formulas and prayers. That Zrvan- muttered such sacred texts or sacrificed to the *χ^νarənah-* is not surprising. By doing this Zrvan- consecrated the ritual custom propagated by the clergy. Although it sounds illogical that the supreme essence addresses prayers and sacrifices to something, it is comprehensible that the Mōbēdhs wanted to have the miraculous power of both to have been consecrated by the highest god himself. In the Avestic texts Ahura- Mazda- appears occasionally as sacrificing to some Yazata-² and the prayer Ahuna- varya- is considered to exist before the creation of the world³ and to be the sacred weapon of Ahura- Mazda-.

The result of the sacrifice or prayer of Zrvan- is the birth of

¹ 183 ed. Cureton.

² *Yašt*, v, 17 ff. ; viii, 25 ff. ; xv, 2 ff.

³ *Yasna*, xix, 1 ff.

Ahura- Mazda-, but doubts as to the effect of his action passed the mind of Zrvan- and this sufficed to call into being Anra-manyu-. This explanation of the origin of evil, which the Armenian and Syrian sources present, is interesting, because it certainly comes from Iranian priestly circles. Every doubt and unbelief was considered as dangerous; even the highest deity was subjected to the force of the ritual. Such evil consequences of doubt prove the importance and the necessity of a clergy versed in the holy tradition and Zrvan- appears as the first priest endowed with the sacred knowledge. Šārahstānī gives a more philosophical motive. According to some of his authorities, Zrvan- thought while murmuring his formulas for 9,999 years, that the world was perhaps nothing, and this nihilistic idea created Ahriman, Ōhrmazd being the offspring of Zrvan-'s knowledge of things.

On the whole the Zervanite theology, though possessing as starting point the philosophical conception of absolute time, is imbued with mythology. Zrvan- was apparently considered as bisexual, a notion which is found in many Eastern countries and is in no way special to Iran.¹ The Iranian deities have on the contrary no such character. But the cosmogonies of different nations, with whom the Magians were in contact, knew of such figures, e.g. the Egyptian doctrine of On lets Rē' create the world out of himself.

Sometimes the texts like Eznik,² the acts of Ādthurhormizd and Šāhrastānī speak of a "mother", but who this figure is, is not clear.³ There may be some reminiscence of the great mother-goddess, such as we find with Kronos Rhea. The Mesopotamian and Semite systems all know pairs of gods, *syzygies*, like they are mentioned in the Gnostic doctrines. To the tradition giving Zrvan- a female counterpart can be

¹ Cf. Waites, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 27, 1923, 26 ff.

² 113 ff., 132 ff.

³ R. Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche*, 78; *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 156, 178; Christensen, *Etudes*, 52, 2.

approached the passage of Hippolytos¹ calling the two αἰρία of "Zaratas" light and darkness, father and mother.² We may further mention the expression "father" used instead of Zurvōn in the Arsakide fragments of Manichæan texts from Tufān. The Mazdaist conception of the two spirits as twins, already exposed in the Gāthā, leads again to the idea of parents of such a pair.³ The Dēnkart says that Ōhrmazd and Ahriman were two brothers in one womb⁴ and the Manichæans polemize against this notion.⁵

Zrvan- is not himself the creator. He invests his son Ōhrmazd with the quality of the *demiurgos*, giving him the *Barəsman-* and thus transmitting to him at the same time the obligation of fulfilling the ritual as the prototype of the Mōbēdh. This act has been cleverly compared to the description of scenes depicting the installation of the Sāsānian rulers by Ōhrmazd who presents the earthly king with the ring of sovereignty.⁶ *Xšathra-*, the government, and the priesthood are of divine origin and certainly in the Sāsānian epoch united in the hands of the ruler, who is endowed with the *χ^υarənah-*, the heavenly glory.⁷

VII

IRANIAN CONTACT WITH INDIA

It has been possible to state that the conception of Zrvan- as primal and original deity developed in Iran under Greek

¹ *Refut.*, i, 2, 12, ed. Wendland.

² Whether this statement can be ascribed to Diodoros of Eretria and to the pupil of Aristoteles, Aristoxenos, as Hippolytos says, can be left out of the discussion.

³ *Yasna*, xxx, 3. Zarathuštra speaks of a vision showing him in a dream good and evil in human thoughts, speech and acts in the symbolical shape of a pair of twins. This metaphorical notion was taken later in a literal sense.

⁴ Dēnkart, 829, West, *SBE.*, xxxvii, 241 f.

⁵ F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, ii, 95.

⁶ H. Junker, *Warburg-Vortr.*, i, 1921-22, 171 f.,₂.

⁷ Like the Frataraks (Governors) of Pārs and the Sāsānian Šāhānšāhs the Armenian kings are considered as being of heavenly descent and they rest in the fortified temple of Aramazd; Gelzer, *Zur armenischen Götterlehre*, 103, quoting Agathangelos.

and Chaldæan influences. The Greek elements may have come to the Persian Mages indirectly through the intercourse with the Chaldæan priests. Against the doctrine of Zervanism accepted for a certain period by the Sāsānian court a reaction rose up and this movement succeeded in its efforts to suppress the Zervanite theology. The remains of the religious literature of the Mazdaists show therefore no more or rather scarcely any signs of the Zervanite doctrine. The Avesta apparently never contained suggestions on time as the highest principle, this new teaching having been formed at a period when the corpus of the Avesta was more or less completed.

If the question appears comparatively clear as far as Iran is concerned, it becomes more complicated when we turn to India. The discoveries in north-western India show early connections with the countries on the coasts of the Persian Gulf.¹ Certain modern theories believe that the R̥gveda came to exist in the regions of eastern Iran bordering on India, not in India proper. At the time when Buddha and Mahāvira lived, north-western India was in the hands of the Achaemenids. Relations between India and the Western world have never been interrupted since.² The problem of foreign influences on India is far from being cleared up,

¹ Cf. the survey offered by W. Wüst, *ZDMG.*, N.F. 6, 259 ff.

² Besides the routes leading overland to India which gave Sinope on the Black Sea great importance, there were close connections with southern Arabia, the Red Sea, and Egypt. Alexandria became a centre of the trade with India. On the other hand, the Jātakas speak of trade with Babylon, Bāveru, *Bāveru Jātaka*, no. 330 of the coll. of Jātakas. S. Lévy, *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes*, 1913-14. For the beginning of the first century A.D. the *Milindapañha*, 359, gives the chief places, in which the Indian sea-faring trade was concerned. Apologos at the mouth of the Tigris was since the first century A.D. the starting point of merchants bound for India (*Periplus maris Erythr.*, 435). At this place, later on called al Ubulla, a temple of a probably Indian deity Zūn is mentioned, cf. J. Marquart and J. J. M. de Groot, *Festschrift f. Ed. Sachau*, 1915, 284 ff. Another temple of this god stood in Zāvulistān and there his symbol was a fish, the crown of the Zūnbīl, the king of Zāvulistān, being ornamented with the head of a fish. This resembles more some reminiscence of Ea than Āditya, the sun-god of Mūltān, whom the Hūṇa considered as Mihr, sanskr. Mihira (J. Marquart and J. J. M. de Groot, loc. cit., 288, 2.).

but in the domains of art and science Greece has certainly left certain impressions on the Indian development. It would therefore not be impossible to connect the Kālavāda too with Western ideas, especially as we find it linked up with astrology. This science has been influenced in certain aspects by the Hellenistic world.

On the other hand the Atharvaveda and the mentions in the Upaniṣads are older than the period of Hellenistic syncretism. Altogether Indian thought develops on its own lines. But it must not be forgotten that Iranian or Iranized nations were in permanent touch with India. Without entering into views like such entertained by D. B. Spooner on a "Zoroastrian period of Indian history"¹ there are enough signs of the contact between Iranians and Indians.

Leaving apart all similarities between Iranians and Indians going back to the Aryan period, there are a number of religious contaminations arising from the fact that Persians, Sakas, Parthians and Chionites held Indian territory. There are interesting particulars to note from eastern Turkestan, where a Sakian version of the Maitreya-samiti was discovered identifying Maitreya and Ōhrmazd, considered as the sun.² The language of this translation has been recognized as being identical with that used on the Kṣatrapa- coins.³

In north-western India Iranian Mages have become mixed up with the Brāhmaṇa caste and down to the time of Varāhamihira⁴ it was necessary to have certain temples of the sun consecrated by "Magas". These Mages had to be fetched

¹ *JRAS*, 1915, 63 ff.; 405 ff., cf. V. A. Smith, *JRAS.*, 1915, 800 ff.; Keith, *ibid.*, 1916, 138 ff.; Thomas, *ibid.*, 362 ff.; s. Coomaraswamy, *Gesch. der indischen u. indones. Kunst*, transl. by H. Goetz, 15; 23 ff.

² v. 166, Leumann, *Maitreya-samiti*, Strassburg, 1919, i, 91.

³ Luders, *Berl. Sitzungsber.*, 1913, 405 f.; 1919, 734 ff.; cf. Reichelt, *Indogerm. Jahrb.*, i, 1913, 20 f.; Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, iii, 1443 ff. Reichelt, *Stand u. Aufg. der Sprachwiss.*, 286; *Grdr. d. indog. Sprach-Altertumskunde*, ii, 4, 2, 28 f.; E. Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube*, 193.

⁴ *Brhatsamhitā*, lx, 19.

from Śākadvīpa. The Mages were known as the Śākadvīpīya-Brāhmaṇas.¹

The contact between Iranians and Buddhists in north-western India seems to have been important for the development of the figure of Maitreya in the Mahāyāna, the conception of Maitreya being probably influenced by that of the Saošyant-² It is a notable fact that the Hindoos seem to have been less in touch with Iranian elements than the Buddhists. The Jainas again were on good terms with the Sakas, while the Hephtalite Hūṇa was considered as an opponent of their teachings.³

VIII

CONCLUSIONS

The Zervanite theology of Iran, once the official system of the Persian empire, and the Indian Kālavāda have in common the acceptance of time as the supreme principle and the connection of this notion with the idea of fate. This leads to astrological considerations, some of which are in contrast with the Indian conception of Karman, as they

¹ Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, 153 ff.; Grierson, *The Languages of India*, 45, Wilson, *Vishnu Purāṇa*, I. lxiii; v, 381 ff.; Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Lit.* i, 474; iii, 362; Abegg, *Messiasglaube*, 243.

² Grünwedel, *Buddhist. Kunst*, 2nd ed., 143; Garbe, *Indien u. das Christentum*, 174 f.; Krause, *Ju-Tao-Fo*, 409 f.; Waldschmidt, *Gandhāra*, 12 f.; Abegg, *Messiasglaube*, 243 f.

³ v. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, 43 f.; J. Charpentier, *The Cambridge History of India*, i, 167 f. It is necessary to distinguish between the Kūṣān, the Chionites or White Huns and the Hephtalites. The Kūṣān formed a confederation extending to Bactria, Xotān and north-western India and led by Iranian Sakas. During the Sāsānian period, Kūṣān-šāh was merely the title of the Persian Governor-General of Ḥorāsān. The Chionites, the Hyaona- of the Avesta, were a Hun tribe. Under pressure from the Hephtalites whose sedentary life in a fertile country with a large capital is described by Prokopius, *de bello Pers.*, i, 3, some Chionites moved to India, where they established the Hūṇa kingdom or kingdoms. In the sixth century the Hephtalites were crushed by Xosran I of Persia co-operating with the Xāqān of the Turks.

subject the human destiny to a necessity lying outside the sphere of man's action and mind.

The similarities of Zervanism and Kālavāda end here. The Indian system seems to have been a well-founded philosophical doctrine, which proceeded with arguments and a scientific method, just like other schools of philosophy. It is only outside of this philosophical doctrine in the field of religion that we meet elements of mythology.

On the other hand Zervanism operates with a philosophical conception, but the whole teaching is purely religious in character. Legends, myths, and symbols are used to explain the unsolved mysteries of existence and of its origins. The teachings of the Zervanite divines are closely allied to those in use in hither Asia, in Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Anatolia as well as in Iran proper. The idea of absolute time is combined with astrological considerations.

There seems to exist no contact between the Iranian Zervanites and the Kālavāda. The Indian development can be fully understood from Indian premises alone.

One point remains however dubious. Did India discover by herself the notion of absolute time or did it come to her perhaps through Iran from Greece? The question cannot be separated from that of the origin of Indian astrology. For Iran it seems clear that Zervanism was a result of the Hellenistic current, forming a new world out of Eastern and Greek elements, a movement which need not be limited to the period of Alexander, but which goes back to the days when the Achæmenian empire came into touch with the Western world.



New Fragments of the Commentaries on the Ritual of the Death and Resurrection of Bel

By S. LANGDON

THE texts which narrated the episodes of the death, burial in a tomb, the sojourn in Hades, and the resurrection of Marduk, have not been recovered. The contents of this remarkable myth, which transferred the Tammuz legends to Bel-Marduk, must be reconstructed from the rituals and commentaries. On it the Babylonians based a ritual or mystery play in which the entire myth was represented. The rubrics which contained full directions of the details of this play also remain unknown. If they are ever recovered they will correspond to the directions for the *zgmuk* or New Year's festival at Babylon and Erech.¹ The only sources for reconstructing this mystery play are the commentaries of the scribes on the mythical meaning of each act in this play, corresponding to one fragment of a commentary on the ritual of the *zgmuk* at Babylon.² Two large fragments of the commentary on the Death and Resurrection of Bêl as celebrated at Assur, are published by E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Religiösen Inhalts*, Nos. 143 and duplicate, No. 219, both of which were used for an edition by Professor Zimmern.³ The writer gave an edition in his *Babylonian Epic of Creation*, pp. 34-49, together with two fragments from the library of Asurbanipal, Rm. 275 and K. 9138. Soon after the appearance of my book, Mr. C. J. Gadd found two more fragments of the same collection in the British Museum, K. 6330, which joins K. 9138, and K. 6359. Both fragments are published here, by permission of the Trustees of the Museum. As with the previously published

¹ Similar to those edited by Zimmern and Thureau-Dangin. See the latter's *Rituel Accadiens*, pp. 86-154.

² K. 3476 in *CT.* 15, 43-4, edited by Professor Zimmern, *Neu-Jahrsfest*¹, pp. 127-36, and analyzed in the writer's *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, pp. 29-31.

³ *Neu Jahrsfest*², 2-21.

fragments no connected text can be extracted from them. In my notes to the transcription, the passages in the large Assur texts which seem to be parallels have been noted; any new information on this remarkable myth and ceremony which can be gleaned from them has been indicated in the notes. At Assur the national god Assyria replaced Bêl-Marduk in the ceremony, but the texts of the commentaries were undoubtedly copied from the original tablets at Babylon. The contents leave no doubt at all but that the mystery play refers to Bêl-Marduk.

The tablet, KAR. 307, is published under the title "Description of the Ceremonies for the New Year's Festival", by Professor Ebeling. It is clearly allied to K. 3476, especially on the reverse. Note Rev. 2, *iḫ-pi-ši-ma kima nânê maš-di-e a-na šina-šu*, and compare *Creation*, p. 146, 137. A description of how Marduk humiliated Tiamat is given in lines 13-15. Lines 17-19 certainly describe a ritual with an ox and sheep; they mean Kingu "lord of the seven sons". Lines 20-5 describe how, in this ceremony, the king brought a golden crown on his head from within *é-kur*, and sat on his throne; he takes it away and goes to the palace. The passage is clearly connected with the ritual in which the king gives up his royal insignia to the high priest, and has them restored to him in Esagila.¹ This means the god Ninurta, who avenged his father²; the gods his fathers within Ekur, *mithariš*(?) *ḥatta kussa palâ iddinu-šu* "gave him sceptre, throne, and hatchet by mutual agreement". They adorned him with the splendour of kingship.

That is only another example of the persistence of the older Ninurta legend. See *Epic of Creation*, pp. 17-20. The use of Ekur, temple of Enlil at Nippur, for Esagila in the late Babylonian ceremony, reveals an older Sumerian myth similar to the one concerning Marduk in the sixth book of the *Epic of Creation*. There the gods built Babylon and Esagila to

¹ See Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels*, 144, 515-52.

² *gimilli abi-šu utirru*. See *JRAS.* 1925, 493, l. 14.

Marduk, and there they granted him universal power. The older Sumerian mythology surely contained a similar legend concerning Ekur and Ninurta.

The obverse of KAR. 307 seems to be a commentary on the mystery play representing the *Epic of Creation*, but most of the lines appear to be mere interpretations of the relations between plants, metals, various objects, and parts of the human body, as, for example, the text in my *PBS.* x, p. 341. With l. 3, ^{isu}tittu kisalla-šu, compare *PBS.* x, 341, 4. With l. 18, ^{isu}karanu kakkul-ti ênê-šu "The vine is the apple of his eyes", compare *PBS.* x, 341, 1. But line 19 refers to *Tiamat* šî-i mušênikti ša ^aEn-[me-šár-ra?]. Lines 24-9 contain a ceremony with a chariot and pagri ša ^aEnmesharra ina libbi naši(ši), sic! "The corpse of Enmesharra is bourne therein". The horses yoked to the chariot represent the . . . of Zû. Lines 30-8 describe the upper, middle, and lowest heavens, and upper, middle, and lowest parts of the earth. The contents of this text have no logical sequence of ideas or ritualistic acts. It is defined at the end as a *pirišti* (*AD-HAL*) of the gods, to be read and learned by the initiated only.

K. 6330 + 9138

1. ki(?) -i ^aEn-lil
2. matāti i-^{hi}-ip-pi-i
3. -i amēlu ša tuppa-šu i-ra-'a-bu-ú-ni
4. šu-ú-tu ka-li amēlu ša ūm 7-kam¹ šá arah[Nisan-ni]
5. . . [^aA-num ^aSin] ^aŠamaš šu-u-tu ištu bit amēl^aša-ab-[ti]²
6. . . . A(?) amēl^amar-šipri ša bēlê-šu man-nu ú
7. ilu šu-ú il-lak i-na libbi bit á-ki-[ti]³
8. ni ina eli ša ka-lu-ú-ni šu-ú
9. ú(?) -pat-tu-ú-ni karpak^akal-lu
10. ši-a HAR-ka ilu(?)
11. ma i-ša-am-mu-du-ú-[ni

¹ Cf. *Creat.* 42, 44.

² Cf. *Creat.* 42, 39.

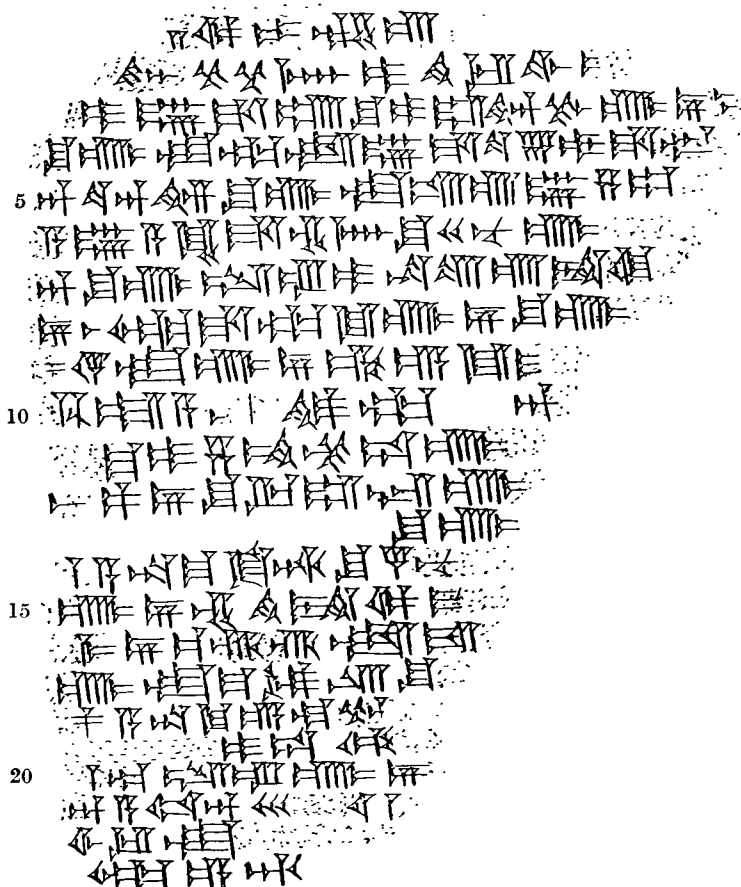
³ Cf. *Creat.* 42, 40.

12. *ina pa-ni-šu ur-ra-zu* ¹ *ú*

13. *šu-ú*

14. *a-na ma-ki-ti-šu* ² *šá*

K. 6330+9138



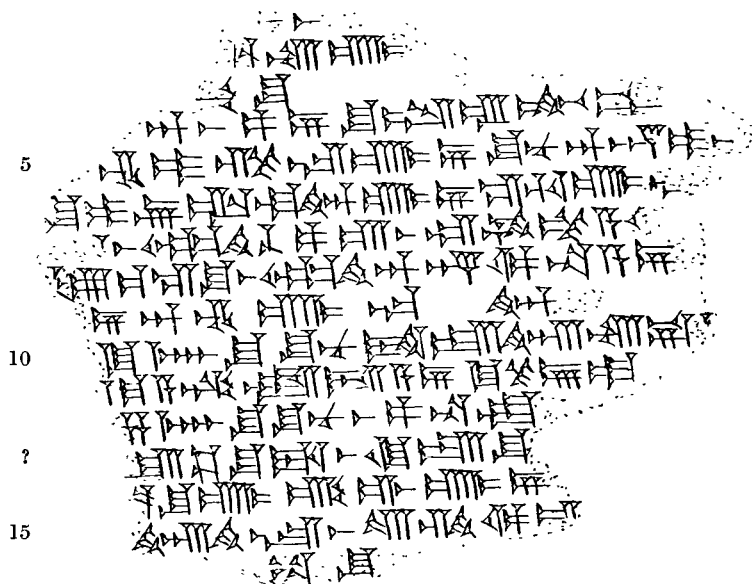
Remainder in *Epic of Creation*, p. 213.

¹ For *urrad-šu* ?

² For *makîtu* ?, Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 398, derived from *nakû*. Cf. Pl. *makûtu*, RA. 17, 94, 28; *makkîtu*, Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels*, 100, 16; cf. *ana mullê muttinni ma-ak-ki-ti*, Ebeling, KAR. 362, 11. In all these passages the word clearly means "libation", except in *Rituels*, 100, 16, where *ina makkîtum ša namurtu šarri* (also ll. 6 and 24) probably has the same sense.

15. *im-mar*]-ú-ni *bél hi-iṭ-ti ša itti* ^{ilu}*Bél šu-tu-ni*
] ¹
16. ú-ni *GIŠ-RI tal-li-da*
17. . . . *ša is-si-šu la il-lak-ú-ni mar* ^d*Aš-šur šu*]-ú-tu
ma-ṣu-ru šu-[ú ina *muh-hi-šu pa-kiḍ*] ²
18. *a-na-ku kal-la muš* ?
19. ina *su-ka-ḫa-a-te i-du-lu*-[ú-ni ^d*Bél u-ba-'u-ma*
aḫ-ka ṣa-bit] ³
20. [*šu-ú ša is-si*]-*šu la il-lak-ú-ni* ⁴

K. 6359



21. ^d*A-num* ^d*Sin* [^d*Šamaš* ^d*Ramman*]
22. *ši-ip-tu*

Remainder in *Epic of Creation*, p. 52.

K. 6359

2. *ru-ú*
3. *aḫu* (?) *-šu*
4. *ilu ina pa-ni-šu il-lak šēru*

¹ Cf. *Creat.* 38, 25.² Cf. *Creat.* 38, 19.³ Cf. *Creat.* 34, 9.⁴ Cf. *Creat.* 38, 19.

5.^d]Bél i-zi-zu-ú-ni šu-nu ^dAš-šur i-
 6. šu i-sa-al-la'-ú-ni si-*h*u šu-ú-tu
 7. ina mu*h*-*h*i-šu pa-*ḫ*id¹ ina ^{al}Gú-dū-a-(ki) [ina
 mu-*h*-*h*i-šu i-na-aš-šar]
 8. is-si-šu ina mu*h*-*h*i ^dAš-šur di-na-a-ni (ip-ti-ú
 di-na-a-ni i-di-nu)²
 9. ú-]ni ^dBél u-ba-'u
 10. šubatē-šu šu-nu it-ta-a*h*-ru-uš³ . . .
 11. ana ^dSin ^dŠamaš u-šal-la] ma-a búl-li-da-a-ni⁴
 šubatše-ir-i-at!⁵
 12. nišē-šu šu-nu ina pa-na-tu-[š*u* ú-na-bu-ú]⁶
 13. šu-da ina šapli-šu
 14. šu ú-ga-mar-ú-ni
 15. i*h*-*h*i-su ina libbi gi-di

¹ Cf. *Creat.* 36, 12. A watchman is appointed over Bel's tomb and in Cutha watches over him. The parallel passage, *Creat.* 38, 19, has *ālu bir-tu* "prison-city"; here Cutha for Arallu, under-world.

² Cf. *Creat.* 38, 18. For *ip-ti-ú*, perhaps read *ib-ti-ú*; see Johns, *Assyrian Deeds*, vol. iii, 301, *dīnu dababu ubtauni*; the passage seems to imply that "they sought a case against Ashur (Marduk-Bél) and declared judgment (against him)."

³ Cf. *Creat.* 78, 86?; 40, 30? read there *it-ta-[a*h*-ru-uš]*?

⁴ Cf. *Creat.* 40, 37; Rm. 275 obv. 6.

⁵ Cf. *Creat.* 40, 32; 44, 53. The text has *še-ir-i-at*, clearly.

⁶ Cf. *Creat.* 38, 27.

The Mahmal of the Moslem Pilgrimage

By ARTHUR E. ROBINSON

IT is very improbable that the Mahmal, which formed such a prominent object in the procession of the "Kiswat en Nebi" at Cairo and the pilgrim caravans from Egypt and Syria, will be seen in the Hejaz again.¹

There are very strong political and religious reasons against its introduction into the ceremonies at Mecca. As the practice of sending a Mahmal to Mecca was adopted by an Indian Prince and the late Sultan of Darfur, it might be of use to trace the origin and purport of this very curious custom in Islam.

The Mahmal possesses no sanctity, and whatever its origin may have been, it became during the fifteenth century an emblem of the official character of the pilgrim caravan which accompanied it. It was repugnant to the Arabs, who regarded it as an assumption by its owners of territorial rights over the "Haramayn". The rulers of Egypt and Turkey regarded it as a symbol of their protective rights over the Ka'ba and tomb of Muhammad. During the present century the senders of the Darfur Mahmal, the Hyderabad Mahmal, the Ibn Sa'ud Mahmal, and the Ibn Rashid Mahmal appear to have regarded themselves as co-defenders of Islam with the Sultan (and Caliph) of Turkey.

The Mahmal is heretical to Islam and the Wahhabis or Moslem Rechabites have declined to admit the Mahmal into the Hejaz. They repudiated it in 1798-1814 and again in 1924, and their previous action in sending one was purely political. Many of the pilgrim caravans from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries were military expeditions. The dual

¹ The Hejaz is now in the possession of Ibn Sa'ud, a descendant of the great Wahhabist of the 1798-1814 campaigns. The Damascus Mahmal is similar to the one from Egypt but smaller. No Kiswa is sent from Damascus, but a pall or rich carpet for the tomb of Muhammad at Medina used to be sent by the Sultan of Turkey annually.

caliphate (969-1200), the restored caliphate (1260-1538), and its subsequent assumption by the Sultan of Turkey have been very potent factors in the history of Islam and civilization. Both the Mahmal and the Kiswa became *causae bellorum*, and in the faction fights at Mecca, etc., the Mahmal was used as a standard¹ or rallying place for the pilgrims who had accompanied it or belonged to the place from whence it had come.

The Mahmal has been alluded to or described by various writers during a period of nearly six hundred years and there has been a tendency lately upon the part of non-Moslem writers to invest it with morphological properties and endeavour to trace its origin to the Ark or some ancient Semitic custom. Mrs. Seligman² has dealt with the Mahmal from this point of view; but the present writer regards the Ka'ba and the Pyx as the present-day morphological survivors of the Israelitish Ark, as it must not be overlooked that the "Ark culture" was confined for some time to those tribes which had been captive in Egypt, and not to the whole Israelitish nation.

The word "Mahmal" is a derivative of *Ḥaml* (حمل) meaning "to bear". Gaudefroy-Demombynes (op. cit.,

¹ The Sultan Selim I took the "Sanjak es Sherif" and the Caliph Mutawakkil with him to Constantinople (see also *Travels of Ali Bey*, London, 1816, vol. ii, p. 362). He permitted the continuation of the Cairo and Damascus Mahmal processions, but added an extra Mahmal of his own (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Pèlerinage à la Mekké*, Paris, 1923, p. 159).

² "Sacred Litters among the Semites, with reference to the utfas of the Kababish": *Sudan Notes and Records*, Khartoum, 1918.

Those who desire to study this point of view are recommended to consult: Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, p. 61, etc.; Gore, *A New Commentary of Holy Scripture*, London, 1928, pp. 38, 148, 177, 190-2, 217-57, 660, etc.; *Encyclopædia Biblica*; *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. i, p. 746, and the writers cited by Gaudefroy-Demombynes (op. cit.) such as Muhammad Labab Balanouni and other non-Christian writers. Burckhardt cannot be cited as an authority as he did not enter the Ka'ba. Ali Bey did not visit Medina, and most of the subsequent writers can only deal with impressions formed after the re-occupation of the Hejaz by Muhammad Aly Pasha and the temporary suppression of Wahhabism.

p. 158) states that it is an ancient word which means "the bands which maintain in place the panniers" of the kind supporting a camel howdah or palanquin.¹ The use of the word by Moslem writers in mediaeval descriptions of the pilgrim processions is contemporary with that of Kiswa.²

It is only used to denote the closed rectangular pyramidal canopy which so resembled a catafalque that it is not improbable that this was its original purpose. In fact there is a very circumstantial account of a Mahmal from Cairo which was sent during the reign of Murad III (1574-95) having been placed upon the tomb of Muhammad at Medina, in Hakluyt's *Voyages* (Dent's edn., vol. iii, p. 197).

There has been little variation in the construction of the Mahmal with the exception of the addition of crescents or stars and crescents on the ornaments. It consisted of a light cage or frame of wood which was covered by a brocaded silk or other textile material. The most prominent colours appear to have been at various periods yellow, black, green or red. In later years the cipher of the reigning Sultan of Turkey and a plan of the Ka'ba were conspicuous in the brocaded design on the front.³

The Kiswa (en Nebi) is the outer covering of the Ka'ba at Mecca and has no connection whatever with the Mahmal. Whether the first Mahmal was a catafalque for the tomb of

¹ The writer is inclined to think that the Mahmal and the use of the "utfā" in war are both survivals of the precedent set by Ayesha at the battle of Basra (the day of the Camel, in 656).

² See note by Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouk (Makrizi)*, Paris, 1837, p. 223, and "Le Kiswa de la Kaaba" by Gaudefroy-Demombynes in *Revue Hist. Religion*, 1918.

³ Qalqashandi (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, quoting) describes the Mahmal as covered with yellow satin and surmounted by a dome (*qubba*) of silver gilt. Yellow was the royal colour of Sultan Beybars (1260-77), who restored the Caliphate and occupied the Hejaz in the name of his nominee the Caliph El Hākim (1262-1303). Mustansir, the first restored Caliph, was killed by the Mongols after he had enthroned Beybars (1260), who sent envoys to the Sherif of Mecca but was obliged to occupy Suakim and the Hejaz so as to collect the *zekāt*, '*ushūr*, and '*adad* for the Caliph (see also Makrizi, op. cit., etc.).

Muhammad or the tomb of Fāṭima (both of which were in the reconstructed mosque at Medina in A.D. 711) is a very open question. After the occupation of Egypt in 1517 the Sultan assumed certain prerogatives which had hitherto been personal to the Caliphs. The inner curtains for the Ka'ba, the curtains screening the tomb at Medina and the carpet or pall for the tomb appear to have been presented by the "de facto" Caliph for many centuries, and until recently by the Sultans of Turkey.¹

Tradition assigns the origin of the Mahmal to the ill-fated Queen Shajar ad-Durr² of Egypt, who was murdered in 1257. She was a Circassian slave of the last Bagdad Caliph (Musta'sin, 1242-58), and was sent by him (circ. 1247) as a present to the Sultan As Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt (1240-9). She is notable as the only female ruler of Egypt since Cleopatra, as she issued coins and reigned for six months in 1250, after the death of her infant son and the murder of Turanshah ibn Ayyūb. The Caliph refused to recognize a female ruler as his nominal fiefholder in Egypt and she married one of her own mamelukes, the Emir Aybek. She remained childless, and after forcing him to divorce his wife, had him assassinated. The female slaves of the divorced wife murdered Shajar ad-Durr in revenge by throwing their wooden clogs at her. Her body was thrown to the dogs, but subsequently entombed at Cairo.³ It is most

¹ See *Travels of Ali Bey*, London, 1816, vol. xi, pp. 66, etc.

It is extremely probable that until 1517 all the votive offerings were sent from Egypt whenever the Hejaz was in the territorial possession of the mameluke Sultans.

² E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Dent's ed., p. 444. No authority is given by Lane, but I have traced in Makrizi (op. cit., p. 25) that "Le Mahmal, le voile destine pour la Kaabah" left Cairo A.H. 664 (or A.D. 1264-5), which is some time previous to the date given by Lane. See also Berchem, *Corpus Caire*, pp. 414-15, cited by Gaudefroy-Demombynes.

³ S. Lane Poole, *A History of Egypt under the Saracens*, London, 1901, and records in the Khedivial Library, Cairo.

Her tomb in Cairo is much frequented by poor and ignorant women who pray there. The Eunuch Emir Jamāl ad-Din as Ṣāliḥi Ayyubi took

improbable that the memory of Shajar ad-Durr should have been perpetuated by Sultan Beybars by a fanciful representation of the camel litter in which she travelled from Irak (possibly via Mecca) or used in her successful campaign against Louis IX of France.¹ Tradition says that she saved the French king's life as the result of a personal appeal to her by the Queen of France, as the mamelukes had decided to decapitate him.

Queen Shajar ad-Durr is, however, very clearly identified in some way with the Mahmal. Tradition states that she was the first Egyptian ruler who sent a veil or gold brocaded portière for the Ka'ba,² which was probably similar to that described by Ibn Jubair in 1182-3.³

In 1380 a Mahmal from the Yemen apparently usurped the place of the Egyptian one and there are frequent references to faction fights over priority of position at 'Arafat, etc. Eldon Rutter, one of the best informed travellers to Mecca and Medina, describes the Mahmals as receptacles for hand-

the votive offerings sent from Egypt to Mecca and Medina for many years. He was one of the eunuchs attached to the harem of Sultan Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. I cannot trace any evidence of the reputed pilgrimage of Shajar ad-Durr in 1247, but Makrizi mentions the Hajj of A.H. 647 from Cairo and that of 648 from Irak (op. cit., vol. i, pp. 33-8). She had lost her son prior to the death of Sultan Ayyūb on 21st November, 1249.

¹ Shajar ad-Durr concealed the death of Ayyūb from the troops and the litter in which he had travelled (as an invalid) from Cairo was used by her. She was instrumental in the defeat of the French at Mansura on 9th February, 1250, and Turanshah (27th February-2nd May, 1250) was murdered by the mamelukes for accepting a ransom; but the Emirs elected Shajar ad-Durr as the Queen of Egypt.

² E. W. Lane, op. cit., p. 488.

³ Edition, Rome, 1906, C. Schiaparelli's translation, etc.

In 834 the Caliph Mutassim (833-42) sent a gold brocaded portière from Irak to celebrate his accession to the Caliphate, but it was repudiated by the Sherif of Mecca. It is this curtain or portière which is described as a door in Hakluyt and other contemporary writers. There was a wooden door for which the Caliph provided the key and entrusted it to the Sherif of Mecca, who abused the privilege and extorted illegal fees for admission from the pilgrims on many occasions. See Makrizi (op. cit., vol. i, pp. 32-71) *re* the action of Beybars in this matter.

some presents to the holy places and their guardians, etc., vide *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, London, 1929, p. 178.

As a receptacle the Mahmal was useless unless panniers were placed under it, and this has not been the general practice for many years past. My theory is that the Mahmal was originally a catafalque for the tomb of Fātima in the mosque at Medina, which was sent by Queen Shajar ad-Durr about the time that she sent the portière for the Ka'ba. The reasons for this action are very obvious to all students of anthropology and form one of the oldest customs of mankind, which have been common to all creeds, etc., from the remotest ages of antiquity.¹

The tombs of the female descendants of Muhammad were supposed to possess special sanctity and potency as aids to prayers from women, and any articles placed on these tombs at Cairo, Medina or Kufa were considered to absorb these properties (see Lane, *op. cit.*, pp. 264, 432-7, 473, etc.). The Sudanese women considered the colossal statues in Nubia and Dongola possessed certain potential factors beneficial to maternity.

It is unlikely that the Sultan Beybars should have re-introduced such an obviously female practice as to send votive offerings to the shrines of female saints. If the Mahmal sent by him was not a catafalque for the tomb of Muhammad, it was probably added to complete the list of all the votive offerings sent and previously recorded: as a visible sign to the Islamic world that the Caliph was then in Egypt under the protection of its ruler, the Sultan Beybars. The practice of providing a Kiswa for the Ka'ba at Mecca dates to the pre-Moslem era of heliolatry or idolatry practised by the Meccans. In those days the Ka'ba was covered by Yemenese striped cloth and between the Kiswa and the wall constituted an inviolable sanctuary (see At Ṭabari, Ya'qubi, Azraqi and

¹ Eldon Rutter (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 199) states that the tomb of Fātima can be seen. See Frazer's *Golden Bough* and similar works for further details.

Qutb-ad-Din, etc., quoted by Gaudefroy-Demombynes). It became the special privilege of each successive Caliph to provide a new Kiswa, although the Umayyads were excluded from Mecca for some years and endeavoured to make Jerusalem the place of pilgrimage. The Caliph Al-Mahdi of Bagdad (775-85) who made the pilgrimage in 777 had all the old covers taken off the Ka'ba, and inaugurated the ceremony of hanging a new one each year by the Sherif of Mecca. One of the first actions of the Fāṭimite Caliph Al Mu'izz (953-75), after his arrival in Cairo from Kairouan in 973, and the repulse of the Carmathians, was to send a very large and costly Kiswa to Mecca. He is said to have made the pilgrimage and pronounced the *khutba* from a *minbar* or chair of three steps which he took there. He assumed temporal power and his action in hanging his Kiswa on the Ka'ba was clearly a sign to Islam that "he was the man in possession". Since then there have been frequent struggles to hang their Kiswas by rival Caliphs or their protectors.¹

The ambiguity of Moslem writers has caused a great deal of confusion regarding the Mahmal and the Kiswa. It is very difficult to explain the statement of Makrizi (op. cit., Paris, 1842, p. 57): "le mahmal, qui renfermait le voile

¹ In 1154 Nur ad-Din ibn Zengi of Mosul, a supporter of the Abbasides, occupied Damascus. He extended the walls of the Medina mosque and is believed to have hung his Kiswa on the Ka'ba, as there is an inscription dated A.H. 550 (A.D. 1154) relating to the Caliph Muḩṭafi (1136-60) on the door.

In 1262 Melik Muẓaffar Yusuf ibn Omar ibn Rasul made the pilgrimage and hung his Kiswa on the Ka'ba.

In 1282 the Sherif of Mecca renewed the vow that he had made to the Sultan Beybars under which his predecessor had guaranteed that no other Kiswa than that from Egypt should be hung on the Ka'ba (Makrizi, op. cit., pp. 11, 12).

Since the recent Wahhabi occupation of the Hejaz, Ibn Sa'ud has provided a black hair Kiswa (1925) and the Heẓām has been made in India.

For further information regarding the assumption of temporal power by the Caliphs see Mahmud Zakī, *Le Livre de la Couronne*, Cairo, and Makrizi (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 91), etc.

destiné pour la Kabah," as the Kiswa was much too bulky to be carried in or under the Mahmal, or on one animal. In fact, Makrizi states that the Kiswa was carried in the procession through the streets of Cairo and Fustat on mules in 1263. At that time each of the four sections, excluding the Hezām or brocaded gold band, probably measured about 30 feet long and 30 feet deep. There is no cover for the roof of the Ka'ba.¹

Opinions regarding the contents of the Mahmal vary considerably and it is obvious that views expressed by Christian writers must be accepted with caution, as they could have had no access to the Mahmal, and although disguised as pilgrims their information must of necessity be based on hearsay or since the destruction of the tombs by the Wahhabis during the last century. In late years the Egyptian Mahmal has contained nothing.² Burckhardt, who is frequently cited as an authority, stated that the Mahmal contained a book of prayers and some charms. Maundrell, writing in 1697,³ alludes to the carpet for the tomb at Medina and states that the Mahmal he saw leave Damascus contained a copy of the Quran. The writer in Hakluyt described the Quran as carried from Cairo (and returned there) "in a little chest made of pure legmane wood in likeness of the ark of the old testament". Lane (op. cit) says that the Mahmal which he saw in Cairo (c. 1834) was empty but that two very small copies

¹ It must not be overlooked that the Moslem canopied tomb is apparently an adaptation of the Byzantine pattern and there are few in Egypt which have been constructed since the Turkish occupation. Graves are indicated by a headstone surmounted by a representation of a turban or tarbush. These graves are frequently in domed buildings (*qubbas*) and sometimes a pall is placed over the grave. The introduction and disuse of the catafalque by the Moslems of Egypt seems to be mediaeval.

² Qalqashandi (*vide* Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit., p. 165) states that the Mahmal returned to Cairo in 1419. I am indebted to the Secretary of the Egyptian Legation, London, for information regarding recent practice.

³ *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1697*, Oxford, 1703, pp. 127, etc.

of the Quran "in scroll and book form" were suspended outside from the apex.¹

It was the custom for all pilgrim caravans passing through Cairo before 1517 to receive two flags, one from the Sultan of Egypt and the other from the Caliph. After that date the pilgrims joined the Egyptian caravan and marched under the standard of the reigning Sultan of Turkey with the Mahmal. The Arabs had no respect for any of these emblems or standards² and the annals of the pilgrimage are a record of pillage of Moslems by Moslems.

It has been the custom for many centuries to display all the votive offerings intended for the Ka'ba and Mosque at Medina in the processions at Cairo and elsewhere in the same manner that wedding gifts are paraded before marriages and the camels are similarly decorated.

During the journey the various articles were packed away in cases, but as a general rule the Mahmal was not dismantled but protected by a travelling case which Muhammad Lubab Balanouni states was the pall from the tomb of Sidi Yunus as Sa'di. Lane's drawing does not show the elaborate camel housings, which almost touch the ground, over which the Mahmal was placed.

That the Mahmal was not Semitic in its origin I am convinced, but students may find in Hakluyt (vol. i, p. 440; vol. ii, p. 127 and p. 319) some curious Asiatic customs and superstitions which are analogous. Further, it was a custom in Cairo for important Emirs to have models of their castles,

¹ Ali Bey (op. cit., p. 222, vol. ii) states that Qurans 4 feet long and 2½ feet wide were at Jerusalem in 1807, and like those at Cairo and Mecca were attributed to the Caliph Omar.

Qurans were also taken as presents to shrines. The Morocco pilgrim caravan of 1305 took a magnificent Quran bound in gold plates and inlaid with precious stones to Mecca for the Ka'ba.

See also *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, Phil., U.S.A., 1904.

² See also Burekhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, vol. ii, pp. 49-54; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, vol. i, p. 61 (unabridged ed.); A. von Kremer, *Cult des Or*; El Aghani, Cairo, 1323; E. Mercier, *Hist. de l'Afrique, Sept.*, Paris, 1888; and Hastings (op. cit., vol. x, p. 11) for other views regarding the Mahmal.

made of similar materials to the Mahmal, displayed before the gates of their residences when the Sultan rode through the city on certain occasions. The sugar castles sold at Bairam are believed to be a relic of this custom. It is certain that many customs in Egypt and the Sudan have been introduced into those countries by mamelukes of Asiatic origin.¹

In addition to the Mahmals from Cairo and Damascus the following gifts were sent :—

Annually from Egypt :

- (a) A veil for the Door of the Ka'ba.
- (b) A veil for the Door of Repentance.
- (c) A bag in which the key of the wooden door of the Ka'ba was kept by the Sherif of Mecca.
- (d) A pall or canopy for " Maqām Ibrāhīm " at Mecca.
- (e) A carpet for the pulpit (*minbar*) in the Ka'ba mosque.
- (f) The Kiswa ² and Ḥezām for the Ka'ba.

Annually from Damascus :

- (g) The pall or carpet for the tomb of Muhammad at Medina.

On the accession of each Sultan, with the Damascus Mahmal for that year.

- (h) The curtains which hung round the interior walls of the Ka'ba.

- (j) The curtains which screened the tomb of Muhammad at Medina from the public.

¹ The tribal and sedentary Meks of the Sudan adopted the practice of the Emir at-Tablkhānat who used to have their drums beaten at sunset and sunrise outside their residences, permanent or temporary. These drums were of copper and Father Alvarez described the Abyssinian drums as made in Cairo.

See also E. W. Lane (op. cit., pp. 528, etc.) for Turkish influences on Arab customs, architecture, etc.

² The word Kiswa is not always applied to the curtain for the Ka'ba ; *vide* letter of 8th April, 1930, from Egyptian Legation. It seems to have been used, similarly to Mahmal, in a collective sense, and it is most probable early Moslem writers used the word Mahmal for the procession and Kiswa for any coverings or palls, etc.

On page 332 of *Around the Coasts of Arabia*, by Ameen Rihani (Constable & Co., London, 1930), will be found a description of a newly instituted local Mahmal:—

“The procession of the Mahmal—the green silk cover for the tomb of the saint, set upon a canopy frame.”

This Moslem saint was canonized locally by his admirers, and his nephew walked in the procession of 1922, by consent apparently of the British authorities on the occasion of the fête of Hashim Bahr at Sheikh Othman (near Aden).

As the writer is an American subject, but a Syrian Christian, who has visited Ibn Saud, his comments are of some interest.

Further Arabic Inscriptions on Textiles (IV)

By A. R. GUEST

(PLATES I AND II)

THE preceding article of this series will be found in the *Journal* for 1930, page 761. Mr. Elsberg has kindly supplied photographs and descriptions of the following Abbasid and Fatimid pieces in his collection, and Mr. S. Flury has to be thanked for assistance with the readings of the inscriptions:—

NO. 1. COLLECTION NO. 1749.

Fragment of a garment of glazed linen, counting about fifty warp threads to the inch. The inscription is embroidered in red silk, in a cross stitch. $14\frac{1}{2} \times 22\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The inscription is $\frac{3}{8}$ inch wide. From the excavations at Fustât.

Inscription.—بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. اعزاز لله واكرام لله والحمد لله كثيرًا وشكر الله دائماً لدوامه وبقاياً لبقائه. احسان من الله ونعماء ويمن وبقاء للخليفة المبارك عبد الله الامام المقتدر بالله امير المؤمنين اعزه الله. سنة ثلثة عشر ثلث مائة. لى السبح

Translation.—In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. Much glory to God and honour to God and praise to God, enduring as He endures and remaining as He remains. Favour from God and blessing and success and long life be to the blessed Khalif, the servant of God, El Muqtadir billâh, Commander of the Faithful. God make him mighty. Year 313. LR ALSYH.

Date.—A.H. 313 = A.D. 925.

Remark.—Perhaps شكرًا should be read, but then one would expect اعزازًا and اكرامًا. These inscriptions are not always grammatical. In the present one the gender of the numerals is contrary to rule. The letters at the end of the inscription are presumably an abbreviation, standing either

for the name of the officer responsible for the issue of the stuff or for that of the factory in which it was made. The first two letters might be read AZ as an abbreviation for *ṭirāz*, but it does not appear that there was any *ṭirāz* factory with a name that would answer to the second word.

NO. 2. COLLECTION NO. 1748.

Fragment of a garment of glazed linen, counting about fifty warp threads to the inch, with an inscription embroidered in black linen thread in a loose chain stitch. 12 × 17 inches. The inscription is $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide. From the excavations at Fustât.

Inscription. . . . الله لعبد الله جعفر الامام المقتدر بالله امير المؤمنين اطال الله بقاءه ما امر بطراز الخاصة بسابور على يدي الوزير وزير امير المؤمنين ايده الله سنة خمس ثلثة

Translation.— . . . of God to the servant of God, Ja'far the imâm El Muqtadir billâh. Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong his life. Ordered [to be made] in the private factory at Sâbûr, under the direction of the vizier, the vizier of the Commander of the Faithful. God strengthen him. Year 305.

Date.—A.H. 305 — A.D. 917.

Remark. The word وزير in the inscription is written in a curious way, the tail of the ز being omitted each time that the word occurs, and that of the ر the first time, apparently because the space below the line is already occupied by a stroke leaving no room for the tails. The formation of the س of خمس in the date, also, is most peculiar. *Ṭirâz el khâssa*, the private factory, literally the factory of people of rank, and its opposite *ṭirâz el 'amma*, the public factory, that of common folk, are mentioned in other similar inscriptions. The exact signification of these terms is doubtful. It has been supposed that *ṭirâz el khâssa*

means a royal factory, that is. one that worked only for the government, and this may be correct.

Sâbûr might be read equally well Shâbûr. There is a town of this name in the province of Buḥaira in the Delta. But there is nothing to suggest that Shâbûr was distinguished at any time for its weaving, and it is almost certain that the inscription must refer to Sâbûr in the province of Fâris in Persia. It is recorded that towards the middle of the tenth century linen used to be exported from Fâris to all parts of the Islamic world,¹ and that a little later most of the flax used for linen made at one of the towns of the province was grown locally, though earlier the flax had often been imported from Egypt.² Four towns are named as the centres of the linen industry of Fâris at about the time in question.³ One of them, Kâzarûn, is described as the Damietta of Persia,⁴ but there was no government *tirâz* or factory there, though there was one at each of the other three centres.⁵ Kâzarûn was situated in the district of Sâbûr and not far distant from the town of Sâbûr, which was the chief town of the district, and noted then for its perfumes, but not for its weaving. Kâzarûn appears to have grown in the tenth century at the expense of Sâbûr,⁶ and it seems probable that at the beginning of the century Sâbûr had been an important weaving centre, with a government factory of its own, and that it was then that stuff from Sâbûr enjoyed the reputation spoken of by Ibn Ḥauqal.⁷

The character of the inscription is quite in accordance with a Persian origin. The fragment appears to be the earliest Islamic textile yet discovered that can be attributed by means of an inscription to Persia and dated.

No. 3. COLLECTION No. 1750.

Fragment of linen, probably part of a garment, counting about sixty to sixty-four warp threads to the inch, with a band

¹ *Istakhrî*, p. 153.

² *Muqaddasî*, p. 442.

³ *Istakhrî*, p. 153.

⁴ *Muqaddasî*, p. 433.

⁵ *Istakhrî*, p. 153.

⁶ *Muqaddasî*, p. 433.

⁷ p. 179.

of tapestry woven in red silk and undyed linen thread on the warp threads of the linen, only part of the weft threads having been withdrawn. 14 × 24 inches. The tapestry band is $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch wide. From the excavations at Fustât.

Inscription.—بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصل الله على محمد [خاتم
الانبياء (?)] [بركة من الله | و غنا و (?)] غبطة لعبد الله الفضل الامام
المطيع لله امير المؤمنين اطال الله بقاءه امر . . . بعماله بطراز
العامه بدمياط سنة . . . |

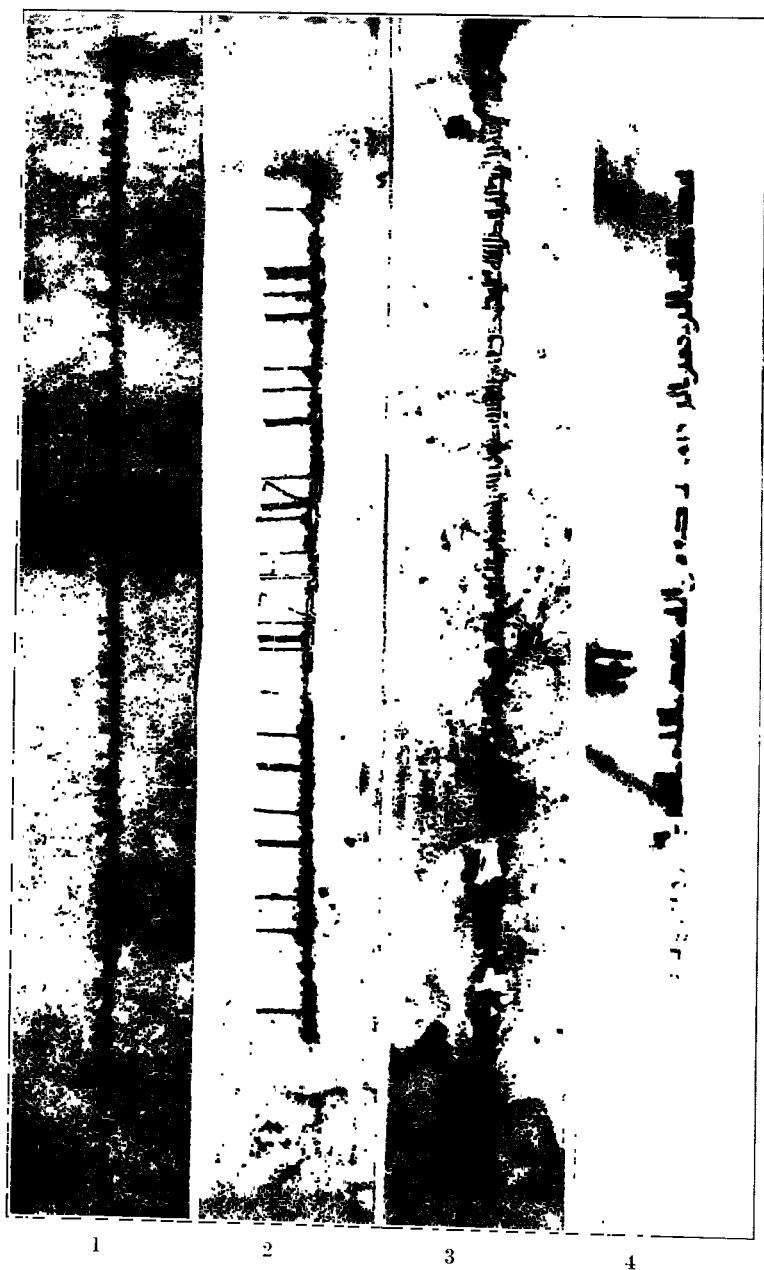
Translation.—In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. And may God bless Muḥammad [the last of the Prophets]. Blessing from God [and competence and] felicity be on the servant of God, el Faḍl, the imâm El Muṭî' lillâh, Commander [of the Faithful, may God prolong] his life. Ordered by . . . to be made in the public factory at Damietta [year . . .].

Date.—A.H. 334-356 = A.D. 946-969.

Remark.—The stuff, having been made in Egypt, must be dated between the year of the accession of El Muṭî' and the conquest of Egypt by the Fatimids. The public factory, *ṭirâz el 'amma*, has been alluded to above. The inscription is not well executed, and the م of دمياط might be doubtful but for a similar م in مطيع, where the reading is not open to question. This fragment appears to be the first piece of the kind published that is marked with Damietta as the place of manufacture. The town was so famous for its linen that a specimen is particularly valuable.

No. 4. COLLECTION No. 1751.

Fragment of a garment of very fine linen, counting about eighty warp threads to the inch, with a band of tapestry woven in dark blue silk on the warp threads, part of the weft threads having been withdrawn, the only part withdrawn for the stems of the letters being that making the width of the stems.



TEXTILES IN MR. ELSBERG'S COLLECTION. About $\frac{1}{3}$ size.

[To face p. 132.]



16 × 24 inches. The tapestry band is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide. From the excavations at Fustât.

Inscription.—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بركة من الله عبد الله امير المؤمنين . . .

Translation.—In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. Blessing from God [be on] the servant of God, the Commander of the Faithful.

Date.—Probably tenth century.

Remark.—After Commander of the Faithful there are traces of two words, but they are so faint that the reading can hardly be established. They may be simply الله "God strengthen him." It is more likely that they are the title of the Khalif, and الطائع بالله has been suggested. If the piece bears the name of Et Tâ'i, it cannot have been manufactured in Egypt, seeing that Egypt was in possession of the Fatimids throughout Et Tâ'i's reign (A.H. 362–381 = A.D. 974–991). The piece seems to be Abbasid. The square characters of the inscriptions are remarkable, and there does not appear to be any other example of the same kind of script.

No. 5. COLLECTION No. 1746.

Fragment, probably of a garment of linen gauze, though possibly of a scarf or turban cloth, with bands of tapestry woven in coloured silks on the warp threads of the linen gauze, the weft threads having been withdrawn. 14 × 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The tapestry band containing the double line of inscriptions in large letters is 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide; the letters are about 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches high, all in light brown and dark brown silk. The narrow band, separated by 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches of linen gauze from the wider, is 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, and is bordered at the upper and under side by an inscription $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide in dark blue silk on a light brown silk ground; between these two inscriptions on a ground of tan silk are conventionalized birds, alternately in light blue and in green silk, and outlined in black silk. From a cemetery in Faiyûm.

Inscriptions.—Double line in large letters

.. |الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله نصر |من |لله الرحمن
 الرحيم له ..
 ||المؤمنين |. | العزيز بالله|. لا اله الا الله والتوفيق . . .

Small inscriptions :

المملك لله

Translation.— . . . the Merciful and Compassionate. There is no god but the one God. Aid from God the Merciful and Compassionate to . . .

The Faithful . . . El'Azîz billâh . . . there is no god but the one God and prosperity . . .

The kingdom is God's (repeated).

Date.—Probably A.H. 386–411 = A.D. 996–1020.

Remark.—This magnificent stuff is much damaged and the reading of the first words of the second line is difficult. El Mu'minîn at the beginning of the line can hardly be wrong, and El'Azîz also seems to be fairly certain. Between the two there are the remains of a word now quite illegible. It can hardly have been anything else than *ibn*. Accordingly, the inscription does not celebrate the Fatimid Khalif El'Azîz himself, but his son, and it has been assigned to the reign of El Hâkim. There is a somewhat similar fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum attributed to El Hâkim also (Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles. No. 845). In the Catalogue Mr. Kendrick draws attention to two other fragments of about the same date, but derived from distant quarters. One of them is the izâr of Hishâm II, Khalif of Cordova (976–1013), preserved in the Royal Academy at Madrid. The other is a fragment of linen from Sâmarrâ, in the Kaiser Friederick Museum, Berlin, bearing the name of the Abbasid Khalif El Mu'tî (illustrated by Kühnel in *Islâm*, xiv, p. 83).

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

MIDAS OF PHRYGIA

Some fragmentary Hittite cuneiform tablets recently published by Professor Götze (*KUB.*, xxiii, No. 72) have brought to light a king Mitas or Midas, who preceded the Mita or Midas of Sargon's inscriptions by some 500 years. The fragments belong to the closing period of the Hittite empire, and may be confidently ascribed to Dudkhaliyas IV, about 1230 B.C. Mitas appears in them as attacking the allies and subjects of the Hittite king in Isuwa, Komana, and Kizzuwadna, more especially a city called Ismiriga. None of the fragments happens to contain the name of the country over which Mitas ruled, but as the western neighbour of Isuwa was the land of the Muskâ or Moschi, while Sargon's Mita was a Moschian we can assume that the Mitas of the tablets was a Moschian also. The Moschians formed part of the northern horde who overthrew the Hittite empire and we learn from Tiglath-pileser I that they had seized and occupied Alzi and Qummukh, south of Isuwa.

I have long believed that the name of Mita as that of an Asianic invader of northern Syria goes back to an early epoch. Mitanna or Mitanni, which included northern Mesopotamia as far south as the district opposite Carchemish, is simply "the land of Mita", and the name is found as early as the Karnak geographical lists of Thothmes III at Karnak, where it is coupled with [Ga]gati, which must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Mer'ash. The name is also found in the letter of the Mitannian king Tusratta; it was already of some antiquity if we may judge from the fact that in a letter of Saussatar recently found near Kerkuk it had been corrupted into Maiteri by some of the aboriginal population of the conquered district. We therefore now have three early kings of the name made known to us by the cuneiform texts, (1) a Mita who gave his name to Mitanni

and probably belongs to the Hyksos period. (2) the Mita of the newly published Hittite fragments, and (3) the Mita of Sargon. They all belonged to north-eastern Asia Minor, and were invaders of the fertile north Syrian lands which lay to the south-east of them. Two at least of them were Muskâ or Moschians.

In Greek history and legend Midas is a Phrygian. Here, again, there was more than one Midas, the last recorded of whom lived in the time of the Kimmerian invasion and was said to have perished through drinking bull's blood. One of his sons fled to the court of Croesus. He may have been the Midas, son of Gordius, who according to Herodotus (i, 14) was "the first of the barbarians known to us" who sent offerings to Delphi. Another Midas mentioned by Plato (*Phædr.* 264 D) was buried in a tomb adorned with the bronze figure of a girl, while yet another was buried in one of the famous rock-tombs of Kumbet in the Doghanlü valley, which the Phrygian inscription attached to it states was made by Ates the Arkian high-priest "for Midas the king" (*vanaktei*). The name of Midas also occurs in the fragmentary Phrygian inscription discovered by Professor Garstang at Tyana (Sayce, *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, xlv, pp. 29-35).

Midas was a prominent figure in Asianic and early Greek myth, and like the Hittite kings could be entitled a "god". The gold produced by the Phrygian mines (or rivers) and trade became the precious metal into which everything that Midas touched was turned; the rose-gardens of Asia Minor, from which Sargon of Akkad had brought the rose-trees which he acclimatized in Babylonia, were celebrated as the gardens of Midas, and the ass's ears of the Phrygian king formed a subject for Greek art. The name of the king commemorated in the Moscho-Hittite inscription discovered by Sir W. M. Ramsay at Ilghin (the ancient Tyriaion?) is represented by an ass's head (which I read Moas), and the "Spring of Midas" in Phrygia (Xenophon, *Anab.*, i, 2, 13. *Pseudo-Plutarch, De Fluv.*, 10, 1), was called "Ivra, with which we may

compare the ὄνος of Hesychius, "a mule whose father is a horse and the mother an ass." It was at the Spring of Inna that Seilenus was captured by Midas.

The name of "Mida" occurs twice in the fragment of the early Phrygian inscription found by Professor Garstang at Tyana (Bor), where the ethnic title *Memewis* "the Memewan," is attached to it. The same title (written *Memerais*) is given to Baba, the architect of the Old Phrygian architectural remains at Kumbet. In one of the Lydian inscriptions of Sardes (xiii, 4) reference is made to a "Midas quarter" (*Mida-d-ad*) at Sardes, and a city of Midas is mentioned in a Hittite text (*Hittite Texts in the British Museum*, No. 4. 8), where it is associated with the city of Salmâs. On the leaden Moscho-Hittite rolls found at Assur MI-tua-MÊ "the city of Mita" interchanges with *Tua-uana-a* or Tyana, and accordingly in the Tyana inscription from Bor (MESSERSCHMIDT, No. xxxviii) the ideographic MI has the phonetic spelling attached to it (MI-*Mi-i-t(u)a-na-mi-s*, i.e. *Mîta-na-mis* "of the land of Mita", l. 12). In correspondence with this we have in CARCHEMISH. i. pl. A 11c, 3, 4. D.P. *Tarkus NI-is Khul-a-n-i-is-mi TUTIS-MIS-mia Mi-ta-si un-ni-is AKUAN-ti-s-na*, "may Tarkus, the god of the River-land of the River Khulani, which belongs to the people of Midas (*Mita-si*), bless them," while in another Carchemish inscription (MESSERSCHMIDT, x. 7) *Khalmis-yikimes*(??). King of Carchemish, calls himself *Mi-ta-a-kan-is* "descendant of Mitas".

The Moscho-Hittite texts of Tyana and Assur, I believe, belong to the same period as the early Phrygian texts, that is to say, the seventh century B.C., but future discoveries may show that both classes of texts must be assigned to an earlier date. However this may be, the name of Midas characterized more than one early Phrygian or Moschian conqueror, who carried his arms south-eastward as far as the borders of Mesopotamia. One of them must have lived before the Tel el-Amarna age: another belonged to the period when

the northerners were establishing feudal kingdoms like those of the Normans in mediaeval Europe, and the Moschians under their five leaders took possession of the lands south of the Arsanias. Tiglath-pileser I refers to the latter event as having taken place more than fifty years before his time, and the Mita or Midas of the Hittite tablets will have belonged to the earlier stages of the same movement. We need not be surprised, therefore, that Midas came to play a conspicuous part in Græco-Asiatic mythology or that he was regarded as a god. The Hittite kings were gods not only after their death, but also in their lifetime.

Recent discoveries seem to indicate that the first occupation of Phrygia by the Nordic invaders from Europe must have occurred in the early bronze age, about 2000 B.C. The fact that the name of Midas was common both to the Phrygians and to the Moschians points to a connection between the two peoples, and it is worth notice that if my decipherment of the Moscho-Hittite inscriptions is correct there are a good many resemblances between the words and grammatical forms found in them and those found in the Old Phrygian texts.






By way of an appendix it may be added that the name of Gordius, who was the father of the semi-mythical Midas, is probably identical with the *Γερδιός* of Hesychius, who states that it signified *ὑφάντης*. "a weaver". The Cappadocian tablets have informed us that so far back as 2300 B.C. Asia Minor was celebrated for its manufacture of textiles, which were exported as far as Babylonia, and "the Gordian knot" occupied a prominent place in Greek mythology.

A. H. SAYCE.

KUMZARI DIMESTAN

In his interesting paper, "The Kumzari Dialect of the Shihuh Tribe," *JRAS.* 1930, pp. 785-854. Mr. Thomas has called attention to the word *dimestān* دیمستان "winter" in this dialect. p. 839, 854. The word raises interesting questions.

It is well known that the South-Western dialect (Old Persian, New Persian) is distinguished from the remaining Iranian dialects by the development of Indo-European *ǵ* and *ǵh* to *d* in contrast to the *z* elsewhere. There are numerous examples in Old Persian: *daraniya*- "gold", Av. *zaranya*-, Old Persian *drayah*- "sea", Ar. *zrayah*-; see Hübschmann, *Pers. Studien*, 220-3. Kumzārī presents both *d*- and *z*-: *dīl* "heart" is probably a loan-word from Persian, *dērīyō* "sea". *dīmestān* "winter", beside *zamiyō* "earth", *zāseh* "born", *zuwān* "tongue".

Kumzārī *dīmestān* interests Pahlavi studies. Here the word for "winter" is written . As usually in Pahlavi the first sign  is ambiguous. Here only two values of  are in question, *z* or *d*. For *z*, cf.  *zamān* "time" where *z* is from *ž*, Arm. loan-word *žam*, *žamanak*, derived from *gam*- "to come" with Indo-Iranian *ǵ*. Either *zīmastān* or *dīmastān* is a possible reading here. The Pāzand texts have two readings. Neriōsengh read *damastyn* in the *Mēnōke xrat* (West, *Mainyo i Khard*, *Glossary*, p. 54). His readings always deserve careful consideration. In the Pāzand of the *Bundahišn* (which contains often faulty Pāzand) *zamistyn* and *damistyn* occur equally: *Antia*, *Pāzand Texts*, pp. 45. 11, 19; 46. 6, 11, 18, 21; 47. 7, 8, 14, 19 (*zamistyn*); p. 45. 13, 20; 46. 8, 15; 47. 6 (*damistyn*). Junker (*Frahang i Pahlavik*, p. 109) supplies the traditional (Pāzand) readings *dāmastayn*, *damstyn* for the Aramaic  "winter". Nevertheless these Pāzand forms with *d*- were rejected by Horn, *Neuper. Etymol.*, p. 148, and by Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, p. 70; and Junker gave *zīmastān* in the *Frahang i Pahlavik*, loc. cit. In all other dialects only forms with *z*- were known. To those quoted by Horn we can now add Sogd. (Buddh.) *zm'k* "winter" and Sakan *ysumānu* "in winter". It is well-known that both North-Western and South-Western forms occur in Pahlavi, as in *dīz* "fortress" (N.-W.) beside *dīl* "heart" (S.-W.). Kumzārī *dīmestān* may therefore be

considered to justify the Pāzand reading with *d-*, thus supplying the South-Western form beside the North-Western *zimastān*. With this goes also a recognition of Pahl. 𐭌𐭕𐭕 **dimak*, **damak*, *Ardāy Vīrāz Nāmak*, 18. 3, N. Pers. *dama* "wind and snow, icicle". Arab. loanword *damag* "snow-storm", see Hübschmann. *Pers. Stud.*, p. 70, cf. Sanskr. *hima* "frost, snow".

One other point of interest in Mr. Thomas's paper is the phonetic change $t > \delta > r$ presented by *dušambur* "Monday": cf. New Persian شنبه beside شنبه, Turfan Pahlavi *šmbt*, Salemann, *Manich. Studien*, p. 126. Arm. *šabat*: *dūr* "smoke". Pahl. *dūt*, N. Pers. *dūd*: *spīr* "white", Pahl. *spēt*, N. Pers. *saḡīd*; also the loanword *korχudā* "old man", Pahl. *katakχcatāy*, N. Pers. *kadχudā*. The *-r* of *čōr* "wash" is also probably $< \delta$, cf. Pahl. *šōdom* "I wash", N. Pers. *sūyam*.

Kumzārī *bārm* "waves" can be compared with Av. *var̥mi-* "wave", and *hāmīn* "summer" is Pahl. *hāmēn* "summer". The word *keft*, *kuft* "he fell" is the well-known North-Western word (see Tedesco, *Dialektologie. Monde Oriental*, xv, 29, 2) corresponding to the South-Western *pat-* "fall".

H. W. BAILEY.

PHERENDATES—PARNADATTA

When, in the *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 904 *sq.*, I tried to explain the name of *Parnadattu*, the governor of Surāṣṭra mentioned by Skandagupta in his Junāgaḍh inscription. I had unfortunately overlooked Iranian evidence which is no doubt apt to support my hypothesis.

The suggestion was that *Parnadattu* which, from an Indian point of view, is scarcely explainable is in reality nothing but an Iranian **Farna-dāta-* (older **Xvarəno-dāta-*) "created by *farr*".¹ Such a form **Farna-dāta-* is without any doubt

¹ On the meaning of *Xvarənoth-farr*, cf. the sagacious remarks of Dr. Nyberg, *Le Monde Oriental*, xxiii, 1929, 367 *sq.*

to be found in the names rendered by the Greeks *Φερενδάτης* or *Φαρανδάτης*. Of persons carrying this name no less than five seem to be known to us through the notices of the classical authors. Herodotus, vii, 79, tells us that in the army of Xerxes *Μαρῶν δὲ καὶ Κόλχων ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης*¹ ὁ Τεάσπιος; and in ix, 76. we learn that this *Φαρανδάτης*,² who is also mentioned by Pausanias, iii, 4, 9, was killed in the battle of Plataeæ. In vii, 67, Herodotus again tells us that *Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου*; apparently there were in the army of Xerxes at least two generals of the name of **Farna-dāta*. A nephew of the unfortunate Xerxes who was killed at Eurymedon (467 B.C.) also was called *Φερενδάτης*, cf. Diodorus, xi, 61, 3; Plutarch, *Cimon*, 12. 6³ (quoting Ephorus). Still another *Φερενδάτης*, according to Diodorus, xvi, 51, 3, was the satrap of Egypt during the reign of Artaxerxes III Ochus (after 345 B.C.).⁴ Finally, the oldest of all seems to be Pherendates, satrap of Egypt during the reign of Darius I, and from whom a letter is still preserved.⁵ That so many high-born Persians wore the name **Farna-dāta*- seems to me to make it still more probable that this is really the form underlying the name *Parnadatta*.

This *Parnadatta*, by the way, had a son called *Cakrapālita*.⁶ Whether this name can possibly be a translation of an Iranian one may so far be left aside.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

¹ Certain MSS. read *Φερενδάτης*.

² Here certain MSS. read *Φαρναδάτεος*, which would certainly be a better form.

³ Ed. Doehner (Didot), i, 581.

⁴ Cp. Justi, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii, 468. So far I have used materials found in Justi, *Altiranisches Namenbuch*, p. 91.

⁵ Cf. Spiegelberg, *Sitz. ber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1928, p. 604 sqq.

⁶ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*.

KRISHNA DEVA RAYA'S CONQUEST OF RACHOL

It is not the purpose of this paper to tell the story of Kṛiṣṇa Dēva Rāya's campaign against Rachol. It has been narrated at length by the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz whom Mr. Sewell followed though misplacing the campaign.

Our aim is to find out what city and fortress was the one conquered by the great Tuluva Emperor. Sewell without any hesitation supposes that Rachol was Raichur, in the centre of the Deccan. True, Raichur was also seized by the great Emperor, as Ferishta relates,¹ but the learned author finds a stumbling-block as regards the date. The conquest of Raichur took place (according to Ferishta) in H.E. 927, which corresponds to the year A.D. 1521. But Nuniz says that the great fight occurred on the new moon day of the month of May, A.D. 1522.²

Indeed, the only reason Sewell seems to have had for the identification, besides the similarity of the names Rachol and Raichur, is that "taking the two narratives (Nuniz's and Ferishta's) as a whole, there are too many points of coincidence to leave any doubt in the mind that each chronicler is writing of the same event".³

Nevertheless, there are several reasons against this identity, and these are the reasons we intend to study in the following pages.

1. *The Name.*—Though there is some phonetical similarity between Raichur and Rachol, the origin of the words nevertheless seem to be totally different. Raichur may probably mean the *hair-knot* of the king, referring to the peculiar geological formation of the Raichur hill. What Rachol originally meant it is hard to say, its present form being probably a corruption made by the Portuguese. That the place might be an original settlement of the Kshatrya tribe

¹ Ferishta-Briggs, iii, pp. 48-51.

² Sewell, p. 326.

³ Sewell, p. 153.

of Rachevadus seems phonetically not improbable; yet ethnographically this seems too far-fetched an explanation.

2. *The Meaning of the Word Rachol.*—Rachol for the chronicler Nuniz could never mean Raichur in the centre of the Deccan. Rachol is for the Portuguese nothing else but Rachol, the fort city of the peninsula of Salsette. Faria y Sousa also speaks of Rachol, not of Raichur, as conquered by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.¹

3. *Geographical Position.*—The narrative of Paes records that the mountains round Vijayanagara reach the kingdom of Daquem (Deccan), the territories belonging to the Ydallcāo (Adil Khan, the Sultan of Bijapur) and the city of Rachol that formerly belonged to the king of Narsymga.² Paes here mentions three countries as the limit which the Vijayanagara mountains reach. These three countries run from east to west—the kingdom of the Deccan (viz. Golkonda), the kingdom of Ydallcāo (Bijapur), and the city of Rachol. That by the kingdom of the Deccan Paes means the kingdom of Golkonda is evident from another passage of his chronicle, where he points out the northern boundaries of the Empire of Vijayanagara. These boundaries are the following: the territory of Bengal, the kingdom of Oriyya, the kingdom of the Dakhan, the lands of the Ydallcāo and those of Ozemelluco (Nizam-ul-Mulkh of Ahmednagar).³ From this it appears that the kingdom of the Deccan lay between the kingdom of Orissa to the east and the kingdom of Bijapur to the west. A kingdom thus described cannot be other than Golkonda: and accordingly the city of Rachol is placed by Paes west of the kingdom of Bijapur, viz. in the present Goa territory.

4. *The Presence of the Portuguese Captain.*—Faria y Sousa narrates that after the defeat of the army of Bijapur, when Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya turned his forces against the walls of

¹ Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, i. p. 195.

² Sewell, p. 243.

³ Sewell, p. 239.

Rachol, twenty Portuguese, headed by a captain named Cristovão de Figueiredo, suddenly appeared before the king. They were taking some Arab horses to be sold to Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, and eventually entered his camp in front of Rachol.¹ From the Spanish original of this author it may be easily gathered that the intention of Figueiredo was to proceed to Vijayanagara : and it was only after leaving Goa that he heard of the king's proximity while besieging Rachol. This seems to be confirmed by Correa, according to whom Figueiredo was sent by the Governor Lopo Soares to Vijayanagara with horses and elephants.²

Now, supposing that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya was then besieging Raichur, Figueiredo while on the way to Vijayanagara could not meet the Emperor, since Raichur is farther from Goa than Vijayanagara itself. On the other hand, supposing that Kṛishṇa was besieging Rachol in Salsette, the Portuguese Captain would hear of the campaign of that monarch as soon as he left Goa, and thus would therefore proceed to the Vijayanagara camp at Rachol to transact his own business with the sovereign.

5. *The Date*.—We have already seen that the date of the conquest of Raichur, as given by Ferishta, does not coincide with the date of the conquest of Rachol assigned by Nuniz. Hence they must be regarded as two different actions, unless weighty reasons (which in the case do not exist) should suggest an identification.

6. *Consequences of the Capture of Rachol*. (a) *Conquest of Salsette*.—All the old Portuguese authors tell us that after the conquest of Rachol, Ruy de Mello, the acting Governor of Goa on behalf of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (then absent in the Red Sea), taking advantage of the distress caused to the Sultan of Bijapur by the surrender of Rachol, seized

¹ Faria y Sousa, op. cit., i, p. 196.

² Correa, *Lendas da India*, ii, pp. 509-10 ; Couto, Dec. III, liv, iv, c. v, p. 431. The date does not seem to agree.

the mainlands of Goa.¹ What was meant by the mainlands of Goa is explained by Sewell himself when stating that "Ruy de Mello took possession of the mainland of Goa, *including Salsette*, in ten days".² (Italics mine.) Accordingly, after the capture of Rachol, the whole of Salsette was seized by the Portuguese, taking advantage of the fact that the power of the Sultan of Bijapur was enfeebled there. Certainly the capture of Raichur would not have enfeebled the power of the Adil Shahi Sultan in the neighbourhood of Goa; but the conquest of the fort of Rachol, in the strategic corner of the peninsula of Salsette, deprived the Sultan of his main stronghold beyond the river Zuairim. This explains the rapidity of the conquest of Salsette and probably other continental lands. Such a conquest would not have been carried out so quickly had the fort of Rachol still been garrisoned by the army of Bijapur.

(b) *Salsette handed over to the Portuguese by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya*.—The Vijayanagara Emperor was so grateful to the Portuguese for their help in the conquest of Rachol that shortly afterwards he granted all the territories of Salsette and his rights over them (as having belonged to his ancestors) to the Portuguese Governor in perpetuity. By way of compensation he claimed full monopoly of all the Persian horses that should arrive at Goa.³ If the Emperor had acquired no territorial possessions in Salsette this gift would have been merely a renunciation of whatever rights he claimed there. But all the contemporary authors speak of a real

¹ Barros, Dec. III, liv. iv, c. v, p. 443; Faria y Sousa, i, p. 196; Lafitau, *Histoire des Decouvertes et Conquestes des Portugais*, ii, pp. 344-5, Paris, 1734.

² Sewell, op. cit., p. 143.

³ Correa, *Lendas da India*, ii, p. 581; Paes, *Promptuario das diffinicoes Indicas*, pp. 72-3, says: "Esta Fortaleza de Rachol sendo do Rey Idalxa veyo contra ell Crisna Rao . . . e finalmente entregou a dita fortaleza aos Portuguezes, governando este Estado Diogo Lopez de Sequeira (como refere o Faria, *Asia*, tom. 1, p. 3, cap. 45), o Goes (Goes, p. 4, c. 61, page 318), & afirma o Padre Frey Francisco Negrão (Negr [sic] lit. arg. 10, fol. 441), que nos contos desta cidade esta o conto desta entrega."

donation. No campaign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya in Salsette is ever mentioned, if you prescind from this conquest of Rachol. There cannot, therefore, remain any doubt that the fort captured by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya with the help of Christovão de Figueiredo was not the fort of Raichur, but the fort of Rachol by which he secured possession of Salsette.

In the contemporary accounts there is only one objection against this identification. Nuniz says that "this city of Rachol lies between two great rivers". Mr. Sewell has naturally identified these two rivers with the Kṛishṇa and the Tuṅgabhadra, in the midst of which stood the fort of Raichur. But Rachol also can be said to be between two great rivers—the river Zuarim flows from south-east to north-west, and the other river called "of Parodá" flows from the south-east, takes a north-western direction, then suddenly turns towards the east and joins the Zuarim south-east of Rachol. Near the northern angle formed by the union of these two rivers stand the ruins of the fort of Rachol.

The natural and obvious identification of the fort of Rachol conquered by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya with the fort of Rachol in the Portuguese territory of Salsette explains the extraordinary length given to the narrative of this campaign by the Portuguese chronicler. This length evidently misled Sewell, who, according to his theory, supposes that the capture of Raichur marks the climax of the glory of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's campaign. Mr. Smith in his *Oxford History of India* held the same view.¹ But Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had already noted in 1917 that the importance given by Nuniz (and with him by the other authors) to the conquest of Rachol was evidently exaggerated.² In fact, the campaign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya in Orissa seems to be much more important, both as regards military enterprise and as far

¹ Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 304, 2nd ed.

² S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *The Yet-remembered Ruler of a Long Forgotten Empire*, p. 19 (reprinted from the *Hindustani Review*, 1917).

as the sphere of political influence in Southern and Western India is concerned. This campaign is sung by the poets and commemorated in many inscriptions, specially in the Andhra country; whilst that of Raichur-Rachol has only been briefly mentioned in Ferishta's history and in an inscription of the district. These two documents evidently speak of the Raichur conquest. Is there any satisfactory explanation in this difference of appreciation between the Indian sources and the Portuguese chronicles? If Rachol is identified with Raichur no explanation is possible; but if the Rachol of Nuniz is identified with the fort of Rachol in Salsette the reason is quite evident. His account of the conquest of Rachol is so full of detail on account of the special interest the Portuguese had in that fort—the stronghold of the recently acquired peninsula of Salsette. Though the conquest was not of great importance for the empire, it was very important indeed for the development of the Portuguese possessions in India. That was the reason why Nuniz, and after him several Portuguese authors, contemporary or almost contemporary to these events, speak at length of the conquest of Rachol, giving only a slight reference to the campaigns of Orissa that had no connection at all with the interests of the Portuguese in the East.

H. HERAS, S.J.

URDU GRAMMATICAL NOTES. I

(a) MASCULINE NOUNS ENDING IN -ī

We are apt to think that all nouns ending in -ī and denoting inanimate things are fem. with the exception of *pānī*, water; *jī*, mind, self; *ghī*, a kind of butter; *motī*, pearl; *dahī*, buttermilk. In this we are wrong. There are many other masc. nouns ending -ī. I submit the following list; perhaps there are others. One or two of them are occasionally heard fem. In the case of some it is possible to explain why they are masc. (e.g. names of months are masc.), but these

explanations are often of little value to the student. He wishes simply to know which nouns in *-ī* are masc. The reason for their being masc. is of secondary interest. I have purposely given the Urdu forms of the Arabic words ; their Arabic forms do not concern us.

<i>māzī</i> , past tense.	<i>ma'nī</i> , meaning ; masc. pl.
<i>mut 'addī</i> , trans. verb.	(commoner <i>ma'nē</i>).
<i>mushtarī</i> , planet Jupiter.	<i>janvarī</i> , January.
<i>tūtī</i> , parrot (metaph.).	<i>uskā farvarī</i> , February.
<i>tūtī bol rahā hai</i> , he is famous.	<i>maī</i> , May.
	<i>julāī</i> , July.
<i>qālī</i> , carpet (also <i>qālīn</i>).	<i>farvardī</i> , Persian month (also
<i>dī</i> , yesterday.	<i>farvardīn</i>).
<i>jadī</i> , Pole Star, Aries, Tropic of Capricorn.	<i>urdī</i> , Persian month (also <i>urdī bihisht</i>).
<i>jallāmīrī</i> , <i>jhallāmīrī</i> , boy's game.	<i>jumādī ul avval</i> (or <i>ṣānī</i> , or <i>ākhir</i>), Muḥammadan month.

(b) THE NOM. PLUR. OF FEM. NOUNS IN *-a*

This is a point not taken up in grammars. The plur. of these nouns is formed not by changing *-a* to *-ē*, but by changing *-a* to *-ā* and adding *-ē*. Thus we get—

fākhtāē, doves : *zaccāē*, women with newly born children : *māda barrāē*, female lambs.

Similarly, if one were to get plurals of Arabic fems. in *-a*, such as *malika*, queen ; *vālidā*, mother, they would also end in *-āē*. As a rule these Arabic fems. avoid plurals.

(c) PECULIARITIES IN THE USE OF *ne*

To begin with we may state a general rule :—

When the root of one verb is joined to another verb so as to make a single compound verb, if either verb does not take *ne*, the compound verb does not take *ne* ; *voh hīs dī*, she laughed ; *voh leayā*, he brought.

The following verbs, almost all of which are or can be trans., do not take *ne*, whether they have an object or not.

<i>baknā</i> , speak foolishly.	<i>laṛnā</i> , fight (with), bite.
<i>bhūlnā</i> , forget.	<i>pānā</i> , succeed in, manage to, get permission to.
<i>cuknā</i> , finish.	<i>dikhāi denā</i> , appear.
<i>jannā</i> , give birth to.	<i>sunāi denā</i> , be heard.
<i>karnā</i> in such phrases as <i>banāyā karnā</i> .	<i>pakṛāi denā</i> , be caught.
<i>lagnā</i> , begin.	<i>denā</i> used with any other verbal noun of this form.
<i>lānā</i> , bring (prob. contracted from <i>le ānā</i>).	

The following are both trans. and intrans. They take *ne* when they are trans., otherwise they do not.

<i>badalnā</i> , change.	<i>qarār pānā</i> , be decided ; obtain rest.
<i>bharnā</i> , fill.	<i>ragarṇā</i> , rub.
<i>jhulasnā</i> , scorch.	<i>ulaṭnā</i> , turn upside down.
<i>paṭnā</i> , return.	
<i>pukārnā</i> , call out, call to someone for help.	

The usage of the following is variable :—

<i>hās denā</i> , laugh (better with- out <i>ne</i>).	<i>ro denā</i> , cry (better without). <i>samajhnā</i> , understand (better without).
<i>paṛhnā</i> , learn, read (better with <i>ne</i>).	<i>sīkhnā</i> , learn (better with).

The following never take *ne* when used without an object. When they have an object they may take it.

<i>bolnā</i> , speak (much better without).	
<i>hārnā</i> , lose, be defeated ; <i>jītnā</i> , win. When these two have an object such as <i>bāzī</i> , game, <i>sharṭ</i> , bet, they may either take or omit <i>ne</i> .	

cāhnā omits *ne* when the nom. is *dil*, *jī*, heart, etc. Other-
wise it takes it.

It should be mentioned that *baḥaṣnā*, argue ; *cillānā*,
cry out ; do not take *ne*, while *sāth denā*, accompany, does.

The following intrans. verbs take *ne* :—

thūknā, spit. This can be trans. as in *sāre shahr ne us ko thūkā*, the whole city despised him.

hagnā, mūtna, perform the offices of nature.

mānnā, agree (sometimes intrans.).

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

(To be completed in the April Journal.)

FONDATION DE GOEJE

COMMUNICATION

1. Le bureau de la fondation n'a pas subi de modifications depuis le mois de novembre 1929, et est ainsi composé : C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Housma, Tj. de Boer, J. J. Salverda de Grave et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Depuis quelques mois le bureau s'occupe de la publication éventuelle de deux travaux dans le domaine de la littérature arabe.

3. Des huit publications de la fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués : 1, Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la Ḥamāsah de al-Buḥturī (1909), fl. 96 ; 2, Kitāb al-Fākhīr de al-Mufaḍḍal, éd. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6 ; 3, Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte, par I. Goldziher (1916), fl. 4·50 ; 4, Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove, éd. A. J. Wensinck (1919), fl. 4·50 ; 5, De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen, par C. van Arendonk (1919), fl. 6 ; 6, Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung, par I. Goldziher (1920), fl. 10 ; 7, Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes, übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen versehen, par S. Van den Bergh (1924), fl. 7·50 ; 8, Les "Livres des Chevaux", par G. Levi Della Vida (1928), fl. 5.

NOTE TO PAGE 509 OF THE JULY, 1930, NUMBER OF
THE *JOURNAL* OF THE R.A.S.

By an unobservant slip I said that Juwaynī had drawn his materials for his history of the Ismāʿīlīs from the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn. This of course could not have been true of the original work of Juwaynī. What we have, however, appears to be a redaction, unless we are to assume that Juwaynī used very unskillfully an early work on the Ismāʿīlīs to which both he and Rashīd al-Dīn had access. The omissions in the extant text of the *Taʾrīkh-i Jahān-Gushā* make it evident at any rate that Rashīd al-Dīn did not use it as a source for his own history.

R. LEVY.

NOTICE TO AUTHORS

Authors who desire to obtain more than twenty free copies of their articles as published in the *JRAS.* are requested to obtain from the Secretary the required Order Form, which should then be filled up as desired, and returned direct to Messrs. Austin & Sons, Ltd., Fore Street, Hertford, Herts, not later than 15th January, 15th April, 15th July, or 15th October, according as the article in question is published in the first, second, third, or fourth quarterly number of the *Journal*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

FIRDAUSU 'L-ḤIKMAT OR PARADISE OF WISDOM OF 'ALÍ B. RABBAN AL-TABARÍ. Edited by M. Z. ŞİDDÍQÍ, Ph.D. Berlin: "Sonne" Press, 1928.

'Alí b. Rabban, son of a Jewish physician, teacher of the famous Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá al-Rází (Rhazes), and protégé of the Caliph Mutawakkil, has enjoyed something like a European reputation since the appearance of his *Kitábu 'l-Dín wa'l-Dawla*, which was discovered, edited, and translated by Dr. Mingana several years ago. This is an Apologia for Islam, and some amusing suggestions have been made as to the origin of the unique MS. The *Paradise of Wisdom*, which supplies little fuel for theological controversy and is preserved in five MSS., will hardly be supposed, even in Bollandist circles, to have been written by Professor Şiddíqí himself. Its historical importance as the oldest extant compendium of Arabian medicine was first pointed out by the late Professor E. G. Browne in his Fitzpatrick Lectures on that subject (pp. 37-44), where the character and general plan of the work are admirably described. While recognizing its value, he does not rank its originality very high; and it was, in fact, soon superseded by the works of Rází just as these in their turn were rendered obsolete by the *Qánún* of Ibn Síná. Moreover, the author cannot divest himself of the superstitions of his age: he believes in the "evil eye" and recommends the use of prayers, charms, and talismans. His book contains some curious physical speculations, e.g. on the genesis and transmutation of the four elements, a certain amount of metaphysics and psychology, and a great deal of medical information largely borrowed from Greek and Indian writers. With the help of Dr. Withington, the editor has traced many quotations and compared them with the originals (see Appendix 2). His verdict is that the author's translations are

inexact and often include matter compiled from various sources.

The editor has taken great pains to establish a critical text by collating three MSS. (British Museum, Berlin, and Gotha) throughout, while another in private possession at Lucknow has been used for the last 120 pages. Probably none of these copies is older than the sixteenth century. Passages found only in one MS. are distinguished by means of typographical signs, and the variants are given in footnotes. Although the list of errata might have been amplified with advantage, they are not unduly numerous considering the difficult conditions in which the text was printed. Besides the short English preface, there is a table of contents in Arabic and a full and excellent introduction in the same language, giving an account of 'Alī b. Rabban, his life and work, the authorities on whom he relies, and the circumstances which led to the preparation of this edition. Subsidised by the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund and dedicated to the memory of E. G. Browne, the volume well deserves a place in the already long record of scholarly research that has been aided by his learning and inspired by his example.

R. A. N.

THE ARABIC WORKS OF JABIR IBN HAYYAN. Edited with Translations into English and Critical Notes by ERIC JOHN HOLMYARD, M.A., D.Litt., etc. Vol. I, Part I (Arabic texts). 10 × 6½, pp. 15 + 172. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928.

Dr. Holmyard is well known as a writer of authority on Arabic alchemy, whence there is no doubt of his qualifications for editing the works ascribed to Jābir ibn Ḥayyān. The fasciculus before us consists of eleven treatises reprinted from a lithographed edition which appeared in Bombay, 1891.

The notice of Jābir in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm is of great interest, as among other things it records doubts whether such a person ever existed, though Ibn al-Nadīm holds that

no one would take the trouble to compose so many treatises and then ascribe them to someone else—an argument which would compel us to regard Hermes Trismegistus as a historical character. Dr. Holmyard promises to discuss this question in a later fasciculus, and his results will be awaited with interest.

The author's references to himself are rare. On p. 100 he mentions "my master Ja'far b. Muḥammad and my teacher Ḥarbi and Udhū al-Ḥimār (the Ass's Ear) the Logician". The first of these is the Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (A.H. 80–148), who is also introduced p. 147 as issuing instructions to the author; on this occasion he mentions his 500 books, whereas he more frequently refers to 112. The latter are specially enumerated by Ibn al-Nadīm, whose list contains most but not all of the titles in the printed text. The Arabic is often incorrect, which is not surprising in works of this kind; the only word noticed by the present writer which seems to belong to a later period than the second century A.H. is زغل for "false coin" p. 141, 10, which is otherwise (it would seem) first found in the work of Jaubari of the seventh century A.H. (see *ZDGM.*, xx, 495), then in the vernacular of Egypt (Ibn Iyās, ii, 56, 7; iii, 271, 4 a.f.; Sakhāwī's *Tibr Masbūk*, 309, 13 a.f.). However, we must wait for Dr. Holmyard's views both on the actual value of the matter contained in these pamphlets and their authorship. D. S. M.

RERUM NORMANNICARUM FONTES ARABICI. Collegit et edidit
ALEXANDER SEIPPEL. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 45 + 154 + lxxiv.
Osloae, 1896–1928.

This work is in the style of Amari's *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula* and Dorn's *Muhammedanische Quellen*, i.e. a collection of passages wherein Arabic authors say something about the Normans. A brief account of the sources, which are fifty in number, is prefixed to the texts, which are followed by critical notes. The earliest author cited is Ibn Khordadbeh, the latest

al-Maqqari. A certain number of the works excerpted are still in MS. and the collector has been at pains not only to obtain access to the libraries in which they are preserved, but to consult MSS. of books which are accessible in printed editions.

Since according to the title-page this volume has occupied thirty-two years in the production, more is scarcely to be expected; yet it would seem clear that the contents would naturally be of most interest to historical students who are unacquainted with Arabic; and in order to provide for their needs a translation should have been added. Those who are familiar with Arabic will regret the absence of Indices, such as Amari and Dorn took trouble to provide.

In some ways the collector seems to have erred on the side of liberality. He has reprinted the whole of Mutanabbi's most famous poem in praise of Saif al-daulah, commencing على قدراهل العزم تأتى العزائم. Many of us must have read that ode and even learned it by heart without knowing that it contained any allusion to the Normans. Such an allusion is found by the collector in the line "How can the Rūm and the Rūs hope to destroy it (Saif al-daulah's fortress)?" The note explains: *Vocabulo al-Rus quod in hoc carmine occurrit designantur haud dubie mercennarii Scandinavicae stirpis, qui in exercitu Graeco militiam faciebant.* Mas'ūdī, to whom a reference is given, names الكوزكانه among the tribes of the Rūs; this, which is in the *Tanbīh*, is identified by M. Seippel with اللوزغانه mentioned by the same author in the *Murūj*. Both forms he regards as corrupt for النورمانه meaning "Normans". It should be added that Mas'ūdī in the former passage says distinctly that the Rūs employed in the Byzantine army were Slavs. The editor of the *Tanbīh* thinks Gotland is meant, the editor of the *Murūj*, Lithuania; the Normans would seem to be a long way off in every sense.

A small portion of the material was collected and translated by Dozy in his *Recherches*, where the names of previous

students of this subject are recorded. Due acknowledgment should be made to M. Seippel's industry and accuracy ; but it must be regretted that by the omissions noticed he has rendered his collection less useful to students than it might have been.

D. S. M.

CRESCAS' CRITIQUE OF ARISTOTLE : PROBLEMS OF ARISTOTLE'S PHYSICS IN JEWISH AND ARABIC PHILOSOPHY. By HARRY AUSTRYN WOLFSON. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 6, pp. 759. Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1929.

The name of Crescas, otherwise Hasdai, a Jewish philosopher who flourished about A.D. 1400, is unknown to many encyclopædias, but is the subject of a brief and somewhat rhapsodical notice in the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, where he is credited with having started a revolt from Aristotle, and having influenced the only Jewish philosopher of European importance, Spinoza. Of his treatise *Or Adonai*, "The Light of the Lord," wherein matter contained or thought to be contained in Aristotle's *Physica Auscultatio* is discussed, Dr. Wolfson has produced an edition for which "elaborate" would be an inadequate epithet ; the German *musterhaft* would seem to describe it best. For it is difficult to think of any demand which even an importunate reader might make that is not amply satisfied. In a volume of about 770 pages little more than a quarter is devoted to text and translation ; introduction, notes, and indices occupy the rest. The editor has taken pains in the introduction to give an intelligible account of the problems with which the text deals, and in the notes to trace the author's statements to their sources, whether Greek, Arabic, or Hebrew. His exhaustive indices render it easy to find anything, whether word, idea, or name, in the work.

The language employed by Crescas reminds one of the opinion expressed by Bleek, that the very worst monkish Latin was nearer the classical language than was the Hebrew of mediæval Jewish writers to the idiom of the Old Testament.

The style is so heavily charged with Arabic idioms and Arabic equivalents of Greek technicalities that one who was not familiar with Arabic would scarcely be able to understand it. Unlike many students of mediæval Jewish literature, Dr. Wolfson has acquired an adequate knowledge of Arabic and his translation is highly expert. It is indeed refreshing to peruse it by the side of the jargon of the original.

Without entering into the philosophical problems discussed, one who has had to do with the Arabic reproductions of Aristotle's treatises on poetry, rhetoric, and politics, cannot fail to be struck by the difference of the results. Dealing with material which was outside the range of their experience, the Arabic philosophers drift hopelessly; but time, space, and motion, which are the main topics of the *Physics*, were no less familiar to Arabic than to Greek writers; whence their treatment by the former, whatever may be its value to those who have been taught by Newton and his successors down to Einstein, is by no means contemptible, like Avicenna's classification of Greek poetical styles, or Alfarabi's theory of the forms of government. Dr. Wolfson has therefore done good service in rendering the work of Crescas generally accessible, while, as has been seen, the mode wherein he has discharged his editorial duties deserves warm eulogy.

D. S. M.

معجم المصنفين طبع في ظل دولة السلطان ملك الدكن ١٣٤٤ سنة

DICTIONARY OF AUTHORS. Printed under the shadow of His Highness the Sultan, King of the Deccan. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7$, pp. 386 + 336 + 513. Parts I to IV. A.H. 1344. Printed in Beyrut. Rs. 3 for each part; Rs. 10 for set.

The preface of this work states that it was compiled by a number of Indian scholars; but in a letter of recommendation by "the chief of the Ulema in Meccah" they are reduced to one, Maḥmūd Ḥasan of Tonk, who evidently speaks in the first person in the Introduction. This occupies the whole of the first part, and contains an account of the author's plan,

which is to interpret and supplement Ḥajjī Khalīfah's work, translated by Flügel with the title *Lexicon encyclopædicum et bibliographicum*. This is followed by a series of chapters, of which the first is a classification of the disciplines, whence the writer proceeds to certain philosophical and historical themes, and then to a summary notice of each of the disciplines, about 162 in number. The dictionary itself commences with the second part, which is devoted to the biographies of the four Imams, or founders of law-schools. Parts III and IV contain biographies of authors whose names were *Ādam*, *Abān*, or *Ibrāhīm*, and as these together fill 513 pages, the scale of the work dwarfs even Ṣafadī's *Wāfī bilwafayāt*, which exceeds a score of volumes. The printing is admirable, the Arabic lucid and correct, and the industry of the author (or authors) colossal; and the price of each volume, three rupees, or 4s. 6d., extremely low. Even so, as the complete work can scarcely fall short of a hundred volumes, comparatively few students will find it suit their purses and their housing accommodation, so that it will not be a serious rival to Brockelmann's useful bibliography. D. S. M.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES FROM A STUPA NEAR GOLI VILLAGE, GUNTUR DISTRICT. By T. N. RAMACHANDRAN. Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. N.S., General Section, Vol. I, Part I, 11 × 8½, pp. 48, 12 plates. Madras : Government Press, 1929.

The present work is a description of the remains of a stūpa found in 1926 at the village of Goli, some 30 miles west of Amarāvati. The most important parts preserved are three friezes, which must have been each about 12 feet long, but only one is complete. A large figure of a nāga could not be removed, as it is now worshipped by the villagers, and in the room which has been built round it have been fixed the fourth frieze and two slabs.

The friezes now in the Museum were excavated by Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, and these, along with seven slabs have

been ably described by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, who has made a careful comparison with the Amarāvati and other sculptures. He comes to the conclusion that the Goli sculptures correspond with the fourth period of Amarāvati, and that they belong to the third century A.D. But the slab with the empty seat and deer representing the first sermon, is evidently much earlier.

The identification of the scenes, which are incidents from Buddha's life and Jātakas, is generally convincing, but Mr. Ramachandran has been hampered by the fact that he has relied chiefly on translations of the Jātaka book. Four Jātakas are illustrated, two scenes from the *Chaddanta*, eight from the *Vessantara* on the friezes, and on two slabs the *Mātīposaka-jātaka* (455), or as the *Mahāvastu* calls it, the *Hastinikā-jātaka*, and the *Sasa-jātaka* (316). There is, however, no reason for connecting them with the Pāli form of the stories, and the author gets into difficulties when he compares the scenes of Buddha's life with the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka*. Whatever the date of the *Jātaka*, the *Nidānakathā* was not in existence in the third century A.D. In the scene of the Bodhisattva receiving food after his austerities he says it is puzzling that there should be so many women besides Sujātā. This is because he tries to make it correspond with the *Nidānakathā*. He finds that there were two women in Rockhill's account, which he says was derived from such sources as the *Lalita-vistara*. But this was not a source of Rockhill, and if he had turned to the *Lalita-vistara* itself he would have found that there were ten village girls, of whom the last was Sujātā. It would then have been unnecessary to base his identification on what Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire said.

The most disputable identification is "Buddha's visit to Yaśodharā" on the first frieze. At one end Buddha is standing, and besides others there are three figures of a boy, whom he rightly identifies with Rāhula. One of them represents him looking up to Buddha and touching his robe. In

the middle he is apparently playing with a ball, and at the other end he stands looking up with clasped hands to his mother. Surely as clearly as anything this is the scene where Rāhula was sent by his mother to Buddha. Yet according to Mr. Ramachandran it is the private room of the mother of Rāhula, when Buddha came and sat on a seat, and she came and "clasped his ankles, placed her head at his feet, and did obeisance according to her wish." In the frieze she is dressed in a waist zone with armlets, bracelets, and anklets, and a fan held behind her, and looks much more like the Yaśodharā of Sanskrit accounts, who sent Rāhula to his father with a love-philtre, than the mother of Rāhula, who for long had worn yellow robes and had discarded ornaments.

There is one short inscription on the base of a slab with letters like those of the inscriptions of Jaggayyapeṭa, which Mr. Ramachandran reads *si-ka-ma-la-ta-(ya)*, and thinks it may mean "(gift of) the female lay follower Malatā". It is perhaps doubtful if a lady, except in derision, was ever called Malatā.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

SHREE GOPAL BASU MALLIK LECTURES ON VEDĀNTA PHILOSOPHY. Delivered (December, 1925) by S. K. BELVALKAR. Part I, lectures 1-6. Under the auspices of the University of Calcutta. 9 × 6, pp. xvi + 240. Poona : Bilvakuñja Publishing House, 1929.

Dr. Belvalkar in the first instalment of his lectures on Vedānta philosophy has very properly understood his subject in a wide sense. It is rather the history of Vedāntic conceptions from their beginnings in cosmology down to Śaṅkarācārya. As a history it is original and illuminating, with a due regard to the work of other scholars, but there are two points in it that call for attention. The first is the chronological analysis of the Upanishads, an undertaking

already begun in the second volume of the author's *History of Indian Philosophy*. That there are chronological differences among the older Upanishads has been recognized, but so far the analysis has been rudimentary. Yet it is clear that there are often separate portions of different dates within each Upanishad, and their composite nature can be inferred with much more certainty than in works like the Homeric poems. But if the Upanishads are to be taken to pieces, and the fragments rearranged according to the true development of the thought, this implies a knowledge of what the development was. The first rearrangement is not likely to be final, but the author has set a worthy problem for his fellow-investigators.

The second point is the use the author has made of his chronology. He divides the material into four groups (with subdivisions) and the fourth is dated 750–550 B.C. This is said to correspond with a period of “thought-ferment” from 750 to 500 B.C. But he has given no evidence for any such ferment in Upanishadic circles. What he does is to refer to the Jain and Buddhist reports of heretical teachers in a later century, and without any attempt to prove that the Brahmins of Brahmāvarta knew anything of the heretics of Magadha. Other assumptions are made—that this thought-ferment was so bad that there was “a common danger that appeared to shake the very foundations of the society”, and that therefore the *Bhagavadgītā* was composed, “the last elaborate attempt made by the followers of the old Śrauta religion to defend orthodox Brahmanism against the disruptive forces that were gathering to a head in the century or so immediately preceding the rise of Buddhism.”

This, it appears, involves the question of the unity of the poem, and the author deals clearly with the theories of Garbe, Oldenberg, and Hopkins. But how are the contradictions in the poem to be explained? For the author there are none. Apart from a few unimportant additions he claims that it is possible to give a synthetic and philosophically

consistent interpretation, "without sacrificing the plain intention of even a single one of the 700 stanzas of the Poem". This appears to miss the main point. Scores of bhāṣyakāras and commentators, he says, have maintained that a unitary and self-consistent teaching could be extracted. And now Dr. Belvalkar has extracted another. But it is not necessary to prove that the author of the poem was self-consistent before we can attribute the authorship to one man. In any case this has little to do with the question whether the poem was composed before the rise of Buddhism.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

Indica

BY L. D. BARNETT

1. F. OTTO SCHRADER: THE KASHMIR RECENSION OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ. (Beiträge zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte. Herausg. v. J. W. HAUER. 3. Heft.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 52. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1930.

Having observed that the quotations from the Gītā in Rāmakaṇṭha's *Sarvatōbhadra* and Abhinavagupta's *Bhagavadgītārthasaṃgraha* shew considerable divergences from the Vulgate text (V), Professor Schrader rightly concluded that there must have been a recension of the Gītā peculiar to Kashmir (K); and of this latter he found a nearly complete copy—the only one that exists, as far as is known—in the Śāradā birch-bark MS. Or. 6763d of the British Museum, acquired in 1907. On the basis of this material he has prepared and published in the present monograph a collation of all passages where K differs from V, with extracts from the above-mentioned commentaries, preceded by an introduction. This scholarly and fascinating study is of much importance for the criticism of the Gītā text. Apparently, as Dr. Schrader holds, K was the only recension of the Gītā known to scholars in Kashmir down to the end of the tenth century, and "must

have fallen into disuse there at about the time of the extinction of the Pratyabhijñā school, say in the fourteenth century". It is thus quite ancient, and the question arises whether it represents the *Urtext* more faithfully than V. Dr. Schrader answers in the affirmative. K has fourteen whole and four half-verses which V lacks; of these he considers that "not one . . . is unmistakably an interpolation, while in one or two cases even the opportunity for an interpolation seems to be missing", and "some at least . . . may have been in the original Gītā before the number of its stanzas was cut down to seven hundred". On the other hand, two verses of V (ii, 66-7) are not in K, and in Dr. Schrader's opinion were not in the original Gītā. There are in K a few readings which may be corruptions of V, still more which look like emendations, but there is also a "rather numerous class of readings which appear to be original readings of the Gītā preserved in K but corrupted in V". Dr. Schrader argues his case with great skill, and the problem is a very delicate one. In a few cases the variants of K are so superior to those of V that they may be regarded as original¹; more often they seem to be either conjectural emendations or slight variations which might naturally arise in a rather carelessly guarded textual tradition. The verses peculiar to K may be genuine, or they may not: a decision is at present impossible. Thus we are led to the conclusion that K has preserved some genuine readings which V has lost, but that its tradition has been not a little warped by editorial emendations and possibly also by some interpolations. Whether in spite of these changes it is nearer to the original Gītā than V is still not clear: but we must be grateful to Dr. Schrader for the valuable materials which he has placed in our hands and the ability with which he has stated this important case.

¹ I venture to doubt whether we can include in this list K's reading *prājñāvan nābhībhāṣasē* for the well-known crux of ii, 11, for it seems to me like a conjecture to emend V's *prajñāvādāṃś ca bhāṣasē*, which I believe can be satisfactorily explained.

2. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE HINDU REVENUE SYSTEM. By U. N. GHOSHAL, M.A., Ph.D. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 313. Calcutta : University of Calcutta, 1929.

Mr. Ghoshal divides his work into four parts, giving us successively a review of the beginnings in the Vedic age, a discussion of references to the revenue system in the *Dharma-sūtras*, *Dharma-śāstras*, and *Nīti-śāstras*, an account of its historical evolution in Northern India from c. 300 B.C. to A.D. 1200, and a concluding summary, with a glossary of fiscal terms and an index. His treatment is scholarly and judicious, and he has thrown much light on the obscure problems of ancient Indian revenue-administration.

On a number of minor points, indeed, there is room for differences of opinion. Mr. Ghoshal is perhaps a trifle too ready to read the *Kāuṭalīya* as a document of Mauryan administration. I venture, moreover, to doubt his explanation of the term *uparikara* (p. 191, etc.), and incline rather audaciously to see in it the same thing as the Tamil *mēl-vāram*, i.e. the Crown's share of produce (*mēl* = *upari*) ; nor am I convinced by his interpretation of *udraṅga* and *sītā*. His rendering of *sētu* as "gardens and fields owned by the king" (p. 108) seems unlikely ; may not *sētu* rather be a sort of water-rate levied in payment for the use of reservoirs (cf. *Kāuṭ.* ii, 24) ? The old problem of the term *bhūmi-cchidra-nyāya*, I suspect, may be solved more satisfactorily by comparing Yādavaprakāśa's definition of *bhūmi-cchidra* as *krṣṣayōgyā bhūḥ*, "land unfit for tillage", with the section of the *Kāuṭalīya* entitled *bhūmi-cchidra-vidhāna* (ii, 2), which treats of the king's conversion of forests and wildernesses into grazing grounds, retreats for Brahmans, royal parks, and the like ; hence *bhūmi-cchidra-nyāya* would naturally mean "the same condition as that under which tenants hold land in wildernesses, forests, etc.", i.e. *precario*, with reservation of the king's right to eject them at his will. Further, while Mr. Ghoshal is right in maintaining that many of the Hindu fiscal arrangements lived on under Muslim rule, he

is hardly right in describing as "risky" Mr. Moreland's conclusion "that the Moslem conquest brought with it a fusion of the indigenous system with the nearly identical system of the conquerors" (p. 287), for, to take only one example, the Hindu system has no trace of the *manṣab*.¹ On the other hand, I heartily agree on essentials with him. It is particularly pleasing to see that he has wholeheartedly accepted the view that in ancient India the Crown owned the land, which I have taught my students for many years past, and which has recently been ably confirmed by Dr. Breloer. In this connection I would correct an ancient blunder which has trailed its length through many books and still lingers in Mr. Ghoshal's pages (p. 167 f.), to wit, the mistranslation of Strabo xv, 40 (quoted from Megasthenes), which Mr. Ghoshal, repeating the version of Mr. Monahan, presents thus (p. 167): "The whole of the land is the property of the king and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving one fourth of the produce." This last clause is absolutely wrong. Strabo writes: *μισθοῦ δ' αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τετάρταις ἐργάζονται τῶν καρπῶν*, "they till it on condition of paying one-fourth of the produce as rent." The preposition *ἐπὶ* is used to denote condition, price, or interest, as in *ἐπὶ δραχμῇ δανείζεσθαι*, which means "to borrow money on condition of paying one drachma (on every *mina* monthly, i.e. 12 per cent)". Strabo is thus in exact agreement with Diodorus,² and the conclusions which Mr. Ghoshal has based on the mistranslation fall to the ground.

¹ It may be added that the term *kalyāṇadhana* (pp. 245 f., 261, etc.) may on the analogy of Southern inscriptions be explained as denoting the marriage-tax. The translation of *kṣāra* as "sugar" (p. 90) also seems to be an error, while "*quid pro quid*" (p. 138) is very unhappy, and "Chālukya" (p. 257 f.) is a mistake for "Chaulukya".

² Diodorus is also misunderstood by Messrs. Monahan and Ghoshal; the true meaning of his statement is very skilfully explained by Dr. Breloer in his *Grundeigentum in Indien*, a work which throws some valuable light on the subject.

3. SOME ASPECTS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITY. (The Manindra Chandra Nandy Lectures, 1925.) By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A, Ph.D. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. i + 224. Calcutta printed, Benares Hindu University, 1929.

In his first lecture the author sets himself to show the existence of the science of polity as an independent study in India with a literature going back to at least 650 B.C., and with the fourfold object of teaching the methods for gaining a kingdom, preserving it, developing its resources, and bestowing its surplus wealth on deserving persons (*tīrthas*)¹; and he surveys the literature of polity, claiming that the *Kāuṭaliya* was well known from 200 B.C. onwards to the fifteenth century. The theme of the second lecture is the age of the *Kāuṭaliya*; arguments are marshalled to confute those scholars who would assign it to a post-Mauryan date and to prove that it belongs to the age of Candragupta, of which the former seem to me to be more telling than the latter, for we have singularly little knowledge of social life in the first centuries of our era, apart from Vātsyāyana, and there is not much cogency in most of the quotations of verses and dicta, which may well be traditional and tralaticious. The third lecture treats of the Hindu conception of the State, which is analysed into its seven elements, and is compared with Western theories. In the fourth lecture are discussed the various types of State known to the ancient Hindus, comprising (a) monarchy (subdivided into the rule of feudatory, overlord, and universal monarch), dyarchy, and *kula-saṅgha* or kingship spread over a royal family,²

¹ The attempt on p. 195 ff. to connect this word *tīrtha* with the technical *tīrthaṃkara* and *tiṭhiya*, and thus specifically to make the patronage of sectarian leaders a prime object of polity, seems to me needless and unconvincing. It is best to leave the word indefinite; different statesmen interpreted it differently.

² The correctness of this interpretation of *kula-saṅgha* in *Kauṭ.* (p. 100) may be doubted: the author on p. 103 admits that in *Anguttara-n.* the same word refers to clan-government.

(b) political *saṅghas* of Kṣatriyas, such as the *Gaṇa-saṅghas*, exemplified by the Licchavis, etc., (c) civic democracies, *naigamas*, and (d) country democracies, *janapadas*. The author has "no doubt" that the rules of procedure of the Buddhist Saṅgha "were those which were already in vogue with the institutions of a democratic type, whether political, municipal, or commercial" (pp. 124 f.); I feel less certainty. In the fifth lecture are considered the various Hindu theories on the origin of the State and position of the Sovereign, which are analysed and compared with those of Europe¹; and the sixth deals with the nature and end of the Hindu State, examining the function of the Crown in the creation of order and development of economic and cultural welfare and arguing that Kāuṭalya's conception of the social order is Vedic in character, but earlier than that of Manu. From this cursory outline it will be seen that Dr. Bhandarkar handles themes of importance; and it may be added that he deals with them ably. If some of his arguments do not seem to carry conviction, it must be admitted that he writes with skill and erudition.

A few points of detailed criticism may be appended. The author repeatedly writes "deserved" for "deserving"; why? The argumentation on pp. 65 f. seems to me to be obscure and not always sound. On p. 67, l. 17, and p. 69, l. 5, *śakyasāmanta* is wrongly translated. p. 97 suggests the query: does the author mean that there ever were any real *cakravartins* who conquered the whole of India? The question on pp. 99, ll. 2-3, is unintelligible to me, and the arguments on p. 113, ll. 2-9, and p. 115, l. 13, seem to be based on a misunderstanding of Pāṇini. On p. 117 the meaning of "tribal oligarchy" assigned to *pūga* is very doubtful. And *theothropos* on p. 162 clamours for correction.

¹ Professor Bhandarkar's discussion of the "paternal view of kingship" on p. 164 ff., though good in itself, is quite irrelevant in this lecture, as this view implies no theory of the *origin* of kingship.

4. HANDBUCH DES SANSKRIT MIT TEXTEN UND GLOSSAR. Von A. THUMB. 1 Teil: Grammatik. Zweite Auflage . . . verbessert und mit Nachtragen versehen von HERMANN HIRT. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xx+538. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1930.

Thumb's *Handbuch*, as Dr. Hirt remarks in his foreword, may be said to have two souls, as it not only sets forth the rules of Sanskrit grammar, but also presents them in the light of Indo-European comparative philology; and the notable skill with which the author has fulfilled this twofold task has been rewarded by the appreciation of students, which has necessitated the preparation of this new edition. Dr. Hirt, who stands in the foremost rank of comparative philologists, and has made a special study of early Indo-Aryan from the comparative standpoint, is peculiarly well qualified to bring the book up to date, and he has discharged his duty with vigour and success, completely re-writing some parts and supplementing or correcting others by appendices. In this case the adage *le mieux est l'ennemi du bien* does not hold good. The volume is not only an excellent grammar of Sanskrit, but likewise a storehouse of interesting data and theories of comparative philology, many of them indeed debatable, but all of them fruits of ripe modern scholarship.

A few points, however, still remain open to improvement, chiefly in the surveys of Indian literary and political history. Thus it seems to us that, with all respect to the great Bopp, it is doing him more than justice to style him the "Begründer" of comparative philology, which may be said to begin with Father Cœurdoux about 1767, and was first placed on a sound basis by Jones. The name of Alexander's great adversary was probably not *Paura*, as is stated on p. 15, but *Paurava*; the Greeks can hardly be said ever to have gained "festen Fusz" in India (ib.); and the statement about "die neue Blüte" of literature under Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī in the sixth century (ib.) is little more than a fairy tale, embodying vague memories of Candragupta II. The Brāhmaṇas,

according to orthodoxy, belong not to *smṛti* (p. 23) but to *śruti*. Inaccuracies of this kind, however, which concern the framework rather than the essential matter of the book, weigh almost nothing in the scale against its solid merits.

5. THE KĪCAKA-VADHA OF NĪTIVARMAN, WITH THE COMMENTARY OF JANĀRDANASENA. Edited, with an introduction, notes, and extracts from the Commentary of Sarvanandanaga by SUSHIL KUMAR DE, M.A., D.Litt. (Dacca University Oriental Publications Series, No. 1.) 9½ × 6, pp. i + i + xxvii + 128 + i, 5 plates. Dacca : The University of Dacca ; Allahabad printed, 1929.

The *Kīcaka-vadha* is a poem which won widespread admiration among the Pandits by its skilful manipulation of double meanings and verbal jingles, for it is often quoted in grammars, lexica, and works on *alaṃkāra* ; the author seems to have lived in the ninth or tenth century, apparently in Kalinga or thereabouts. It is quite brief, comprising only five cantos, or 177 verses in all, narrating (with some variations from the epic version) the story of Kīcaka's attempted outrage on Drāupadī, his death at the hands of Bhīma, Duryōdhana's raid upon Virāṭa's herds, and his defeat in battle by the Pāṇḍavas. Dr. De justly sums up Nītivarmaṇ's merits by saying that " he is not a great poet in the proper acceptation of the term, nor even a mediocre poet, but his pretensions are in other directions. His theme is slender, and no attention is paid to its really poetic possibilities ; but these defects are made good by the luxuriance of verbal embellishment and by the skill displayed in the use of double meanings and clever chiming. By this alone our author claims merit, and his work is one of the earliest authoritative examples of its kind ". It is therefore a welcome accession to the published stock of Sanskrit literature. Dr. De's edition of the text and of the useful and happily not too erudite commentary of Janārdana Sēna, together with his critical and exegetic notes, is marked by the thorough mastery of the technique of poetry

and *alamkāra* which characterise all his publications ; and although a few misprints occur, they appear to be practically covered by the list of errata.

6. THE ORIGIN OF SAIVISM AND ITS HISTORY IN THE TAMIL LAND. By K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A. (Supplement to the Madras University Journal.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. iv + 82. Madras : Diocesan Press, 1929.

This is a somewhat cursory survey of the elements which are comprised in the Śāiva religion of the Tamils. It begins with the Nāgas and the snake-cult represented by them, matriarchy with the *śakti*-cult, patriarchy with the *līṅga*-worship, and finally the cult of Śiva, originally a Northern deity of destructive nature, and thence proceeds in a somewhat disjointed fashion to the Śaṅgam literature, Buddhist and Jainism in ancient times, the temples of the Tamil country, and the history of the development of Śaivism, etc. The author has read widely and makes some interesting points, but it cannot be said that he is consistently critical or that he presents a very clear picture of the growth of Śaivism and germane subjects treated by him.

7. KARNATAKA KAVI CHARITE. Volume III (Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries). By RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A., M.R.A.S. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. lix + xcii + xxiii + 505, pl. i. Bangalore : Sri Laksminarasimha Press, 1929.

With this volume the labour of nearly thirty-five years is concluded and a service of the highest value to Kannada literature reaches a happy consummation. In it are noticed 215 modern authors, as well as 352 earlier writers. True, few of these latterday votaries of the Muse are of striking merit, and not few of them are obscure and insignificant ; but some have been notable figures in their generation, and all of them have laboured according to their ability to keep alight the lamp of their literature either by following the ancient paths or by adapting it to the new claims of modern life. The notices

begin with Appayya, c. 1705, and end with living authors, while a large mass of further information is added in appendices 1, 2, 4, 5, and 7, and in the introductions the author effectively replies to most of the criticisms of his previous volumes in Dr. Venkatasubbayya's *Keḷavu Kannaḍa-kavigaḷa Jīvana-kāla-vicāra*. The total number of authors who are noticed in the three volumes is no less than 1,048, a figure which bears striking testimony to the love of literature which has characterised Kannadigas from ancient times to the present day. We offer our congratulations to the Rao Bahadur on this happy completion of a masterwork in which neither the advance of years nor ill-health has lessened the skill of his craftsmanship, and which will be an enduring monument to the literary glories of his native land.

FOREIGN BIOGRAPHIES OF SHIVAJI. By SURENDRA NATH SEN.

8½ × 5½, pp. lvii + 492. Calcutta : Book Company ;
London : Kegan Paul & Co.

The literature connected with Shivaji is rapidly increasing, and this is the fourth of the series inaugurated as a Memorial of the Tercentenary of his birth. Dr. Sen has already written valuable books on the military and administrative systems of the Marathas and is well qualified to annotate the extracts contained in this volume from the accounts of episodes of Shivaji's career given by foreign writers. As such, the book constitutes a useful supplement to the source book of Maratha history which is in course of publication under the auspices of the Government of Bombay. The longest and the most interesting, though not the most historically reliable, item is the translation of Cosme da Guarda's *Life of the famous and fortunate Sevagy*. This work, written only fifteen years after Shivaji's death by a Portuguese or Goanese inhabitant of Portuguese India, contains much unhistorical matter such as the suggestion that Shivaji was born at Bassein and was of Portuguese descent, but it includes some information not

to be found elsewhere, as, for instance, the account of a naval engagement between the Portuguese and the Marathas. Its testimony to Shivaji's well-ordered administration and personal sense of justice is the more valuable as coming from a member of a community which had more reason to fear than to admire Shivaji. Of the French sources, we may perhaps be inclined to agree with Orme that Carré is too erroneous and too confused to be worth dependence, though Dr. Sen is willing to allow him more merit. The most interesting of the French extracts is the report from François Martin, the famous founder of Pondicherry, which throws fresh light on Shivaji's Karnatak expedition and helps to prove that it was intended as a permanent conquest and not as a mere plundering raid. Incidentally it shows what a plucky fight Sher Khan Lodi put up on behalf of the Musalman rulers against the invaders. The most reliable of the foreign accounts is that of the Dutchman Francis Valentine; but that is not contemporaneous and is largely based on well-known authorities such as Fryer. The selections from the English records are not important, but they are interesting as showing the pertinacity of the English Company in advancing exaggerated claims for the losses received at the hands of the Marathas at the sacking of Rajapur, and the good-humoured manner in which Shivaji avoided the settlement of these claims. The truth was that the Marathas and the English alike recognized the value of their intercourse. Dr. Sen seems rather querulous in his attitude towards his distinguished fellow-Bengali historian, Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar. He disagrees with the latter's acceptance of the English statements, made by various persons, of Shivaji's cruelty at Surat, on the ground that these statements were based on the evidence of Mr. Anthony Smith, who afterwards proved to be an undesirable character. But Anthony Smith was himself a prisoner and claimed to be an eye-witness of the cruelty, which was neither excessive in quantity nor in degree according to the ideas of the time : and there seems no reason

why he should have invented the incident. Dr. Sen also points out the incorrectness of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's translations from the French, and certainly the mistakes are bad. In one of the passages given, however, Dr. Sen himself seems to make a considerable error, and the translations from the French narratives for which Dr. Sen seems to be responsible generally read poorly, even if they are accurate. His style in English does not indeed lead to easy reading : but the book contains much painstaking work, and will be of value to students of the period.

AFGHANISTAN. By SIR GEORGE MACMUNN. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 359. Bell. 21s.

The position of Afghanistan in relation to the Indian Empire is of such continuing importance that a study of its history and conditions from so well-informed a pen as that of Sir George MacMunn must have great and permanent value. Sir George lays stress on its ancient connection and union with India, and reminds us that Hindu kings once held dominion over Kabul, long before the Moguls treated it as one of the Provinces of India. The peoples of Afghanistan moreover spread over India and carved out kingdoms for themselves from Peshawar to the Bay of Bengal, and very nearly to Cape Comorin, though the ruling dynasties were not perhaps so generally Afghan in their origin as might be supposed from the author's account. While, however, Sir George quite legitimately stresses the close connection between India and Afghanistan, Mr. Nariman in his introduction to *Through Amanullah's Afghanistan* points out with equal justification the even more ancient and continuous relations between Persia and Afghanistan : and he is certainly more correct in his statement that Pashtu is nearer to ancient Persian than modern Persian is, than Sir George MacMunn is in his assertion that Pashtu is derived chiefly from Sanskrit. The truth is that Afghanistan, much of which was included in the ill-defined area of Khurasan, has always been largely

Iranian in character, and was always distinct in essentials from India, however close the political connection. The closeness of that connection was, however, one of the reasons for the forward policy of Lord Auckland and his advisers which Sir George shows to have had much more justification than is generally allowed. It is well that the reasons for that policy should be so authoritatively stated from the British side, though it is shown clearly enough that the policy failed entirely, partly through insufficient allowance for economic conditions and partly through the choice of poor instruments. As might be expected, Sir George's account of the three Afghan wars is clear and sufficient, though it is perhaps strange to find a full description of the First War with no mention of the gallant, if impossible, Skelton. In view of the absurd pretensions advanced in Afghanistan in respect to the Third War, the so-called War of Independence, Sir George's account of the poor showing of the Afghan army is valuable. The "humiliating arrangement" by which it was terminated may have been justified by the war-weariness of the British Empire, but it has had unfortunate consequences in India and in Afghanistan itself.

It may be permissible to point out small errors in so excellent a production. The population of the Panjab is twice stated to be forty millions instead of twenty. The names "McCaskil" and "Clerk" are given as "McGaskil" and "Clerke". The 42nd (Queen's) Regiment did not serve in Afghanistan. These are small mistakes indeed in such a mass of facts which are set out for the reader with the humour which we expect from the author.

THROUGH AMANULLAH'S AFGHANISTAN. By SORAB KATRAK.

9½ × 6½, pp. xxxiv + 145. Karachi: *Sind Observer*;
London: Luzac. 10s. 6d.

This is an interesting account from the pen of a young Parsi merchant of Karachi of two journeys in Afghanistan

just before the downfall of Amanullah. It contains an introduction by Mr. G. K. Nariman, a well-known Parsi journalist of Bombay, who has himself visited Afghanistan. The latter's desire to exalt Amanullah's achievements and the strong points of Islamic culture, lead to some remarkable statements such as "while primitive Christianity hardly limits the number of man's legitimate wives, Islam fixes them at four. The monogamy of the modern West rests on no scriptures". The account of the Third Afghan War with its suggestion that the British first invaded Afghan territory and that "the Anglo-Indian Army was accounted vanquished" is distinctly disingenuous and should be compared with what Sir George MacMunn says of that "impudent and fatuous venture". Mr. Katrak's own account is very pleasantly written, and, though he himself was impressed with the apparent progress made under Amanullah's rule, he shows clearly enough how thinly the veneer of a cheap and gaudy Westernization lay over the real savagery and the still more real poverty of the country. Although the downfall of Amanullah came as a blow to those who desired to use him as an example of the fitness of Orientals to rule on Western lines, it is clear enough that his policy was dangerous to India as well as to his own country. Considering the importance of the Afghan trade to Karachi, some description of the commercial possibilities would have been useful; but the author is to be commended for his brightly written narrative.

P. R. CADELL.

EUROPEAN ADVENTURERS OF NORTHERN INDIA, 1785-1849.

By C. GREY and H. L. O. GARRETT. 12 × 7½, pp. 361 + xlviii. Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1929. Obtainable (price 16s. 6d.) from the Office of the High Commissioner for India, India House, Aldwych, London, W.C. 2.

In the modern history of India there are few more fascinating quests than the investigation of the careers of the European

Adventurers in the Punjab of pre-annexation times. Sir Henry Lawrence, who could speak with personal knowledge, experienced the attraction of the theme, and blended fact with fiction in his *Adventurer in the Punjab*. In more recent times Major Hugh Pearse has introduced to us one of the most flamboyant of this class in his *Alexander Gardiner, Traveller and Soldier*, published in 1898; and the career of the ferocious Avitabile has been laid bare to the world by the late Mr. J. J. Cotton in one of his most charming studies. The names of the more prominent or successful of the adventurers—Thomas, Allard, Ventura, Avitabile, Masson, Harlan, Gardiner—are well enough known, but except in the short appendix to Major Pearse's book there has not up to date been any publication which dealt comprehensively with the information available regarding these and other examples of the "Adventurer" class. This want has now been very successfully supplied by the book under review.

The time for drawing at first hand on personal reminiscences has now passed away; it may be said to have expired with the death, some twenty years ago, of the venerable and much-beloved Faqir Sayad Qamruddin of Lahore. But a good deal of oral tradition survives, and finds its way into the present publication through one of its authors, Mr. C. Grey, an old inhabitant of Lahore, who has long taken an interest in the subject. Some of the adventurers, such as Honigberger, Harlan, and Gardiner, left records of their own experiences, and in respect of most of them there are scattered references in the innumerable biographies, memoirs, diaries, and histories dealing with their period. All those sources of information have been diligently explored by the authors of the volume now under review, and there is probably little or nothing of value which they have not incorporated in their work. They have also had at their disposal new and valuable sources for research in the admirable reprint of Punjab Records carried out by the late Mr. F. Raynor in 1911; in the Sikh pay rolls

investigated by Mr. Sītā Rām Kohli; and in the other numerous records, English and vernacular, which are in the possession of the Punjab Government. Mr. H. L. O. Garrett himself, one of the authors of this book, has, in his capacity of Keeper of the Punjab Government Records, been responsible for the preservation of these sources of information. Under his enthusiastic guidance, the old Government Records have been rescued from oblivion and set out and arranged and made available for students in the appropriate atmosphere of the Tomb of Anārkali. From these sources he has unearthed a great deal of useful information supplementary to that already available, and the result is a book which cannot fail to attract the attention both of the historical student and of the general reader. It is a comprehensive work dealing with some seventy different characters, and supplying the information available regarding each in a manner which should render it for the future the standard work on the subject. At the same time, without making any undue sacrifice of academic accuracy, the authors have avoided the pitfalls of pedantry and their work exhibits a popular diction of a spirited and almost breezy character. They have produced a book which will give pleasure to a large circle of readers.

E. D. M.

MUGHAL LAND REVENUE SYSTEM. By LANKA SUNDARAM.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5, pp. iii + 103 + v. Woking: The Basheer Muslim Library. Price 3s.

In this pamphlet, reprinted from the *Journal of the Bangalore Mythic Society*, Mr. Sundaram makes a gallant attempt to elucidate an obscure subject. His equipment is, however, inadequate. He has not gone to the sources, but relies on translations and secondary works, some of which are long out of date; while he more than once deplores the inaccessibility of books which he would like to have seen. His account of Akbar's system is in effect "potted" Gladwin, and, while Gladwin was a worthy pioneer, he is not a trustworthy guide.

The pamphlet cannot, therefore, be regarded as a valuable contribution to knowledge, while the writer's general history is not immaculate : Abul Fazl was never " the famous vizier of Akbar " (p. 1) : Todar Mal never " served under Feroz Shah " (p. 32) ; Sher Shah reigned for five years, not " for nearly a decade and a half " (p. 19).

W. H. M.

BASAVA-RĀJA-DĒVARA-RAGALĒ. By HARI-HARA, edited by T. S. VENKANNAIYYA, M.A., Professor of Kanarese, the Maharaja's College, Mysore. pp. 106. Printed at Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore, 1930. Price Rs. 2.

This book is a welcome addition to the history of Kanarese literature, and it is based upon the palm-leaf original. In the history of the rise of Hindu creeds, Basava, the founder of Vira-Saivism (sometimes known as the Jaṅgama Sect) occupies a prominent place. Nevertheless, his life and achievements are still a matter for controversy. In the absence of any historical records, the followers and admirers of Basava have had to rely on the various *purāṇas* which have sprung up around his name, and it is precisely in the valuation of those that the importance of Hari-Hara's *Basava Rāja Dēvara Ragalē* is seen. Although this book does not enlighten us on many questions concerning the life and success of the expounder of Vira-Śaivism, it is a substantial contribution to the account we already have of him. Professor Venkannaiyya has brought to light many new facts about the life of Basava hitherto not mentioned in the various Basava Purāṇās. Further, in this work greater attention is paid to historical accuracy than to legendric superfluities, and as such it is of substantial value to students of literature and history. Hari-Hara was essentially a " Poet of the People ", and the fluency of his thought and diction places him in the front rank of the Kanarese poets. The introduction to the book, though ably written by Professor Venkannayya, is inclined to be rather pedantic.

C. S. K. PATHY.

THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE MOGULS. By D. PANT, B.Com., Ph.D., University of Lucknow. 10 × 7, pp. 3 + 281. Bombay : D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Rs. 6.

This book is a thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D. conferred upon the author by Trinity College, Dublin. Its title gives but a scanty indication of its contents, for, as Lord Meston in his Foreword has said, the book might with equal justice have been entitled "How the Moguls had no Commercial Policy," and this is a subject which could have been disposed of in a few pages. The writer has in fact undertaken a wider task, namely the history of commerce under the Moguls, but even this subject occupies some 30 or 40 pages only out of his 276 pages, and the rest of his book is taken up with a series of historical pictures illustrating the atmosphere in which the commerce of Mogul times had to struggle for its existence. These pictures are set forth in a discursive mood, and have often little enough to do with the subject in hand, but they are written with obvious gusto and, illustrated as they are by numerous quotations from travellers and other writers, they will afford to those who approach the subject for the first time a vivid impression of the days of the great Mogul sovereigns. In those portions of the book which deal more directly with trade and commerce, the quotation of authorities is somewhat indiscriminate, and one is not inspired with the confidence necessary to enable one to accept all the conclusions, some of them of a controversial character, which the author gives us without detailed reference to authority. The writer, however, is obviously interested in the question of the commerce of his period, and he appears to have the qualifications to write an excellent account of it which could be confined to the subject at issue, and supplied with scholarly documentation of the conclusions reached. If these are not the characteristic features of his present treatise, their absence is atoned for by a pleasant spice of enthusiasm and research which one is glad to see devoted to subjects of this important character.

ANON.

THE POST-CAITANYA SAHAJIA CULT OF BENGAL. By MANINDRA MOHAN BOSE. 10 × 6½, pp. xviii + 322, Calcutta : University of Calcutta. 1930.

The natural religion of man, says Mr. Bose, is based on an ideal of universal brotherhood, and the ideal is to be effected "through the personal realisation of love which is the cement of union". What he gives, however, is the study of a sect found all over Bengal, which is devoted to the practice of sexualism as the expression of religion. There is, we are told, a vast literature mostly in manuscript, and the author has become intimate with some of the gurus, so that he is able to tell much which not only explains the obloquy to which such sects are liable even in India, but makes it easier to get to the actual facts, though even he has to resort to asterisks. From this point of view his account is most valuable in clearing up the deliberate ambiguity of certain texts. There are certain psychological and probably physiological states to be explained. Unfortunately he has gone further, and tried to give a history of sex worship from the earliest times. This is based on second-hand and misunderstood sources, and even when he deals with its history in India he shows a lack of knowledge of the essential literature and also of grammar. He finds the ideal of Parakīyā (a term unnecessary to explain here) in the R̥gveda and Upanishads, and also in the Buddhist *Kathāvatthu*. Yet in the latter, although he refers to Mrs. Rhys Davids' translation, he translates *methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭisevanti* as "(they) enter upon sexual relations for the sake of dhamma", showing that he has no idea of the meaning of *methunaṃ dhammaṃ*, and that he thinks that *dhammaṃ* in the accusative can mean "for the sake of dhamma". Yet when he comes to the real Buddhist Sahajiya sect, he appears to know nothing of our chief source of information, the *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, nor of Dr. Shahidullah's important work.

Chapter IV is on the higher aspect of the doctrine, and ends with a comparative study of this doctrine with the

Positivism and Humanism of modern Europe. Nevertheless, when he is speaking of what he knows, his account gives the impression of candour and of a real knowledge of the practices of this sect.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

THE NATURE OF CONSCIOUSNESS. By E. R. ROST, Lieut.-Col., etc. 9 × 6, pp. 160. London: Williams & Norgate, Ltd., 1930.

THE BUDDHA'S GOLDEN PATH. A manual of practical Buddhism based on the teachings and practices of the Zen sect, but interpreted and adapted to meet modern conditions. By DWIGHT GODDARD. 7½ × 5, pp. xii + 210. London: Luzac & Co., 1930.

THE LOTUS OF THE WONDERFUL LAW, or the Lotus Gospel, Saddharma Pundarika Sūtra, Miao-fa lien hua ching. By W. E. SOOTHILL. 9 × 6, pp. xii + 276. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1930.

SĀMĀNYA AND MODERN THOUGHT. By J. GHOSH. 8½ × 6, pp. iv + 142. The Book Company, Ltd., Calcutta. [1930.]

All these works are devoted to religion and philosophy, and are only indirectly connected with philological questions. The nature of consciousness on the late Colonel Rost's theory is not the ancient Indian view that it is a little Man somewhere inside; nor is he troubled by the modern problem why certain cerebral vibrations should be accompanied by just what we call consciousness. For Colonel Rost the vibrations themselves *are* the consciousness, or, as he prefers to put it, consciousness is a functioning force of the nature of an etheric vibration. We are given a scale of vibrations of the ether from the longest up to the gamma-rays, followed by six still higher rates, which are consciousness, for "logically, consciousness must necessarily be the quickest form of energy in existence". Nor is he troubled with the rise of "awareness", because for him consciousness "includes the whole process leading up to

awareness". After a very rapid survey of the last hundred million years of the progress of evolution, and a chapter on the cytoarchitectonics of the human cerebral cortex, the author gives his views on Buddhist psychology drawn chiefly from the *Dhammasaṅgāṇi*. These we need not discuss, in fact, we are scarcely allowed to, for he tells us that one cannot improve on the *Dhammasaṅgāṇi*, and that it is "in the same state of PURITY as when expounded by the Buddha".

Mr. Goddard's book also deals with practical Buddhism, but from a Mahāyāna point of view. He was once an American missionary, but became a Buddhist, and his book may appeal to those in search of a belief, provided it is not belief in a soul, for he tells us that in Gautama's mind there was nothing like a self-conscious soul, nor is Buddhism primarily a religion or a philosophy. It is simply a rational and practical way of life. The author spent eight months in Kyoto, and became intimately acquainted with the inner life of Buddhism as revealed in its monasteries and temples. Without any pretension to scholarship it gives a picture resting on personal experience of the life and mystic practices of the Zen monks.

Professor Soothill has produced an interesting edition of the *Lotus* as represented by one of the Chinese versions, and for those who are merely curious to know what it is about there is an advantage in having the narrative linked by summaries and in the omission of repetitions. But no attempt has been made to utilize it for elucidating the original text. In fact, he thinks that the Chinese may be more a paraphrase than a literal translation, but that "in the absence of the original text it is difficult to speak with assurance". Does this mean that he is unaware that the Sanskrit text has been published?

His introduction declares that in Mahāyāna salvation is not attained by laborious effort, but simply by faith in the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; yet he is aware that in this system all beings are to become Bodhisattvas and Buddhas. Is there no effort in that? The Hinayanist is described as "the believer in the salvation of the few by works". But

what Hinayanist spoke of the few and of works ? It is not clear why he should say that the Vulture Peak is in Nepal, when the text says it is at Rājagṛha. Amitābha does appear under this name in the sūtra, though not (p. 45) as a Bodhisattva. There is a glossary, but why is *aranya* "hermitage", and *īśvara* "sovereign (in his own right)", and *dhuta* "discipline" ?

Principal Ghosh's book has also a practical purpose. He wished to produce something for India, and show that old ideals and outlooks are not necessarily obsolete. He has, therefore, taken the Sāṃkhya in its classical form and based his exposition on the Sāṃkhya Kārikās and the Sūtras with their native commentaries. There is no discussion of the problems of its development and its different forms, which have so much exercised Western scholars, but an admirably clear and persuasive account of the chief principles. Not the least remarkable feature of the book is the author's mastery of a beautiful literary style, which seems to be part of his mastery of the subject.

E. J. THOMAS.

THE KACHIN TRIBES OF BURMA. By W. J. S. CARRAPIETT.
 $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, pp. viii + 119. Rangoon : Superintendent of
 Government Printing, 1929. Price Rs. 3, or 4s. 6d.

Mr. Carrapiett, as a member of the Frontier Service endowed with an exceptional capacity for acquiring languages, had unusual opportunities for recording in detail the customs of the Kachins, and made good use of them. His book is very interesting. There must surely be few communities in which individuals are allowed so little free choice in their actions ; not because of the interference of others, but because at every step the omens have to be consulted. The amount of time devoted to ritual suggests what is the fact : that the men lead an idle life, nearly all the work being done for them by women or slaves. They show to an unusual degree the characteristics of a primitive race of fighters : truthfulness

and treachery, hospitality and an appetite for revenge. A story is told of a boy of ten whose hair was pulled by his uncle. Fifteen years later he hired a man to seek the uncle's hospitality (which by Kachin custom could not be refused) and murder him.

Those who hold the magical theory of primitive art will be pleased to read of the drawings which decorate the porches : bees to bring prosperity, a woman's breasts for children, elephant-tusks for wealth. Several customs have a humorous aspect. A creditor takes his relations with him to live in the house of the debtor, who will probably find it cheaper to pay his debt. When a man-eating tiger is killed, a stone is put in his mouth while the village priest eats a boiled egg, by way of warning other man-eaters that a tiger (the egg) is easier to overcome than man (the stone). The use of a bamboo knife for cutting the navel-string and of a bamboo spear and wooden sword at animal sacrifices are clearly survivals from an age, perhaps not so far distant, when metal implements were unknown.

The custom by which a Kachin maiden chooses her husband through a process of trial and error is well known. Less well known are the facts that the choice is followed by an elaborate marriage-ceremony (conspicuous by its absence among the Burmese) and that there is an alternative form of marriage, presumably considered more respectable, to a family ; the bride, if there is more than one daughter, being selected by divination. It would be interesting to know which form is commoner.

The book contains a chapter of useful warnings for officials, and numerous and doubtless excellent photographs, badly reproduced by the Government Press, which has not improved in this respect during the last thirty years. It is a work of reference, and its usefulness would be greatly enhanced by an index and a glossary.

R. GRANT BROWN.

DAS BUCH GENESIS. Übersetzt und Erklärt von DR. PAUL HEINISH. 1 bis 3 tausand. 10 × 7, pp. xii + 436. Bonn, Peter Hanstein, 1930. Price Mks. 17.50.

Here we have at last a bold and comprehensive undertaking from the conservative point of view to vindicate the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. The author is fully acquainted with the entire development of biblical exegesis. He investigates step by step all the questions and problems which have hitherto been advanced by a higher biblical criticism. With a keen insight and complete mastery of the subject, he subjects each of these problems to a searching investigation, and he is able to refute them one after another in a clear and dispassionate way. He represents the catholic point of view, though circumscribed by the decision of the Papal Bible Commission of 1906, he is still allowed a great latitude in the study of the Pentateuch, its origin, and its antiquity.

In the introduction from pages 1 to 90, he passes in review all the points which have been suggested as showing differences of authorship, especially by that biblical criticism formulated for the first time in its extreme way by Wellenhausen Graf, and then further developed and modified by scholars ever since that theory had been enunciated. Thus he shows by careful examination that the philological argument for various authors or various documents being used for the compilation of the Pentateuch are far from convincing or proving anything. Many of the characteristics claimed for one document, e.g. J., are also found in the other document called E. The difference in the use of the divine names Elohim and Ihwh, is shown not to be so consistent as has been alleged to justify ascribing one document to J. and another to E. These names occur then indiscriminately in the documents of alleged diverse origin. The proof which others have tried to bring from proper names is very convincingly refuted, and thus one by one the author is able to show how little reliability there is in the arguments advanced hitherto

for the theory that the Pentateuch is the result of a combination of various documents. Formally it had been alleged that in the time of Moses there was no writing. This is shown now to have been a fallacy resting on that ignorance of facts which have now been entirely removed by various discoveries, and even the suggestion that the text was written in cuneiform is shown to be a hypothesis resting upon no real foundation. He points with great justification to the diversity of opinion which is still reigning among all those who are supporting the complex origin of the Pentateuch. He argues among others that if there had been separate documents such as had been assumed then each of these documents would have contained a complete story. Why should a later redactor take a bit from one and a bit from another document when each tell the same tale, why not reproduce it in its entirety? And it passes the ingenuity of man to understand how anyone could have compiled a book of such uniform character out of small patches and tatters. On the other hand, he finds that there are passages which seem to be like glosses or explanatory notes, also some difficulties in the chronology and in the number of years assigned to periods, and even some slight difference in expressions.

Now the author declares himself in favour of a purely Mosaic origin of the text, Moses utilizing for the Pentateuch all the traditions which were alive among the people, and possibly also lists and slight notices which had come down from olden times. As for the first part of Genesis, the story of the Paradise and the Flood, the author believes these to have been primordial traditions common to most of the nations of ancient times and yet retained and told in a more perfect form in Genesis. The cosmology is of a purely didactic character. He thus gives us on p. 73 a list of all the passages which he believes to be due to Moses, and considers that the passages not included in that list are due to later interpolation and smaller additions made in the course of time. He points out that Moses had forty years time in which to write the books,

and he did not write the whole Pentateuch at once, but as circumstances arose so things were written down, and if there are slight changes in the terminology they are due to the development which has taken place in between and the years which have passed between one section and another. On the other hand, he is quite fair to the higher critics, for he gives on page 73 also the list of passages in Genesis such as ascribed by the authors to the various documents. He also does not exclude the possibility that Moses had some assistant who took down his words, which would not impair the Mosaic authorship of the book, but might explain some slight differences in the words used. Without following the author in this interpretation of the slight differences found, one must recognize in this book a very important advance in the interpretation of the text from a conservative point of view. His negative criticism of the opposing schools is, unquestionably, very destructive, whilst it would be rather difficult to follow him entirely in the constructive part. The difficulties which he finds in the chronology have already been dealt with by Denutius, a Hellenistic writer, 2,000 years ago, who endeavoured to cope with them and, as far as one can judge by the few fragments, seems to be quite satisfactory, and also the author of the *Seder Olam* of the first or second century C.E. has dealt with these problems, and seems to have solved them quite satisfactorily.

After this introduction then follows the translation to which the author has added very exhaustive notes. He is quite at home in the Babylonian literature and he knows all the theories which have been advanced in the interpretation of the text. In the introduction and still more so in the translation and notes the author gives a complete literature almost to each chapter and often to every important section ; each episode is fully illustrated by an exhaustive array of literary references besides a select bibliography on p. 94. Although a catholic professor of theology, it is important to add that no specific catholic tendency is found in the book.

Interesting are, therefore, the chapters on Paradise and the Flood. Chapter X, the list of nations and their identification. Chapter XIV, story of the War of Amraphel; the theories about the twelve sons of Jacob, and, finally, the blessing of Jacob, Chapter XLIX. Scholars may differ from the author in the interpretations of sundry passages, but no one who has followed the trend of biblical studies in modern times will fail to recognize the profound learning, the unbiased character, the fairness, and the consummate scholarship of the author. And all those who are interested in this subject owe him a debt of gratitude for this very valuable contribution to the study of the Bible and the attempted solution of some of the most important problems. An excellent index completes this work, which, moreover, is very beautifully printed.

M. GASTER.

HEBRÄISCHE GRAMMATIK MIT BENUTZUNG der von E. KAUTZSCH bearbeiteten 28. Auflage von Wilhelm Gesenius' hebräischer Grammatik verfasst von G. Bergsträsser. II. Teil, Verbum, 1828. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. viii + 182 Leipzig: Hinrichssche Buchhandlung. 1929. M. 5.

This book, though nominally but a new edition of Gesenius' Grammar is practically a new work, and the author is to be commended on not having been deterred from its production by the appearance of rival works, however ambitious. One can agree with his opinion "that the employment of absolutely strick accuracy in matters of Hebrew philology would lead to a demand for discarding the whole system of vocalisation", and having a free hand in dealing with the text. The grammarian, however, has to reckon with the words as he finds them fixed by the dictates of the Māsōrah. This term has a historical, as well as grammatical interpretation. It

has nothing to do with "tradition", as the author's spelling *Massora* seems to imply, but should be taken as a transformation of מַסְרָה (Ezech. xx, 27). This means the strict "binding down" of the text, both consonants and vowels, for the purpose of reading the Law during divine service. It hardly helps to take the word in the way Brockelmann does (*ZDMG.*, lviii, p. 519), since it is highly probable that a radical letter נ was squeezed out as in מִסְרָה and (post-Biblical) מִסְרָה (from מִסְרָה) being a form like מִסְרָה. The late J. Barth's suggestion (*Etym. St.*, p. 40), that this word might be connected with מַל is really too far fetched. It need not be stressed that the Māsōretic treatment of the text created many problems, caused exegetes to rebel against it, and to alter vowels, consonants, and more, according to the individual conception and taste of students. To all intents and purposes Biblical Hebrew is to a large extent still in the melting pot, and the hope, once and for all, in every respect to get to hard facts must be given up for the present. The student meets everywhere with widely divergent opinions, not only contradictory, but often set forth with more acrimony than necessary. There is no need to treat the views of a scholar of the calibre of Eduard König with disdain, as is done in this book. The existing literature on questions of Semitics and in particular Hebrew grammar, is so vast and diversified that it is almost impossible to keep in any measure abreast of it. The author did right not to enter deeply into the controversy on the phonological phenomena in connection with the formation of verb questions which have not hitherto led to any really satisfactory answer, and are not likely to result in any for the time being. Unlike Arabic, Hebrew has few hard and fast rules, while the others are so overgrown with exceptions, that they in many cases flatly contradict what the student expects. Finality is out of the question. One cannot help noticing the care the author takes not to commit himself to definite statements, and, in the main, confine himself to recording what the text brings.

In the paragraphs dealing with the terminations ך and ך, e.g. he only speaks of *Abweichungen in der Formenlehre* without discussion, probably taking parallels with Arabic and Aramaic for granted. Similar instances are not lacking. A pleasing feature is the well-nigh complete bibliography attached to the chapters, though it includes publications which would not be missed. A number of sentences are too long and involved, and likely to cause embarrassment to readers not well grounded in the German language. It is rather curious that the author reverts to the old-fashioned spelling of grammatical terms long ago abandoned by Kautzsch and the modern school. This, however, is a minor point. There are many items which prompt further discussion, but these had better be left to special treatment. This is not a book for beginners, but the riper student will find in it a rich field for further research. The present instalments whet the appetite for the still outstanding sections. It is especially that on the noun with the fundamental discord existing between two schools as to its nature and development which is looked forward to with eager expectation. It is to be hoped that the remainder will not be too long delayed.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THE JEWISH LAW OF THEFT. With comparative references to Roman and English Law. By MOSES JUNG, LL.B., Ph.D. pp. vi + 145. Philadelphia, 1929.

Larceny is treated in various passages of the Pentateuch. The same expression is used for the secret abduction of persons and things, and even in the ethical sense of clandestine acts without any sordid motives, as in Gen. xxxi, 34. For practical purposes the necessity arose of creating a code embracing all eventualities. This was the task of the traditional law with its commentaries and a wide supplementary literature. From the historical point of view it invites a comparison with the laws of other nations older,

contemporary, and later. Thus the relevant laws in the code of Hammurabi are much harsher, even to the point of cruelty. The rabbinic conception of theft does not work mechanically. It enters deeply into the mind of the thief and examines the circumstances that led to the crime, the motives, and ascertains whether the act was premeditated or the effect of a sudden impulse, whether the thief acted with the intention of keeping the stolen object permanently, or to restore it in due time. It even inquires whether the thief had been forewarned. Theft is, therefore, condemned in severer terms than open robbery, being more dangerous to the community on account of the greater difficulty to guard against it. The author also discusses the appropriation of ownerless objects, including such as the ownership of which had been given up. To this class belong animals living in freedom, or in unguarded fields. An important factor is the provision to avoid quarrels and bad feelings. Thus it is forbidden to take animals caught in a trap belonging to another person, or to minors, or mentally deficient people, because they are incapable to assert their rights in a court of law. The enjoyment of fruits in field and garden on the spot is already permitted in the Bible, but removal without permission is forbidden. Considerable space is given in the book to the relation of the Jewish law to that of the nations which hold sway over Jewish territory, or in foreign lands. This had actual application when Jews lived under the dominion of ancient Persia, Rome, Byzanz, and Islâm. Their own laws had under given conditions to give way to the civil laws of the land. It is impossible to enter into the mass of detail discussed by the author, but he can justly claim to have presented a well nigh complete picture of the Jewish conception of the crime of theft in its juridical and psychological aspects. Far from being dry, many of the paragraphs are surprisingly interesting even for lay readers.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

LA RELIGIONE BABILONESE-ASSIRA. By GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

Vol. II, i miti e la vita religiosa. (Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli.)

With praiseworthy promptitude Dr. Furlani's treatise, the first volume of which was recently noticed here, is now completed by this second part, devoted to the myths and the religious observances of Babylonia. In these subjects the author has a great field to cover, and the space at his disposal is amply occupied, so that here the treatment does not seem unduly extended as it occasionally was in the first volume. The main division of the work is into twenty chapters, some of the principal subjects treated being the legends, divination, magic, the calendar, festivals, prayer, sacrifice, eschatology, and the religious organization of the country. Each chapter is followed by full and useful notes, which evince the author's familiarity with the relevant literature, and sometimes give expression to his dissent, generally very reasonable, from accepted opinions. In one or two places he hints at a different interpretation of the rites at the resurrection of Marduk, usually considered to be a kind of mystery-play, but nowhere offers his own views; it is to be hoped that he will propound these more fully elsewhere. He mentions also his own conclusion that the gesture of Assyrian kings pointing the thumb and first finger at divine symbols is a *gesto di comando o imperio*, an idea which, despite the ability with which he has suggested it in another place, will hardly win general assent. It is encouraging to find, in a general work like this, well-justified doubt expressed as to the two animal-fighters on seals being Gilgamesh and Enkidu—there never was any evidence for this identification, and it is certainly wrong. In treating of divination, Dr. Furlani does not adequately bring out the Babylonian conception that the occurrence of an evil omen was a symptom of something amiss in the course of a country's (or an individual's) life, which was to be remedied by the appropriate cure of ritual and incantation; perhaps this is partly due to his having passed over the medical or

diagnostic omens. Apart from a few points like this, and one or two errors of detail, there is little to criticize in his book, and very much to praise, especially the careful adducing of evidence for all the most important statements, and the completeness with which he surveys all the departments of religion. There is an excellent index, which gives ready access to all material points in an eminently sound and useful work.

C. J. G.

A HISTORY OF ANCIENT PERSIA. By ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS. pp. 10 × 7. Charles Scribner and Sons. Price 30s.

This book, by the author of a well-known History of Babylonia and Assyria, gives a comprehensive and clearly written account of the rise of the Empire of Cyrus and Darius, of its contact with neighbouring nations, and of its final overthrow at the hands of Alexander the Great. The relations with the Greek States are described with sufficient comprehensiveness, though the student will naturally prefer, both for style and treatment, the volumes of the Cambridge Ancient History. Professor Rogers, while he has, like all other writers, to depend mainly on the Greek accounts, has avoided the danger of adopting too entirely the Greek point of view. He does not, for example, regard the nations of the Middle East as barbarians. His knowledge of Babylonian records and of the discoveries in Phrygia and in Lydia enables him to emphasize the degree of civilization reached by Babylonians, Persians, and Hittites before the rise of the Greeks. The extent of this civilization is further brought home by the wide range of the illustrations included in the book; and it is no disparagement of it to say that it is intended rather for the general reader than for the scholar. The description of the battle of Salamis by Aeschylus is given in an Appendix, apparently on the ground that the poet was a participant both in that battle and at Marathon; but the effect of the extract is rather spoilt by thirty of the lines being printed twice over. The announcement of the death

of the American scholar, the author of this book, has been received with great regret by all acquainted with his works.

P. R. C.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERSIA. By Lieutenant-Colonel Sir ARNOLD T. WILSON, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x, 253, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press (Mr. Humphrey Milford), 1930.

"Of making many books there is no end," and the charm of Persia has produced, from authors of many nations, thousands, of which Sir Arnold Wilson gives us a catalogue in this bibliography, which, as he says, "in scope is rather general than specialized." In it "Persian literature and works in the Persian language find no place, or receive only incidental mention", yet they are to be found, as well as works in English, French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Latin, Greek, German, Dutch, Russian, Danish, Swedish, Hungarian, Arabic, Turkish, and Hebrew. This list may not be exhaustive, but it is sufficient to indicate the scope of the compiler's research. The writings catalogued range from learned folios to short and light magazine articles. Such a task some might deem irksome, but Sir Arnold has approached it and admirably completed it with a light heart.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of the work. No student of Persia, her people, climate, scenery, fauna, flora, minerals, history, language, literature, politics, religion, culture, or commerce can afford to be without it, for he cannot afford to "ignore those who have gone before him, with the risk of going afresh over ground that has been well studied, and of doing again work that has been already well done." With this excellent compilation before him he will run no such risk.

Much as Sir Arnold's industry is to be admired, this book could not have been compiled but by a master of the subject, and none was better qualified to compile it than he, one of the leading living authorities on Persia.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

NEPAL. By PERCEVAL LANDON. Two vols. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7$, pp. xxiii, 358, viii, 363. London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1928. £3 3s.

The kingdom of Nepal is one of the most important neighbours of India. Its borders march for nearly 700 miles with those of British India. Its secluded valleys, and even more its hillsides breed a race of sturdy peasants, whose superior for all martial virtues are not to be found in the whole sub-continent, scarcely in the whole world. But apart from these political considerations, the curiosity of the ordinary reader is roused by its seclusion from the world at large. It is the one Forbidden Land: in forty-four years only 150 Europeans have visited Nepal,¹ and few of these have gone beyond the confines of the Valley in which the capital, Kathmandu, lies. Such curiosity will be satisfied, in some measure, by a perusal of the two volumes of Perceval Landon's *Nepal*.

The first nine chapters, though containing little that is new, will give to those who have not access to Sylvain Lévi's classic *Le Népal* or cannot make their way through the pages of Wright's translation of the *Vamśāvalī*, a clear picture, or at least as clear a picture as the confused and often deficient sources allow, of the history of Nepal to the time of the Indian Mutiny. And here for the first time is fully set out the extent of the help rendered by Nepal under the great Jang Bahadur at this critical period in Indian history.

Landon had the good fortune to be given access to documents and information of every sort concerning contemporary Nepal; though it is doubtful whether his knowledge of the language allowed him to make a first-hand investigation of these materials. But it is true to say that the four chapters describing the reign of the late Prime Minister, the greatest that Nepal has known, Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana, form the most original contribution of the

¹ It is typical of the want of proportion displayed in the compilation of these volumes that eight pages have been devoted to recording the names of all these visitors.

volumes. The two chapters entitled "Unknown Nepal" contain interesting descriptions especially of districts and towns in or adjacent to the Valley, but add little to what is already known. But in stating that the only other European who has in recent years travelled in outer Nepal is Dr. Hooker, the author overlooked the exploration in 1922 by a portion of the Everest expedition of that year of the Gorge of the Arun River, a description of which is given by Capt. C. J. Morris in the *Geographical Journal* of 1923. This omission is the more surprising in that the author quoted in his Preface (though without acknowledging their source, a practice too common in these volumes) some lines by the writer of this review which were appended to Captain Morris's article. Another journey, to the Massiang Ridge in the Palpa Hills, undertaken in 1922 by Major W. B. Northey, M.C., is described in his and Capt. Morris's book *The Gurkhas*.

Both volumes have appendixes of considerable value, especially those describing the Fauna and Flora of the country. In these the regret of a linguist is that the authors did not add the native names of the animals and plants catalogued. That is a task which should never be neglected by the exploring zoologist or botanist. In the face of full appendixes of this sort it is surprising to find none devoted to the interesting, multitudinous, and little known languages of the country. Practically the only reference to even the main literary and administrative language of the country is the totally false statement that "philologically the language is in substance Hindi". Spanish might equally well be described as being in substance French.

The lamented death of the gifted author before the book had actually gone to press is doubtless unhappily responsible for certain faults of arrangement and finish. The chapters as they stand are something of a hotch-potch—between chapters of history are interspersed chapters of description or personal reminiscence and appendices on the most varied of subjects. There is one point however to which it is necessary to draw special attention: for, whatever was the case here,

it is often the publisher who is *fons et origo mali*. The scientific value of a work of this sort is largely detracted from by the absence of any approximately complete or consistent system of transliteration of names of places and persons. There are no marks of length, no distinction of dentals and cerebrals; *ś* is sometimes *s*, sometimes *sh*; *ṛ* is sometimes *r*, sometimes *d*; the final (unpronounced) *-a* is sometimes written, sometimes omitted. In a transliteration of the Nepali anthem we have *gumbhāra* for *gambhāra*, but *eeshalé* for *īśale*.

Perhaps, however, the want that is most felt is any adequate description of the people themselves. The reader receives little impression that Landon knew them, those peasants of Nepal. Yet he may well desire to know more of the life, the homes, the thought, the character of the people who sent 200,000 of their number (as large a proportion of the population as was sent by any part of the Empire, except England itself) to help a friendly country in the time of its adversity. They fought on almost every front, and perhaps of all combatant forces on either side they preserved a morale least affected by continual losses. Of one such battalion the General Officer Commanding (an officer not of the Indian, but of the British service) wrote: "The battalion did not miss a single fight in which the brigade was engaged—not only that, but on nearly every occasion it was the most heavily engaged unit. They always did what I asked them to do, and generally a great deal more, and whatever they were doing and whatever was happening elsewhere, I knew their part was all right and I need not worry about the result."

To this great effort on the part of a comparatively small population—the tribes from whom the majority of these men were drawn numbering not more than 900,000 males of all ages—Landon pays worthy tribute.

Both volumes are illustrated with photographs which make the reader wish he could see with his own eyes the beauty of this Forbidden Land.

R. L. TURNER.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF PURNEA IN 1809-10. By FRANCIS BUCHANAN. Edited from the Buchanan MSS. in the India Office Library by V. H. JACKSON, M.A., I.E.S. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 620 + xlvii, maps 2. Patna : Government Press, 1928. Rs. 10.

Dr. Francis Buchanan entered the service of the East India Company on the Bengal establishment in 1794. His wide botanical knowledge and aptitude for other sciences, such as zoology and geology, combined with rare powers of methodical and accurate observation, at once marked him out for employment on special duty. Attached to Captain Symes' embassy to the court of Ava in 1795, he distinguished himself by his botanical and geographical inquiries. We next find him engaged in the study of the Gangetic fishes, and then in botanical research in the Chittagong area. After the conquest of Mysore he was selected by Lord Wellesley to carry out a thorough survey of those territories, enhancing his already high reputation by the ability with which the work was performed. He was then deputed with Captain Knox's mission to Nepal, where his research, supplemented in subsequent years, resulted in what was long the standard account of that kingdom. When, in 1807, the Court of Directors decided to have a detailed statistical survey made of the then Bengal Presidency, Buchanan was nominated to conduct it. Elaborate instructions were drawn up for his guidance: the mere record of the headings under which he was directed to collect and register information would occupy a page of this journal. Sir David Prain, in his admirable *Sketch of the Life of Francis Hamilton (once Buchanan)*, truly remarks: "A more comprehensive programme than this was probably never entrusted to a single officer in or out of India, and it is equally probable that no officer better qualified than Francis Buchanan to undertake the task ever lived." Buchanan started his survey in the rains of 1807, and was continuously occupied with the work, practically without a day's rest, till the end of 1814, when he was required to take

charge of the Botanic Garden near Calcutta. Buchanan drew up a voluminous report, accompanied by appendices, tabular statements, plans, and drawings, in respect of each of the areas surveyed by him. These reports are remarkable not only for the permanent value of much of the information they contain, but also for the discernment and accuracy with which the inquiries were conducted and the results recorded. Most unfortunately steps were not taken to publish these reports during Buchanan's lifetime ; and, with the exception of that on the Dinajpur district, none were ever printed. Some nine years after his death, Mr. R. M. Martin, with the sanction of the Directors, went through the manuscript material, and drawing a pencil through " the parts which he did not understand or which did not interest him " (to quote the words of Sir W. W. Hunter), published the balance in three 8vo volumes, in 1838, under the title *The History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India*, with his own name on the title-page ! Several officers, who had consulted the original MSS. at the India Office, had been impressed with the importance of printing Buchanan's work *in extenso*, but to the late Mr. V. H. Jackson is due the credit of having induced the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, with the assistance of the Local Government, and with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India, to carry this out so far as the districts now in that province were concerned. The volume before us is the first to appear. It contains the complete text of Buchanan's Report on the district of Purnea, with such tables as seemed of permanent value and had not been printed by Martin. Buchanan's map of the district and his plan of the remains at Gaur have also been reproduced. The latter is only a copy on a much reduced scale of the careful plan drawn by Mr. H. Creighton in 1801, the difficulty of obtaining which justifies the reproduction. A word of explanation is needed as to the map, which will be welcomed by all who are interested in the many changes in the courses of the rivers in this part of India. The method adopted by Buchanan was

to draw a map of the district, with all the physical features, rivers, hills, etc., carefully delineated (evidently with his own hand) on the same scale, i.e. about 11·8 miles to the inch, as the plates in Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*, which were the only maps he had to work with. As this scale precluded the insertion of all place names, he substituted numbers, in Roman numerals for the Divisions, and in Arabic numerals for the towns and villages, corresponding to the numbers in a separate *Index to the Map*, in which all the names were entered. Buchanan's hand-drawn map was first photographed on a much enlarged scale, and all the names were printed upon a copy of this. The map now published, therefore, reproduces the physical features exactly as drawn by Buchanan and the sites of all places as marked by him; the printing in of the names is the only addition made. As an example of the method adopted by Martin, it will be sufficient to draw attention to the valuable details about the castes found in Purnea, which were omitted by him.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Jackson's health prevented him from prefixing an introduction to this volume. Some notes also might have been added in elucidation of the text in places. The indexes supplied are most helpful.

C. E. A. W. O.

RUSTICUS LOQUITUR, or The Old Light and the New in the Punjab Village. By MALCOLM LYALL DARLING. 9 × 5½, pp. xix + 400, with sketch map. Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press, 1930. 15s.

This is a further survey of the economic and social conditions of the Panjāb peasant, supplementing the author's previous work, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*. It is divided into three parts. Parts I and II, which deal with the Eastern and Western Panjab respectively, contain a record of observation and inquiry made in the course of an extensive cold-weather (1928-9) tour as Registrar, Co-operative Societies, over a large portion of the province. Riding from

village to village, the author was in direct touch with all classes of the people, whose views, as well as what he himself noticed, he has recorded in the form of a very readable tour diary. We are thus in touch with realities, and not armchair theories. Part III is devoted to deductions and impressions, a few of which may be noticed here.

Mr. Darling very justly puts in a word for the much-abused moneylender, who, until co-operative societies take firmer root and spread more widely, are a *sine qua non* in the land. His experience of local landlords seems to have been disappointing, as he writes that "taking the province as a whole, it may be said that the landlord is an even greater burden upon society than the moneylender". His opinion of pīrs, mullās, and priests also appears to be largely unfavourable: "What the landlord is in the material sphere, the pīr is in the spiritual"; and, with honourable exceptions, he thinks, the ministrants of religion are "not equal to their task", though, as he very rightly adds, never was such guidance more sorely needed. Of Custom, the iron grip of which has been felt by every official of experience in India, he says: "Allied to superstition and consecrated by religion, it has become so autocratic and exacts such blind obedience that it paralyses growth and perpetuates many practices once perhaps natural but now completely irrational." He finds, however, many signs of the diffusion of the "new light", as he calls it, especially in the eastern tracts. Of the *parda* system he writes that "amongst Hindus, with whom it depends only upon custom, it is weakening; but amongst Muhammadans, backed by both religion and custom and appealing to social ambition as well as to piety, it appears to be spreading". Recent events may possibly call for some modification in this finding. Some suggestions are added for the improvement of the peasant's means of subsistence. In reference to the Hoshiarpur and Jullundur districts he draws attention to a question of much gravity, namely, the sinking over a large tract of the water table below the level of the wells.

In the final chapter Mr. Darling seeks to deal with the question whether the Indian peasant should hold to the "old light" with all its disadvantages, or follow the new with all its dangers; or whether some intermediate course, illuminated by both lights, is possible. To answer this he goes into the relevant question of the interconnection between religion and economics in Indian village life, ending with a strong plea on behalf of what he calls a "gospel of sufficiency and service". Thoughtfully and powerfully written, this chapter is the *pièce de résistance* in the book, calling for attentive reading.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE DESERT ROUTE TO INDIA. Being the Journals of four Travellers by the Great Desert Caravan Route between Aleppo and Basra, 1745-51. Edited by DOUGLAS CARRUTHERS. Hakluyt Society, Series II, vol. lxiii. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxxvi, 196; with map and 6 plates. London, 1929.

Intercourse by overland routes between the shores of the Mediterranean and the great cities of Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf ports, which had been carried on from the earliest times, was interrupted from the beginning of the thirteenth century by the incursions of the Mongols and then by the activities of the Turks, only to be resumed when conditions permitted. After the revival of direct trade with India and the East following the discovery by the Portuguese of the Cape route, we find, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, many European travellers and merchants crossing the Syrian desert to the Persian Gulf and proceeding farther east via Ormuz, to avoid the delay and tedium of the voyage round the Cape. Caravans and travellers (who generally accompanied caravans) usually followed one or other of two routes described by Tavernier as (1) *la route du grand désert*, which kept to the desert all the way from Aleppo to Basra, and (2) *la route par le petit désert*, which involved a much shorter

desert journey by striking across to the Euphrates near al Qaim, Ana, or Hit, and thence going to Baghdad and down the Tigris. The four travellers whose records are printed in this volume all followed the first, or "Great Desert Route". Bartholomew Plaisted's account was published by him at the time, and that of John Carmichael was printed in Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies*; while transcripts of the records of William Beawes' journey and of Garland Roberts' letter are among the Orme MSS. in the India Office Library. The narrative of Beawes, and, more particularly, that of Carmichael, owing to the careful topographical observations he made, were utilized by Rennell in the compilation of the remarkably detailed, though little known, maps he drew to illustrate his *Treatise on the Comparative Geography of Western Asia*. The most interesting part of Beawes' journal is the account of the reputed tomb of 'Alī, so sacred to the Shī'a sect of Muhammadans, at Najaf, a town into which he had the rare fortune to be allowed to enter. It had not yet been plundered by the Wahhābis. Carmichael's account is valuable, not only for its accurate geographical notes, but also as containing the first description by a European of the remains at Ukhaidir, the importance of which has since been revealed by M. Massignon and Miss Gertrude Bell, some twenty years ago. Little of special interest, saving information and hints that would be serviceable to other travellers making the same journey, has been recorded by Plaisted or Roberts.

A feature of this volume is the excellent introduction written by Mr. Carruthers. The footnotes are to the point, and not overdone; and the map gives just the information required.

C. E. A. W. O.

ALAI! ALAI! By W. RICKMER RICKMERS. 8vo, pp. 300, Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1930.

To many members of the Society the composition and object of Dr. Rickmers' expedition will be familiar from the lectures which he delivered on his visit to London last year,

and this fuller account will therefore be the more welcome. The book makes no attempt to forestall the complete scientific reports of the Russo-German Alai-Pamir Expedition of 1928, but consists in the main of extracts from the author's diary, supplemented by letters from other members of the expedition, a short account of its aims and results, a geographical survey of the Turanian Doab, and three short appendices, together with admirable photographs and a good map. Although it is of special interest, of course, to the student of Central Asian geography, there are not a few observations which touch on other branches of study, such as an all-too-short note by Dr. Lentz on the dialects and popular literature of the Tajiks, and the ethnological data contained in various passages. The travel-diary itself is excellent—entertaining, humorous, and informative—and abounds in suggestive asides. It is the true spirit of Dr. Rickmers, for example, when a companion in a mosquito-infested camp dolefully counts fifty bites on the back of his right hand alone, to be moved to the observation that “counting is the soul of science, a thing which many people never understand, and all your progress is due to the fact that somebody counts what nobody ever thought of counting before.”

H. A. R. G.

IM LAND DER STÜRME. By EMIL TRINKLER. Mit Yak- und Kamelkaravanen durch Innerasien. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 243. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1930. 15 marks.

In his preface, the author tells us of the influences which helped to shape his career as an explorer. He has already travelled in Afghanistan and written a book on his experiences in that country. Central Asia cast its spell over him while he was still a schoolboy. Even then he began his Tibetan studies. Later the books of Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin fixed his interest especially on Chinese Turkestan. As geologist and geographer he was attracted by the unexplored mountains of inmost Asia and the manifold problems they

suggest. As great was his interest in the culture problems of that region bound up as these are with its physical conditions.

It was with the hope of solving some of the riddles connected with the glaciation of the Central Asian highlands and the origin of the Takla Makan Desert that Dr. Trinkler with his two companions—Dr. Bosshard and Mr. de Terra—set out in the spring of 1927 for Chinese Turkestan. The travellers hoped too to discover Buddhist remains in the south-western edge of the great desert—a region as yet unexplored by the archæologist.

After the striking discoveries made by Sir Aurel Stein and the late Dr. von Le Coq, it is easy to understand how the prospect of finding further remains fascinated the explorers and with what high hopes they started on their quest.

Dr. Trinkler has reserved for a later work the full account of the scientific results of his expedition. This book touches lightly on these, but quite sufficiently to show that solid work was done by all the members of the expedition.

The present book is essentially a travel narrative, and should interest every past, present, and future explorer in these regions, the writer recording faithfully his daily experiences with local authorities, servants, pack animals, food, weather, and the like.

To get the full interest of this book the text should be read in conjunction with the map at the end of the volume in which the travellers' various routes are so clearly marked. In the regions they traversed between Srinagar in Kashmir and Kashgar in Chinese Turkestan they experienced the greatest possible variety of weather and scenery—tropical heat and polar cold—glorious sunshine and terrible dust storms, the grandeur of mountains, and the illimitable space of the desert.

Dr. Trinkler is artist as well as scientist. Even if his water colour sketches did not betray the fact, we should know it by his plastic descriptions of nature in these regions. He has

all the artist's sensitive response to weather influences, loves the desert solitude more than the dwellings of men and makes the reader feel the charm of the desert when the weather is gracious. For there are days in Central Asia unsurpassed in any other part of the world. Late autumn there is like a fine September in the more northerly latitudes of Europe, but Europe cannot give us the crystal clarity of the air nor can it create that buoyancy of spirit which is a direct result of the exhilarating atmosphere.

Though the inhabitants of Asia might by this time have become accustomed to the European explorer, there are still many who regard him with distrust. While the representatives of the Chinese Government in Yarkand and Kashgar were most courteous and hospitable to Dr. Trinkler and his companions, they were powerless to influence their masters in Urumchi. There is one thing the average Oriental cannot understand—that men will undergo hardships and brave danger for purely ideal ends. He suspects some sinister purpose behind such activities. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find the Chinese authorities forbidding Dr. Trinkler and his companions to make excavations or investigate mountains in their territories. One feels deep sympathy with the explorers after the promising harvest they had already garnered. Their decision to leave the country instead of wasting time in endless and fruitless discussion was the only possible one.

While the reader may feel regret, he must be grateful to the three travellers for providing him with so much that is entertaining and instructive. The photographs of the Buddhist remains found on the Takla Makan border are extremely interesting. Equally so are those of the various Tibetan monasteries visited and filmed by the travellers. No phase of their journey seems to have escaped their cameras. Text and illustrations together give as convincing a picture of Asiatic travel and exploration as any book on the subject which has recently appeared.

C. MABEL RICKMERS.

ASIA : A REGIONAL AND ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY. By
L. DUDLEY STAMP, D.Sc., B.A., M.I.P.T. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$,
pp. xx + 616, maps and diagrams 324. London :
Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1929. 27s. 6d. net.

Some years ago Dr. Paul Rohrbach, one of Germany's leading political writers, founded what he called the science of *Geopolitik* or the study of political questions in their geographical aspect. This science does not merely recognize the part geographical factors have played in the past history of nations, it seeks to show how these are influencing and must continue to influence the policy of the nations and peoples of to-day.

Professor Dudley Stamp's comprehensive work on the geography of Asia is a valuable contribution to the new science.

In the panorama the author unrolls of the geological structure of the continent with its resulting influence on the interrelated factors of climate and vegetation we see the stage prepared on which the populations of Asia were to play their parts.

Nature has not been over generous here in the distribution of her gifts. Where she gives bountifully in one direction she withholds elsewhere, and her very gifts are often neutralized by the presence of inimical factors.

Small wonder that the achievements of Asia should seem meagre when compared with what mankind elsewhere has wrested from the soil and its products and here one fundamental cause of this backwardness is revealed as physical. It is in part to their geographical barriers that the peoples of Asia owe their aloofness from the rest of the world, and from that cross-fertilization of ideas on which all progress in culture depends.

Step by step the author shows us how the combined factors of geographical position, climate, vegetation and the presence or absence of minerals have sealed the economic fate of peoples. And he shows us, too, how the infiltration of Western ideas

is gradually overcoming the geographical drawbacks which have hitherto hindered the development of the countries of Asia. We see an example of this in the splendid irrigation systems carried out by the Indian Government whereby millions of acres of soil have been made productive and the devastating famines of former years averted. Another instance is the extraordinary prosperity which has followed the development of the rubber trade in the Dutch East Indies.

The book falls into two parts. The first deals with what may be called the purely geographical character of the continent, with its orography, structure, climate, vegetation, and population. The second part treats of the countries of Asia from the point of view of their physical boundaries, which do not always coincide with their political frontiers. Thus Afghanistan comes under the "Iranian Plateau", while the section called "The Dead Heart of Asia" deals with Tibet and Mongolia.

Geography as treated by Professor Stamp becomes a fascinating subject. He breathes life into the dry bones of statistics. Having travelled largely in Asia himself he can give those personal touches to his narrative which hold the interest of the reader in thrall.

The author deprecates the meagreness of his treatment of Asiatic Russia, which he calls the least satisfactory chapter in his book. His work was published before the results of the Russo-German Pamir Expedition of 1928 had been published. A perusal of these might have led him to modify his remarks on the glaciation of the Pamirs. One of the discoveries of the Expedition was the length of the Fedchenko glacier. This product of Pamir glaciation turns out to be the longest glacier in the world excepting those of the Arctic regions. The Soviet Government of Russia are actively engaged in studying their vast dominions with a view to their economic development, but some time is likely to pass before the results of their researches reach the rest of Europe in readable form.

A word must be added about the excellence of

Professor Stamp's maps and diagrams. Visual being usually stronger than verbal memory, a careful study of these will give the student a clearer grasp of the geographical features of the various regions than a merely verbal enumeration of these could do.

Such a work as this must, of course, owe much of its information to other sources. One of its merits is the detailed bibliography given by the author and his careful acknowledgment of the sources to which he has been chiefly indebted.

Apart from the student of geography, to whom it is indispensable, this book should appeal to readers of many kinds—to the traveller, the explorer, the student of economics, and the sociologist. For, as the author shows, a nation's fate, though largely, is not wholly determined by geographical factors. The influence of these may even be stultified by prejudices, religious and social, as in the case of the Chinese who sacrifice the best soil in their country to cemeteries, and whose ancestor-worship is directly responsible for the precarious existence of millions who, if they could but break the ban that binds them to the soil of their forefathers, might lead longer and happier lives elsewhere.

C. MABEL RICKMERS.

TIBETISCH-CHINESISCHE WORTGLEICHUNGEN. Ein Versuch von WALTER SIMON. Reprinted from *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, Bd. xxxii, Abt. 1. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ + 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. pp 72. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1930. Rm. 8.

Dr. Simon has here most efficiently attacked a problem which has too long lain almost entirely neglected. For not since 1916, at the end of Laufer's "Si-Hia Language" (*T'oung Pao*, xvii, pp. 1-126) has any serious attempt on it been made. He has again used the care with which we are accustomed to meet in his work, and has compared throughout only the oldest reconstructed word forms of both Tibetan and Chinese.

In the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, he has not felt himself bound by Conrady's law of comparing only sonant with sonant, surd with surd, initial, but believes rather that obvious relationships within a group where surd has to be compared with sonant, or vice versa, should not be rejected. This course is, indeed, essential when working in any but a very limited Tibetan or Chinese area, and is in very many instances the only possible avenue of approach.

Again, he rightly contends that many Tibetan words now without final consonant are indicated by relatives in either final nasal (*ñ, n, m*) or sonant (*g, d, b*) to have once possessed one, though his further deductions from this point may seem a little difficult to accept.

One of his most important suggestions is that probably Tibetan superscribed *r-* and *l-* are often transfers back from an original following position. Then *rkañ*, foot (No. 146) would be for older *krañ* (cf. Ch. 腳 *kjāk* [*kjag*]), *rgod*, mare (No. 183) for older *grod* (cf. Ch. 騾 *k'uā* [*kūād*]), and others. It is quite conceivable that a first impulse in this direction might have arisen in Tibetan from its widespread use of prefixed elements, as these might tend to draw back the second members of groups also into prefixed position. This would probably begin with the verb to which alone, as the native grammarians recognize, prefixation seems originally to have been peculiar, and we may possibly have here the source of a certain number of replacement forms in which *r-* or *l-* appear for some other element. The process would naturally be carried over into the domain of pure substantives, and it is quite probable that Simon has actually found the reason for, and origin of, many of the superscripts among them, for with substantives they are certainly not normal. Chinese may do us a signal service here, and Simon seems to have discovered an avenue through which we may eventually, with success, attack at least a part of the problem of prefix and superscript shifting in Tibetan.

But, though this suggested movement of *r-* and *l-* may

explain a certain number of cases, there are a great many which it will not fit. In the case of *r-* alone, for instance, *rgol-ba*, to combat, evidently contains a true prefix and not a transplanted *r-*, else what has become of it in *agol-ba*, to counteract, to violate, *akol-ba*, to oblige a person to be a servant, *kol(-po, -mo)* servant, etc. ? ; and again in *rgod-pa*, to grow weak, where we have also *god*, loss, damage, *dgos-pa*, to want, to need, *dgon-pa*, desert, waste, solitary place, and *sgos*, private, separate ? Further, *rtol-ba*, to bore through (Simon, No. 318) evidently contains a true prefixed *r-* as shown by *adol-sa*, fertile ground (lit. sprout's ground) belonging directly with *rdol-ba*, to sprout (of seeds) ; and *rdul* dust (esp. when floating in the air) (No. 319), is in the same position as shown by *atul-ba*, to rise, to spread (of smoke, etc.).

The possibility that many of his first suggested equations may later turn out to be invalid, Simon has himself specifically foreseen, and among them must probably also be numbered verbs in which the Tibetan form has a relative in other Tibeto-Burman languages with the same prefix. Thus, Tibetan *rkod* (*rkō*), to dig (No. 164) is paralleled by Mikir *ā-r-ke*, and again Tibetan *rdun*, to hit (No. 121) is represented in Mikir by (*pe*)-*ā-r-deñ*. The probability is rather that when such parallels within the Tibeto-Burman family itself exist, comparison of the Tibetan form with Chinese must be withdrawn if its validity depends upon back transfer (*versetzer Stellung*), for there is every reason to believe that in the related language or languages in which the word also possesses the prefix the date of the origin of the prefix precedes that at which its original function ceased. In such cases the Tibetan, and in general the Tibeto-Burman, prefix is probably in consequence original.

There is far too much material in Dr. Simon's study to make adequate discussion possible here, and it can only be hoped that it will rapidly find its way into the hands of all who are interested in the study of Indo-Chinese languages, either in limited areas or over the field as a whole. We should then

be able to look for the awakening of interest in the detailed relationship between Chinese and Tibetan, a fundamental problem which has thus far suffered a neglect truly difficult to understand.

STUART N. WOLFENDEN.

MUGHAL RULE IN INDIA. By the late S. M. EDWARDES and H. L. O. GARRETT. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, vi + 374 pp. London : Oxford University Press ; Humphrey Milford, 1930. 15s. net.

There can be no doubt that the authors of this volume have achieved their object in presenting to the student "a comprehensive record of the main facts and subsidiary details of Mughal sovereignty which are to be found both in original sources and in the numerous and occasionally costly works of modern writers." In fact, this well-arranged and up-to-date account of Mughal rule in India supplies a long-felt need.

The first five chapters are a very clear re-statement of the main events between the accession of Babur and the death of Aurangzeb, and, as such, form a useful introduction to the later account of the chief economic and social features of the period. Undoubtedly the best chapter in the book is that dealing with Mughal administration. Here we have an excellent summary of the Mughal military system, far more readable than that of Irvine in his *Army of the Indian Mughals*. Taking Moreland as their authority, they also trace the decline of the administrative system after Akbar's death and show how far his immediate successors departed from the main principles of his rule. When dealing with Akbar's religious policy the authors correct the popular belief that it was one of universal toleration, for, according to the Jesuit Fathers, who resided for many years at his court, the one exception to Akbar's policy of Sulh-i Kul was his treatment of Muhammadans, who appear to have been subjected to petty persecution. Due prominence is also given to the growth of persecution under Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

The chapter on Mughal architecture should be of considerable interest not only to the student of this period but also to the general reader who will be charmed by the excellent illustrations with which the book is provided.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

DIE DISPUTATIONEN DES P. COSME DE TORRES, S.J., MIT DEN BUDDHISTEN IN YAMAGUCHI IM JAHRE 1551. VON GEORG SCHURHAMMER, S.J. "Mitteilungen" der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens. Band xxiv, Teil A. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x + 114. Tokyo: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1929. *Rm.* 8.

In 1900 a letter of St. Francis Xavier reporting his debates with the Buddhists of Yamaguchi in Japan was for the first time published in the original text. This letter has now been translated into German, along with three letters from one of his companions, P. Torres, and one by another, Juan Fernandez; and together, with a rather formidable apparatus of notes, biography, bibliography, index, and an appendix consisting of the original Spanish text of Fernandez' letter, and of the first of Torres' letters, is presented in these *Proceedings* of the German Society for the Study of the Natural History and Ethnology of Eastern Asia, by Georg Schurhammer, of the Roman Catholic Missionary Society, to which St. F. Xavier himself belonged.

Naturally the opponents of the Christian Missioners are not set out in the best light; and St. Francis Xavier is represented as gaining an easy victory over the protagonists of "these two demons, Shaka and Amida, and all the other demons" worshipped in the town of Yamaguchi, which is interesting enough in its way. But what would the good Saint have said had he been able to look into the future and see some 400 years later a poem being written in a European language dealing with the life and doctrines of the first-mentioned of his abhorred "demons" that would be read

with admiration by thousands of his fellow-continentals? Maybe St. Francis Xavier and Sir Edwin Arnold typify as well as any can the difference between Spain and England, and between the fifteenth and the twentieth century of European culture. *Laus deo*, as the Saint would *not* have said.

It is to be noted that Torres found the representatives of the Zen sect of Buddhism in Yamaguchi the most difficult to overthrow in argument, and the propounders of questions which gave him most trouble to answer. As to the others, so he writes to his fellow-religionists in India, their evil lives laid them open, on that account, to easy conquest by the preachers of "our holy Catholic faith", and also made them more contumacious towards those whose chaster lives put them to shame. But he praises the Japanese in general for their sound sense, their keen intellectual curiosity, their extremely courteous manners, literary attainments, and freedom from the vice of gambling, by which he considered them better prepared to have the Faith planted among them than any other people in the world. The civil war raging in the Yamaguchi district at the time of the Saint's landing increased the difficulties in the path of the Saint and his companions, but, despite all, he made many converts, notwithstanding that he had to do all his preaching through an interpreter.

The Fernandez letter is the most interesting of the four, being a report to St. Francis himself of what happened in the way of question and answer, after he had left Japan, between Torres and the "bonzes" of Yamaguchi. It also tells of the danger of death during the fighting which he and Torres escaped only through the kindness of the supporter of a Buddhist monastery and his wife, who gave them asylum first in the monastery, and afterwards successfully hid them in the passage-way to the outhouse used by the women of his household. This particular letter was only discovered by the translator quite recently among a collection of missionary letters from Japan, and is now for the first time published in full.

J. F. M.

MALAY VILLAGE MEDICINE. Prescriptions collected by I. H. BURKILL and MOHAMED HANIFF. *The Gardens' Bulletin*, Straits Settlements, vol. vi, pt. ii. 9½ × 6, pp. 157. Singapore: Botanic Gardens, 1930. \$2.50.

The present publication is the second of three parts of vol. vi of *The Gardens' Bulletin*, of which Part i, by David Hooper, already published, is entitled "On Chinese Medicine: Drugs of the Chinese Pharmacies in Malaya"; the third part will consist of a translation of a Malay manuscript on medicine.

The authors of the present instalment have toured through the Malay Peninsula, and made the acquaintance of *bomors*, or physicians of the native school, and *bidans*, or midwives. These brought specimens of the plants used by them in treatment, and also gave information as to the way in which they were used; the specimens were subsequently determined and preserved in the herbarium of the Botanic Gardens, Singapore. The authors also examined the shops of Chinese herbalists, and recorded the plants in them. The information they obtained is here presented; the 1675 specimens of plants are arranged in their natural orders, genera, and species; the Malay name of each species is given, and the name of the most important place in the informant's neighbourhood; these are followed by the complaint for which, and the way in which, the plant is used. This list of plants under their scientific names is succeeded by a glossary, of forty-four pages, of the vernacular names.

The most obvious comment to be made on the lists is that the number of plants employed medicinally in the Peninsula seems extraordinarily large. The specimens collected by the authors go into, at a rough computation, about 800 species; when to these are added the drugs of animal and mineral origin, which doubtless are also numerous, the total pharmacopœia of the native physicians and midwives must be extremely extensive.

It need not be said that the larger number of these remedies

are probably quite inoperative, e.g. *Torenia polygonoides* pounded with rice flour and used as a poultice on the abdomen in dropsy ; the juice, obtained by slashing the bark, of *Symplocos rubiginosa* smeared on the skin over the spleen as a preventive of enlargement of that organ ; a decoction of the leaves of *Solanum verbascifolium* cannot have much virtue when used for washing the body after childbirth. The number of drugs is itself an indication of their general inefficacy ; since it is improbable that fever, childbirth, toothache, diarrhoea, stomach-ache, rheumatism, etc., would have arrayed against them so numerically formidable an armamentarium if any single one of the drugs were reasonably efficacious.

Medicine and magic shade into each other ; and many of these remedies might rather be called magical than medical. Thus the leaves of *Elephantopus scaber* are burnt in order to keep evil spirits away from the new-born infant ; *Dendrobium crumenatum* is used for sprinkling water through the house after a death to keep the spirit from haunting it ; *Eurycoma longifolia* is to be pulled up in silence, and under no circumstances is its name, *petala bumi*, to be mentioned ; a decoction is to be made by boiling and used as an *ubat meroyan*. The last term is explained thus : the Malays are apt to consider all sicknesses following childbirth as originating at that time of exposure of the mother to the attacks of evil spirits. and to place them in a category called *sakit meroyan* ; to ward off such sicknesses preparations called *ubat meroyan* are administered over the first three days after childbirth.

It is interesting to note that the vernacular names of the plants are in many cases determined by the plant's uses, and not by its appearance ; hence plants of the most diverse appearance may, if capable of the same use, get the same name, to the surprise of botanists who are ignorant of Malay usages.

Enough has been said to indicate the importance of this work for comparative medicine and ethnology. The authors

must have given much time and enthusiasm to this valuable compilation, and are to be heartily congratulated on the result of their labours.

J. STEPHENSON.

A HITTITE MANUAL FOR BEGINNERS. By GEORGE A. BARTON.

$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxxviii + 85. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928.

Professor Barton's *Manual* is divided into three parts, a useful list of the Hittite cuneiform characters, with their variant forms; a sketch of Hittite grammar, and a transliteration and translation of the Treaty of Mursilis with Kupanta-KAL to which a vocabulary is attached. The translation was made before the publication of Professor Friedrich's elaborate work on the subject, and a good many corrections must now be made in the vocabulary, which contains not only translations that need revision but also misprints like *Azarwa* (twice) for *Arzawa* and *ilil-* "go to", for *ilal-*. *Arakh*, again, should be printed in capitals, the Hittite word for "I arrive" being *ar-khat* from *ar* "to go" where the *kh* is a verbal suffix; *arakhzanda* "on both sides" has nothing to do with it. *Asas-*, again, does not mean "to invade", but "to settle"; in i, 76-7, for example, the translation should be: "And from the river Astarpa and the river Siyanta in none of my cities shall you settle."

A. H. S.

LEGGI DELL'ASIA ANTERIORE ANTICA. By GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

$10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1929.

Professor Furlani has given us a very valuable book. It is a complete collection, brought up to date and translated into Italian, of the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hittite Codes of Law, in so far as they have been preserved. The name of the author is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy and trustworthiness of the translations on both their legal and (in the case of the Babylonian and Assyrian texts) philological sides. Notes and references are added to the translations,

and they are preceded by a list of the chief books and articles that have been published on the subject. The volume will be found indispensable by students of ancient law, and more especially the laws of the Pentateuch.

A. H. S.

REMINISCENCES OF MRS. FINN. 9 × 6, pp. 256. London :
Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1929. 6s. net.

Mrs. Finn lived to the age of ninety-six and at the age of eighty-seven dictated her *Reminiscences*, which are brought down to 1863, when she and her husband left Palestine and settled in England. She was a remarkable woman : on her fourth birthday she was given an English Bible because she "was able to read it well", and the next year a German Bible "for the same reason", and she "knew 'Yiddish' as soon as" she knew English and German. And at the age of three she had been taught Hebrew "by a dear old Jewish Rabbi". She had, in fact, been born in Warsaw, where her father, Dr. McCaul, was working on behalf of the Bible Society. Her earlier years were passed in Poland and Germany, and her schooling, therefore, was chiefly "home-made". Dr. McCaul had much to do with the establishment of the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem ; it was to him that the Chevalier Bunsen and the Prussian king Frederick William IV first wrote on the subject, stating that the king was ready to found the Bishopric if Dr. McCaul would accept it. This, however, he refused to do on the ground that the first Bishop ought to be of Jewish descent, and he suggested instead of himself Dr. Alexander, whom he succeeded as Professor of Hebrew at King's College, and who was accordingly appointed. Four years later Mrs. Finn married Mr. Finn, who had just been gazetted British Consul in Jerusalem by Lord Aberdeen. Like Dr. McCaul he was deeply interested in the history of the Jews, both present and future, and had more especially investigated their establishment and position in China.

After an adventurous voyage and many delays the Consul and his wife reached Jerusalem, and there began the life which has made the names of Consul and Mrs. Finn a landmark in the recent history of the Holy City. As given in Mrs. Finn's *Reminiscences* it is full of side-lights on the older Turkey, untouched as yet by the results of the Crimean War. The Consul still had "the right of wearing a white turban, riding a horse, and carrying bow and arrows", and fighting immediately outside the walls of Jerusalem between the Bedawin and the peasantry or between the peasantry themselves was still of constant occurrence, "savage cruelties" being perpetrated on both sides. But the British Consul's position was not unlike that of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, "the Great Elchi," in Constantinople. Appeals for help or justice were made to him not only by Jews but by other nationalities as well, his word was law to the Bedawin and even to the peasantry, and under his protection the traveller was generally able to move about in safety.

The Crimean War, however, was the turning-point in the relations of East and West, at all events in Palestine. In 1855 Mr. and Mrs. Finn accompanied the Duke of Brabant (afterwards King Leopold of Belgium) and other visitors to the mosque of Omar—the first time any Christians had been allowed within the sacred precincts since the period of the crusades. The Turkish authorities managed to inveigle the "Takrooris" or armed Sudanese blacks, who were the guardians of the mosque, to another part of Jerusalem on the pretext of a letter being read to them from the Sultan, and during their absence the visit was paid. Seven months later Sir Moses Montefiore arrived with a firman from the Sultan enjoining his admission to the Temple Sanctuary. Then came the *Hatt-i-Humayûn* or Act of Religious Toleration, and the most fanatical of the Moslems soon became accustomed to the sight of the infidel tourist exploring the innermost secrets of the Haram. The hospitable

house of the British Consul became at the same time the meeting-place of European celebrities: among its visitors were Renan and Frederika Bremer, not to speak of the Prince of Wales and Dr. Stanley. Holman Hunt, too, lived for a while close at hand, engaged in painting his picture of the Scapegoat.

But the book is full of interesting anecdotes, of references to well-known names and of scenes from a Palestine which has now ceased to exist. One thing is wanting to it, an index, which we hope will be added to the second edition.

A. H. S.

BASES, MÉTHODES ET RÉSULTATS DE LA CHRONOLOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE. By RAYMOND WEILL. Paris: Geuthner, 1928.

Monsieur Weill is well known as an Egyptologist of the first rank, and more particularly as a student of the history and chronology of the Hyksos period. In this "complementary" work, as he terms it, he devotes himself to the Egyptian calendar, and examines in detail the relations between the "mobile" and "Sothic" years. How far he has succeeded in attaining certainty is for the astronomer and mathematician to judge rather than the philologist. It must be remembered, however, that Sir Flinders Petrie now claims to have discovered at Tell Fara a long list of Hyksos Pharaohs divided into three successive dynasties, the last of which is dated by scarabs of the well-known Grand Vizier Hor.

A. H. S.

THE BABYLONIAN STORY OF THE DELUGE AND THE EPIC OF GILGAMISH. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 57. British Museum, 1929. 1s. 6d.

This is a revised edition of Sir Wallis Budge's well-known "brochure", brought up to date by Mr. Gadd. It is an admirable example of what such a work ought to be, informative and interesting alike to the scholar and the general

public. The illustrations are numerous and well-chosen, and the text is full of new light. Needless to say, the translations are as faultless as it is possible to make them to-day.

A. H. S.

EXCAVATIONS IN THE TYROPŒON VALLEY, JERUSALEM, 1927.

By J. W. CROWFOOT and G. M. FITZGERALD. Palestine Excavation Fund, 1929.

In this sumptuously printed and illustrated volume a very complete account is given of the excavations which, thanks to Sir Charles Marston's generosity, were carried on in the Tyropœon Valley in 1927. Mr. Crowfoot is a skilled excavator and archæologist, and if the results of his work are a little disappointing to the student who is chiefly interested in the earlier history of Jerusalem it is no fault of his. The field of excavation was circumscribed, proprietary rights and the greed of the owners making it impossible to work outside a limited area, while the successive destructions and reconstructions which the buildings of Jerusalem have undergone render it difficult to discover anything except the remains of a later age. Even potsherds are scarce. Until it is possible to dig under the Moslem cemeteries which border on the walls of the Haram the relics of pre-exilic Jerusalem must be scanty. It is all the more satisfactory, therefore, that the old gateway of the early Jebusite city should have been discovered under a street of the Byzantine town, and that careful observation has brought to light relics of most of the chief epochs in the history of the Jewish capital. As Dr. Hall remarks in his preface: "Results of considerable importance with regard to the ancient history of Jerusalem have been obtained. The great gate takes us back almost to the beginning of things on Ophel; the Byzantine houses show us what the Jerusalem of the later Empire was like." The coins, moreover, illustrate the Maccabæan and succeeding periods and the pottery carries us from the Bronze Age down to that of the Crusaders.

A. H. S.

THE ANNUAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH. Vol. IX. Yale University Press and Oxford University Press, 1929. 21s.

The American Schools of Oriental Research owe both their inspiration and their organization to Professor Breasted. Oriental archæology is already greatly indebted to them, and the debt is rapidly increasing year by year. The latest volume of the *Annual* contains reports on the excavations at Beth Shemesh by Mr. Elihu Grant and the discovery of Tepe Gawra, east of Khorsabad, and the preliminary work undertaken at the site by Dr. Speiser. Beth Shemesh had already been partially excavated by the Palestine Exploration Fund. The American expedition cleared the western corner of the ancient city, where five superimposed strata of buildings were brought to light. The walls, built originally in the Middle Bronze Age, disclosed three main layers of construction. An open-air sanctuary was also found, with a "pitted" circular slab of limestone. The main part of the work, however, was concentrated on the cemeteries, one belonging to the Middle Bronze Age, a second with Cypriote importations to the Later Bronze Age, and a third to the transition period. Egyptian influence was "apparent in all the periods". Numerous terra-cottas were found, including figurines, and the pottery was abundant.

Tepe Gawra was discovered by Dr. Speiser while on a motor tour of exploration between Mosul and Kirkuk, and trial excavations were made in it which resulted in very interesting discoveries. The mound turned out to be representative not only of three periods of time but also of three different civilizations. The first was that of a neolithic population who occupied the site for several centuries and used "the painted pottery" of which we have heard so much of late. According to Dr. Speiser the painted pottery of Tepe Gawra resembles that of both El-Obeid and Jemdet Nasr, as well as that of Susa I, and possibly also some of the wares of prehistoric Armenia. Gawra II also belongs to

the neolithic age. But the people who succeeded the earliest occupants of the site, while inferior as potters, were considerably advanced in other respects. They built for themselves a temple of burnt brick, suggestive of an origin in the stoneless regions of the lower Tigris and Euphrates, and among the objects found in it are "horns of consecration" and a phallic object indicative of circumcision. Gawra III is early Sumerian; copper objects like those of Ur and El-Obeid occur in it, as well as seal-cylinders of the "Gilgames" and other types.

It only remains to say that the illustrations of the *Annual* are numerous and good and leave nothing to be desired on archæological grounds.

A. H. S.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE COMMUNICATIONS: No. 2, *Explorations in Asia Minor*, by H. H. VON DER OSTEN, 1927; No. 3, *First Report of the Prehistoric Survey Expedition*, by K. S. SANDFORD and W. J. ARKELL, 1928; No. 4, *The Excavation of Armageddon*, by C. S. FISHER, 1929; No. 5, *Medinet-Habu* 1924-8, by H. H. NELSON and U. HÆLSCHER, 1929; No. 6, *Explorations in Asia Minor*, by H. H. VON DER OSTEN, 1929. Chicago: University of The Chicago Press.

The *Communications* are a fitting and useful accompaniment of the *Annual* and enable the archæologist to keep abreast of the discoveries and work of the Oriental Institute of the Chicago University which are going on actively in the nearer East. The "Prehistoric Survey" is being carried out in the valley of the Nile and more especially the desert south of Assuan, and has already thrown much light on the early history of man in that region of the world. "Armageddon"—a somewhat unfortunate title for a strictly scientific piece of work—describes the important excavations at Megiddo, where among other discoveries that of the stables of Solomon's horses is one of the most interesting and unexpected. The

volume on Medinet-Habu recounts the careful reproduction by photography and tracing of the important bas-reliefs at Medinet-Habu. For the first time we have a meticulously accurate reproduction of the scene in the great battle which saved Egypt from the barbarians, and can study the racial features of its northern enemies without misgivings. The two volumes on Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor are of unequal value. The first contains little more than an account of a species of "joy-ride" in a motor car: a motor car, it is true, is a very useful adjunct to the archæologist when he has found a site for excavation, but for the discovery of ancient sites and remains in a mountainous country like that of Asia Minor it is necessary to travel slowly and live among the people. The second volume is of much greater value, though even here we could have well dispensed with photographs of the explorers and the adventures of their car and had in place of them better and more numerous photographs of the monuments and inscriptions. The latter, it must be said, compare unfavourably with the photographs in Professor Garstang's *Land of the Hittites*. The most important results of the expedition were the discovery and survey of an early city on the Kerkenes Dag and the preliminary excavation of the great mound of Alishar, south-east of Yuzgad. Here very valuable results were obtained since the various cultural levels of the *tel* "provided a reliable relative chronology for pottery from early Turkish times back to the 'Hittite' period", this Hittite period being "associated definitely with the 'Hittite' hieroglyphs". And below the "Hittite" level were at least two earlier ones. We look forward to a detailed account of the excavations which is promised in a future volume of the Oriental Institute Publications. Mr. von der Osten has attached excellent sketch-maps to his two volumes, but it is tantalizing to hear of "Phrygian" inscriptions which do not seem to have been even photographed.

A. H. S.

HISTOIRE POLITIQUE ET RELIGIEUSE DE L'ABYSSINIE DEPUIS
LES TEMPS LES PLUS REÇULÉS JUSQU'À L'AVÈNEMENT DE
MÉNÉLICK II. By J. B. COULBEAUX, Missionnaire
Lazariste en Abyssinie. Paris : Geuthner. 1929. Three
volumes.

This is a posthumous work, edited by Father Baeteman. The first volume brings the history down to 1434, the second to 1889. The third volume consists of photographs and maps. One who publishes a posthumous work incurs serious responsibility, since *nescit vox missa reverti*, whereas unpublished material is not liable to any reproach. In a historical work it is possible and often easy for an editor to remove inconsistencies and alter what is certainly erroneous. Father Baeteman might well have discharged these duties more scrupulously than he has done, since the number of contradictions and glaring errors is very considerable. Vol. ii, p. 345, we read that "le même jour (3 mai 1723) le roi Daouit rendit son âme"; in the next paragraph "on célébrait les funérailles du roi Daouit. Elles eurent lieu le 14 mai 1721". His funeral then was celebrated nearly two years before his death. P. 308, "Ce fut, ensuite, la mort de la reine (1690) que nous avons relatée en son temps. Quatre ans après, la reine mourait à son tour". This seems to mean that the lady in question survived herself by four years. P. 146, "Tezkaro et son frère, fils naturels de Glaodios, étaient ses héritiers légitimes, ce prince n'ayant pas laissé d'enfant mâle." This sentence is puzzling enough; but on p. 143 Minas, the brother of Tezkaro (according to p. 146) is differently related: "Tezkaro était son neveu, fils de Jacob son frère aîné." One more example may be quoted from vol. i. P. 127, Pliny "qui visita le port d'Adoulis, deux siècles plus tard", is quoted for its importance; there follows a citation from "l'auteur du Périple de l'Erythrée [sic], qui, trois siècles plus tard (70 avant Jésus-Christ), visita Aksoum". According to this, Pliny's date was 170 B.C. However, p. 130, the visit of the "auteur anonyme du 'Périple de l'Erythrée'" is

placed in the second half of the first century (evidently A.D.). This latter date (which is right) is not a century later than Pliny, but contemporary with him.

These and numerous other slips could have been corrected by the editor without by any means exceeding his duties. He might also, where charges are brought against other writers, have consulted the works of the latter, and restricted the accusations to such as can be maintained. Thus the author is right in charging Bruce with anachronism when he implies that an author whose work appeared in 1650 could have mentioned an event which occurred in 1717 (ii, p. 343); but when he calls Bruce's observation "un reproche méchamment absurde", reference to Bruce's work shows that Bruce makes no reproach, but is endeavouring to find an honourable reason for the silence of the earlier writer. Another charge brought against Bruce, in connection with the discovery of the source of the Blue Nile, also requires modification. Bruce endeavours to show that Paez, "a man of genius," made no claim to the discovery; the work of Paez, which has only recently been published, shows that Bruce was mistaken; but he does not call Paez and d'Almeida (whom he does not even mention) "vils fanatiques et imposteurs". And if this sort of charge is permissible, what is to be said of the statement (ii, 200) that Paez discovered the source of the Nile in 1642, when on p. 206 we are told that Paez died in 1622? Instead of calling Father Coulbeaux "a vile impostor and fanatic" for making Paez discover the source of the Blue Nile twenty years after his own death, and some eighteen years after it had been seen by Father Lobo, we should think it saner to charge Father Baeteman with having allowed a rather serious misprint to escape him.

Misprints indeed abound, but it is unwise to be hard on these. It is, however, surprising that the editor's curiosity should not have been aroused by the Crusaders' taking of Jerusalem being dated 999 (i, 245), and on the same page "le nouveau Calife Afdal" being immediately after called

“ Le vizir ”. He could not well have been both, and, in fact, was neither. Similarly (i, 96), we read with astonishment, “ Vers le vii^e siecle avant Jésus-Christ, aurait eu lieu une grande immigration juive (into Abyssinia) d’après Strabon et Pline, du temps de Nabuchodonosor.” Pliny’s work has been elaborately indexed, but does not appear to contain the name of this Babylonian king; Strabo mentions Nabocodrosoros, but merely says that he got as far as the Pillars of Heracles. Neither appears to attest this great Jewish immigration. Surely some reference or note would have been desirable.

It is, therefore, to be regretted that the editor of this book should have allowed it to appear in a form which renders it difficult to bestow on it the commendation which it would naturally be a pleasure to render to a posthumous work, which, though often fanatical, and in the reviewer’s judgment uncritical, is clearly the product of industrious research.

D. S. M

THE COMMENTARY OF RABBI MEYUCHAS B. ELIJAH ON THE
PENTATEUCH (EXODUS). Edited by Professor A. W.
GREENUP. 8 × 6. 142 pp. Budapest: Typis Kohn
Mór Vác (Hungaria). 1929.

The author of the above-mentioned Commentary was a native of the Byzantine Empire and flourished in the twelfth century. Otherwise nothing is at present known about his personality and literary activity. Only two quotations from his work are recorded by a later author. Although as to importance and comprehensiveness the work cannot be compared with those of his great predecessors, it has two distinguishing features of its own which, in spite of lack of originality, not only justify its preservation, but also its publication. The aim of the author was to provide a popular as well as instructive exposition of the language and laws of Exodus. His grammatical notes are, on the whole, sound, and carry the impression that he had been an eager student of Abraham b. Ezra’s writings. The other feature is a

pronounced tendency to discuss in detail the ritual laws of Exodus. For this purpose he inserted large extracts from rabbinic literature. It seems that he wrote for a public which, in his opinion, lacked access to basic works for such study. The edition testifies the thoroughness and competence which is to be expected from a scholar of Professor Greenup's attainments. The brief preface gives everything about the author and his work. An English Introduction and explanatory notes would have made the book more palatable to modern readers. A special article to fill this gap would certainly be welcome.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THE KUMZARI DIALECT OF THE SHIHUH TRIBE, ARABIA,
AND A VOCABULARY. By BERTRAM THOMAS. Asiatic
Society Monographs, Vol. XXI. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 70 pp.
London: Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street,
W. 1, 1930. 2s. 6d.

Descriptions of modern Iranian dialects are always of interest to the philologist, and from this point of view we can welcome the publication of the material collected by Mr. Thomas.

This monograph, the first attempt to furnish a full account of the Kumzari dialect, contains a brief morphology, followed by an English-Kumzari vocabulary, pp. 19-57. A series of additional notes forms the substance of the remainder of the paper.

The form of the monograph cannot be considered altogether happy. It was clearly composed in the first place without any knowledge of Iranian philology. The author accordingly attempted explanations of an Iranian dialect on the basis of Arabic, as, for example, on p. 10: "Taking the 3rd person singular past tense (as in Arabic) as a basis . . ." he arrives at a triliteral verb. This results in a completely wrong treatment of Kumzari. An attempt to correct these mistakes is made in the notes, p. 59 ff.

One or two remarks can be offered on the language. On p. 11 and p. 65 a verbal form *-seh* is quoted as a past participle, to which corresponds a plural *-sin*. The form is clearly *-s-* with the 3rd sing. and 3rd plur. respectively of the verb "to be". Hence *gurseh*, *gursin* correspond to Mid. Iran. (Western), *krd 'st krd 'nd *kirδ-ast *kirδ-and*; *zāseh* "born", p. 22, represents **zāδ-ast*; *akhar buseh* "late", p. 35, has *buseh* representing **būδ-ast*. It would seem that before a vowel Mid. Iran. *δ* < Old Iran. *-t-* is represented by *-s-*, probably through a voiced *-z-*. Final Mid. Iran. *-δ* appears as *-r*, e.g. in *bur* "happened", p. 32 < Mid. Iran. **būδ*, cf. *spīr* "white" < **spēδ*. In *karam* "which", however, we seem to have *-r* < *δ* intervocalic, Pahl. *kt'm *kaδām*.

The phonology, which is not treated in the monograph, offers some interesting developments. From *-ā-* we have *ai* (= *āi*, see p. 18) and *ay* (= *ēi*, p. 18), as in *raisid* "he arrived", p. 20, *bizaina* "he strikes", from *zan-*, *tikayna* "he digs", p. 27, from *kan-*, *gayp* "big", p. 21, cf. Bakhtiāri *gāp*. Mid. Iran. *-ar* final results in *-ōr*: *khōr* "donkey", *dōr* "door", *sōr* "head", *indōr* "inside"; before a consonant we find *ur-*: *gurm* "hot", *murtk* "man", *urzen* "cheap", *dur* "pain" from **durd*. NPers. *dard*. Mid. Iran. *-ō-* is preserved in *gōsh* "ear", *gōshl* "meat". Nayzik, p. 39 (*naysik*, p. 68) "near" presents us with the development *z* < *zd*, which can be traced already in Pahlavi.

The 3rd sing. past with *-ish* is the regular development of the Mid. Iran. construction, e.g. Pahl. *-aš kart* "by him was made" = "he made". Hence *danadish*, p. 53, 69, is more probably past tense *dānād-iš* "he knew", for the *-ād* cf. MPT. *z'n'd* "known", **zānād*.

It would be interesting to have more of this dialect; in particular some consecutive sentences would present us with a clearer idea of Kumzari.

H. W. B.

ÉTUDES SUR L'ART MÉDIÉVAL EN GÉORGIE ET EN ARMÉNIE.

By JURGIS BALTRUSAITIS. Preface by Henri Focillon.

13 × 10, pp. 109, figs. 120, pl. 101. Paris: Leroux, 1929.

This is not a general account of Georgian and Armenian mediaeval art, as the title might seem to promise, but is limited to the arts of building, sculpture, architectural ornament. It is a valuable contribution to the study of a subject of great importance, and the preface, by M. Focillon, clearly and briefly indicates the conclusions arrived at. Even in our own day it has been the almost invariable rule to attribute anything in the philological, artistic, and general cultural fields, which Transcaucasia seemed to have in common with Greece or Byzantium, to the latter as the country of origin. M. Focillon (p. xi) reminds us that it may sometimes be well to ask what Transcaucasia has given to the West. Over 100 of the photographs reproduced are due to M. Baltrušaitis, and are of recent date; for comparison, in order to show the striking similarity with Romanesque and other styles in France, there are also photographs from Angers, Angoulême, Conques, Nersac, Pont l'Abbé, Saint-Lizier, and Saumur; and Rosheim (in Alsace) might well have been included.

The most interesting part of the book is perhaps the first chapter, "L'entrelacs en Transcaucasie," which is very thorough and not only sets out the fundamental distinction between Georgian ("décor homogène") and Armenian ("entre-croisement") interlacing patterns, but carries the question back through Hittite examples to the matting, plaits, and basket-work of primitive mankind. The second chapter, on Georgian ornament as a link between the Islamic and Romanesque styles, is very fully illustrated in the text. Figure sculpture is described in chapter iii. We find in it: "une pure plastique, indifférente à la nature. Mais en même temps, ou découvre dans la violation de la norme un moyen d'expression inédit. Un nouveau langage, d'une puissance extrême, prend naissance." The fourth, and last, chapter is

entitled "Caractères atectoniques de l'architecture et du décor en Géorgie": it shows that while in Romanesque ornament is subordinate to architecture, in Georgia ornament is much more independent of the surface on which it is carried—"il déborde souvent les limites de l'assise . . . il devient hors-d'œuvre, placage, élément incrusté . . . l'édifice n'est plus bâtie, mais bijou, coffret précieux, richement décoré . . . l'ensemble ornemental se présente comme une broderie continue". According to M. Baltrušaitis, all decoration in Georgia is like a garment made to cover a body, and in old Georgian texts the word *perangi* (meaning shirt) is the word used to describe the external garnishment of a building. Distinguished Georgian and Armenian scholars have collaborated in the preparation of this handsome book, which is of permanent value and well worthy of the attention of all who are interested in architecture, sculpture, and ornament. There are some small misprints, e.g. Anamour (for Ananur) on pp. 43 and 60, and the spellings Mzheth, Mzhetha (? Mchatta, p. xiii), Nicorzmindia are unsuitable in a book written in French, though they would be right in German. There might have been more references to previous literature connected with the subject, e.g. to the very full description and photographic survey of Mtskheta cathedral published by Natroev in 1900, but we must be thankful for this solid piece of new work full of pregnant suggestions and furnishing a record of the present state of beautiful buildings, some of which are now perishing from neglect.

O. W.

RECHERCHES SUR LE COMMERCE GÉNOIS DANS LA MER NOIRE
AU XIII^E SIÈCLE. By G. I. BRATIANU. 10 × 6½, pp. 359,
pl. 5, map. 1. Paris: Geuthner, 1929. 75 francs.

Dr. Bratianu, Professor at Jassy, began the serious study of Genoese trade in the Black Sea eight years ago, in connection with the Conference at Genoa in 1922, with the special object of collecting material for a history of the Genoese colony at

Pera in the fourteenth century, but he found so much in the notarial registers of Pera and Caffa that he was led to enlarge his field of work and deal with all the settlements on the Euxine coast and concentrate on the earlier and less known period which forms his present theme.

After a brief survey of trade in the Black Sea in the ancient world and the early Middle Ages, and a general sketch of Genoese expansion in the Levant and the settlements in Constantinople and Pera, and the rivalry of Venice, the author describes the state of the trade in the Byzantine Empire and then (chap. v) deals with the eastern end of the sea (Trebizond, Persia, Armenia, the Caucasus), the colonies in the Crimea (chap. vi), the Dominican missions in 1235, and Ruysbroek's journey of 1253, the Franciscans at Caffa, trade routes to the Far East and Far North, Circassia, the grain trade. The last section (chap. vii) tells of the war with Venice (1293-9), the eastern allies of the two republics, the destruction of Pera in 1296, and its re-establishment and the revival of hostility.

The Appendix is in three sections. The first is on the country which Marco Polo calls "Lac" (otherwise, in other authors, Aulak, Illac, Blac, etc.), and which commentators have situated in various regions far apart, e.g. Wallachia, the north-west of Russia, the Urals. Dr. Bratianu, on the evidence of certain notarial acts, connected with the purchase of slaves, transcribed at Caffa and almost contemporary with Marco Polo, now continues the investigations, of which he published some account at Jassy in 1925, and arrives at the conclusion that the "Laks" were no other than the Lesghians (in Georgian *Leci*), the people in Central Daghestan still called Laki or Kazikumukh, who are frequently mentioned in texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and played a certain part in history at the time of the great Mongol invasion, e.g. a force of Lesghians helped Queen Rusudan of Georgia against Djelal'eddin. The second appendix gives 22 Latin documents, dated 1274 to 1296, and the book ends with a chronological

list of those Genoese who held the offices of Podestà in Constantinople from 1264 to 1304 and the Consuls known to have acted at Caffa and Trebizond.

Dr. Bratianu has made good use of the new and old materials at his disposal and has a clear, lively, pleasant style.

O. W.

CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON. Part VI: MUGHAL PAINTING.

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc. (Lond.), Keeper of Indian, Persian, and Muhammadan Art in the Museum.

11½ × 8½, pp. 114, pls. lxxv. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

In this, the latest example of his indefatigable industry, Dr. Coomaraswamy is concerned with what is now a very large and choice collection—one of the finest in the world. The Mughal paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts come mostly from three famous collections, the Goloubew, the Ross, and the Ross-Coomaraswamy, but there have been other important additions. The value, accordingly, of such a catalogue as this, in which nearly half of the 317 paintings described are reproduced, is very great indeed, especially to non-Americans, who cannot easily see the originals.

It is impossible here even to mention the many treasures of Mughal art which the Museum contains, but a few may be named. There are two pages from the celebrated Hamzah Romance (mid-sixteenth century); a unique Rasika-priyā, of about 1600, illustrated by a Mughal artist; a signed example of the work of Jahāngīr's painter Āqā Rizā; one of several versions (perhaps, as Dr. Coomaraswamy thinks, the original sketch) of the curious "Prince on horseback and Falconer", of which the provenance is so problematical (Dr. Coomaraswamy might perhaps have discussed Shāh Jahān's note on the example at South Kensington); the drawing of the death of 'Ināyat Khān; several great Durbār scenes; Bishan Dās's "Shāh 'Abbās and Khān i 'Ālam";

the superb "Poet" (plate 25); and some splendid examples of the work of the animal painters and portraitists of the seventeenth century.

The introduction contains a historical and critical sketch of Mughal painting, in the course of which, among other original observations, the author makes the interesting suggestion that Jahāngīr at first encouraged a more definitely Persian phase of painting than that represented by Akbar's artists. There are certainly some grounds for this view, but the phase could not have lasted long. Dr. Coomaraswamy is curiously out of sympathy with the art of Shāh Jahān's reign, for all its exquisite portraiture.

A feature of the catalogue is the notes on costume, a subject in which the author has made valuable researches. The descriptions are admirably detailed. Some of the Persian transliterations are not quite accurate.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

KERN INSTITUTE, LEYDEN: ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1928. Published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands India, and with the support of the Imperial Government of India. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xi + 141, pls. 12. Leyden: E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1930.

This is the third volume of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology* which the present writer has the pleasure and honour of reviewing for this *Journal*. First of all, let him confess that with unstinted pleasure has he gathered, from the cover of the present volume, that this important undertaking is no longer supported only by the Government of Netherlands India, but also by the Imperial Government of India. For, a bibliography which is mainly concerned with the archæology, etc., of British India ought rightly to attract the greatest interest in that country; and it must be a great encouragement to the editors of this painstaking

work that their researches have now met with due acknowledgment from the Indian authorities.

Of the excellence of the work performed by Professor Vogel and his collaborators, Messrs. Krom, Kramers, and Fábri, there can again be only one opinion. The bibliography itself covers just about a hundred pages, and is as complete as could possibly be desired; at least would the present writer in no wise dare to suggest any amendments. Someone might wish that a few more reviews of works mentioned here might have been duly registered. But such a wish is scarcely justifiable seeing that periodicals, and with them reviews of books, are permanently multiplying, and that, by taking stock of them all, the editors of a bibliography might at last land themselves in insurmountable difficulties.

Preceding the Bibliography there is as usual an introduction dealing with excavations and other archæological researches of importance within India and neighbouring countries. The greatest interest, no doubt, will attach itself to the first chapter dealing with Sir John Marshall's excavations at Taxila which, *inter alia*, seem in a curious way to corroborate the tale, hitherto considered as fanciful, of Apollonius of Tyana visiting that great capital during the earlier half of the first century A.D. That Taxila was, at least, since the time of Alexander, and probably long before that, an all-important centre of the north-west, has long been known from literature: and this has now been fully ascertained through the magnificent discoveries of Sir John Marshall and his collaborators. Not the least interesting is the hoard of silver vessels and of precious ornaments discovered during 1926-7, and of which plates ii and iii bring excellent pictures. That a statuette of the child god Harpokrates should have been found at Taxila is another proof of the intimate relations between East and West about the beginning of our era.

The French excavations at Hadda, situated slightly to the south of Jalālābād, have brought to light many important discoveries. Magnificent stucco figures are pictured in

plates iv and v; the head of a Buddhist monk (pl. v f.) in reality seems worthy of a Roman Caesar. Great interest is also aroused by the chapters dealing with Sir Aurel Stein's expeditions in Balūcistān (1927-8), on which a Memoir from the pen of this truly indefatigable explorer is shortly to be expected. The wooden walls of Pāṭaliputra are less imposing than the foundations of Taxila or the great stūpas of the North-West, but perhaps not less important for the history of India. Further chapters deal with the excavations at Nālandā and with the brick temple of Pahārpur where very interesting sculptured stone panels have been brought to light. Special paragraphs, in this as in previous volumes, deal with new finds in Burma, Indonesia, and Iran, and thus a complete survey of India and surrounding countries is brought to a happy end.

Nothing need be added to this rapid sketch of the contents of this magnificent volume. We have only to look forward, with grateful expectation, to the next addition to this splendid series, and meanwhile to testify once more to the profound obligation under which Professor Vogel and his collaborators have laid all their fellow-scholars.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

THE SAYCE AND H. WELD COLLECTION IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM. Sumerian Contracts from Nippur. By G. R. HUNTER. 12 × 9½. pp. viii + 45, pls. 46. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930. 12s.

Mr. Hunter has published the text and translation of twenty-one contract tablets of the class edited by Meissner in 1893 in his *Beiträge zum Altbabylonischen Privatrechts*, many of which latter came from Erech. Most of the present texts Mr. Hunter thinks came from Nippur, on account of the similarity of the formulæ and some of the names of the people mentioned therein. On the first grounds it is by no means certain that Nippur could be claimed as their provenance, because the phrases used are much the same as

in the Erech tablets; but on the second the author is fully justified, the names definitely recurring in Poebel's edition of several Nippur tablets (*Pennsylvania, Bab. Exp.*, vi, 2). The texts are clearly written, the translations are carefully made, and the notes (particularly the one on *sibta*) helpful. Naturally there is not much fresh to be gleaned from them, owing to the publication of similar texts, but they are an interesting group.

R. C. T.

BERICHT ÜBER DIE VON DER AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
IN WIEN AUF GEMEINSAME KOSTEN MIT DR. WILHELM
PELIAZAEUS UNTERNOMMEN GRABUNGEN AUF DEM
FRIEDHOF DES ALTEN REICHES BEI DEN PYRAMIDEN
VON GIZA. Band I, Die Mastabas der IV Dynastie auf
dem Westfriedhof, in Verbindung mit K. HOLEY heraus-
gegeben von HERMANN JUNKER. 12 × 9½, pp. x + 282,
plates 44, illustrations 65.

The appearance of this book is of the highest importance to all archæologists, for it is the first volume of the series in which the German excavations in the west portion of the Gîzeh necropolis, which began in 1912, are to be published. Its importance is also greatly increased by the fact that it may be hailed as the first full and systematic publication of the Old Kingdom mastabas of Gîzeh which has yet appeared, although excavations have been conducted in the pyramid area by various other expeditions for a number of years.

The amazing wealth of studied detail with which Dr. Junker and his colleagues have presented us renders any exhaustive review of the book an impossibility, and it will therefore suffice to describe the main lines on which the work is compiled, leaving the student to examine the mass of material for himself. The volume, as the title shows, is confined to an account of those mastabas which are contemporary with the pyramid builders, that is of the Fourth Dynasty, and begins with a description by K. Holey of the plateau on which the

Gizeh cemetery lies, illustrated by a sectional survey plan (Abb. 2).

Dr. Junker then proceeds to examine with great thoroughness the evidence for dating the mastabas, his most striking point being that the use of the names of the pyramid builders in the compound names of private persons and of villages is no proof of contemporaneity with those monarchs, but that they were in use long after their death. From page 14 onwards is found a detailed description of the normal Fourth Dynasty mastaba, its several parts being illustrated by excellent plans and drawings, and on page 23 Dr. Junker opens a very interesting discussion as to the probable origin of the rectangular tablet showing the dead man sitting before his table of food. This tablet is found standing free as an independent thing only at Gizeh : elsewhere it is always inserted above the false door. Hence we must ask whether the tablet has been taken out of the false door and set up alone for the first time during the Fourth Dynasty, or whether it was originally independent and was later inserted into the false door. The answer seems to be that the tablet itself is directly descended from the stelæ of the courtiers at Abydos, which belong to the first two dynasties, and that the insertion above the false door was a secondary development.

The Gizeh tablets are then described and discussed in great detail, their scenes and inscriptions and the execution of the same receiving a lengthy treatment, after which we pass on to the shaft and subterranean tomb-chambers and eventually to the sarcophagus itself.

On pages 57 ff. Dr. Junker deals with the now well-known reserve heads, and their significance as part of the tomb equipment. These magnificent portraits (see pls. xii-xiv) are among the finest works of art which have come down to us from the Old Kingdom, and many years ago Naville in *A.Z.* 48, p. 107 ff., endeavoured to connect them with the "Chapter of the mysterious head" No. CLIB in the Book

of the Dead." As Dr. Junker shows, however, although probably arising as the result of a parallel line of thought, the "mysterious head" owing to its form as shown in amulets and vignettes cannot be truly said to be a development of the "reserve heads" of Gizeh. With regard to the actual significance of these "reserve heads" the writer clearly proves that it was the same as that of the funerary statue, but whereas the latter stood in a *serdâb* above ground, the stone head was placed actually in the tomb-chamber, looking out of its windows pierced in the slab before it. The soul returning to the tomb after absence would flutter down the shaft, recognize the head through the openings, and pass in to reabsorb itself in the body.

We now pass on to a discussion of the style of Fourth Dynasty mastabas, their relation to the architectural history of the earlier dynasties, and eventually to an elaborate "bauliche Analyse" of the excavated area, and an account of the pottery and other objects found in the tombs. Last of all comes an exhaustive record of each individual mastaba and its contents.

The whole book is illustrated by a series of splendid photographs of the streets in that veritable city of the dead, and of the many fine examples of Old Kingdom art found there. Among them the statue of the fat prince *Hemiuu* (pl. xix ff.) cannot fail to excite our admiration and regard. Dr. Junker and his colleagues have produced a first-class work at the cost of what can only have been immense labour and application, and this published result will certainly remain a standard reference book of the archæology of the Fourth Dynasty.

ALAN W. SHORTER.

DICIONNAIRE AMARIGNA-FRANÇAIS SUIVI D'UN VOCABULAIRE
FRANÇAIS-AMARIGNA. By J. BAETEMAN, Missionaire
Laziriste. Dire-douua (Ethiopoie) Imprimerie Saint
Lazare des R. P. Capucins. 1929.

The dictionaries accessible to the student of Amharic prior to the publication of this work were the *Vocabulario* of

the distinguished Orientalist, I. Guidi, and the unfinished work of Armbruster. Father Baeteman's *Dictionary* is very much more copious than the former, as indeed appears from a comparison of the pages of the two; the author estimates the excess at 5,000 words. Many of the words are illustrated by proverbs, and in a certain number of cases the pronunciation is given in roman characters. The arrangement of the derivatives under their roots and the typography leave nothing to be desired. Further, the price, 100 francs, is exceedingly moderate. The French-Amharic Vocabulary appended is also very copious, and differs from the *Dictionary* in furnishing no grammatical information about the French words; probably it is intended for Europeans rather than for Abyssinians. The author is to be congratulated on having substantially furthered the study of this difficult but interesting language by producing what is likely to be the favourite dictionary for many years.

D. S. M.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Eduard Sachau

Eduard Sachau was born 20th July, 1845, at Neumünster in Holstein. He studied Oriental and Semitic philology at the Universities of Kiel and Leipzig. In 1867 he obtained at Leipzig the degree of Dr. Phil. with his thesis *Ġawāliqî's Almu'arrab* (Leipzig, 1867). In 1869 he became "ausser-ordentlicher", and in 1872 "ordentlicher" professor of Semitic languages at the University of Vienna. In 1876 he was called to Berlin, to the chair which before him such men as Friedrich Rückert and Emil Roediger had occupied. In 1887 he also became Director of the newly founded "Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen" at Berlin. He retained these two posts until he retired in 1920.

In 1879–80 he travelled in Syria and Mesopotamia, and in 1897–8 in Babylonia and Assyria.

He received many honours for his work. The Prussian Government gave him the title of "Geheimer Regierungsrat", and in 1906 of "Geheimer Oberregierungsrat". Prussia and other countries presented him with decorations. Besides this, he was a member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences and corresponding member of the British Academy and of the Academies of St. Petersburg and Vienna, Dr. jur. hon. c. of the University of Leipzig, and hon. D.C.L. of Oxford.

The following are his principal works :—

Theodori Mopsuesteni fragmenta Syriaca (Syr. and Lat., 2 voll., Leipzig, 1869).

Inedita Syriaca. Eine Sammlung syr. Uebersetzungen von Schriften griech. Profanliteratur (Wien, 1870).

Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Albêrûnî (Arab., 2 voll., Leipzig, 1876–8).

The Chronology of Ancient Nations . . . of Albîrûnî. Translated (London, 1879).

Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem 5. Jahrhundert, herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert (zusammen mit K. J. Bruns, Leipzig, 1880).

- Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig, 1883).
- Alberuni's India. An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws, and Astrology of India about A.D. 1030.* (Arab., London, 1887.)
- Alberuni's India* . . . An English edition, with notes and indices (2 voll., London, 1888).
- Arabische Volkslieder aus Mesopotamien* (Berlin, 1889).
- Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustânî, and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library.* Begun by Ed. Sachau, continued by H. Ethé (Oxford, 1889).
- Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafitischer Lehre* (Stuttgart u. Berlin, 1897).
- Verzeichnis der syr. Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin* (2 Bdd., Berlin, 1899).
- Am Euphrat und Tigris. Reisebericht* (Leipzig, 1900).
- Syrische Rechtsbücher herausgegeben und übersetzt* (3 Teile, Berlin, 1907, 1908, 1914).
- “Drei aramäische Papyrus-Urkunden aus Elephantine” (1907, in den *Abhandlungen der Preus. Akademie der Wissenschaften*).
- Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine aus dem 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (2 Bdd., Leipzig, 1911).
- Sachau also directed :—
- The editing of Ibn Saad's *Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams* (Leiden, 1905 ff.; he himself contributed Vol. III, 1, and the Indices).
- The publication of the *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* (Berlin, 1898–1920); and
- The publication of the *Archiv. für das Studium deutscher Kolonialsprachen* (Berlin, 1902 ff.).

A. F.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

From *The Times*, Friday, 14th November, 1930 :—

“ PERSIAN PAINTING

“ The first of two lectures organized by the Royal Asiatic Society in connection with the Persian Art Exhibition was given yesterday afternoon at the Society's rooms, 74 Grosvenor Street, W.1, by Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson. He spoke of the characteristics of Persian illustrated manuscripts and of the various arts of the book ; also of the position of the artist in ancient Persia, who laboured under the disadvantage of belonging to a profession which was condemned by the theologians, and was one of a team of book-craftsmen, not a free agent. The lecturer accepted the fourfold division of periods or schools of Persian painting, though the first of these, the Abbasid, had nothing specifically Persian about it, being opposed to later developments ; and the Mongolian, the Timurid, and the Safavid schools were not rigidly marked off from each other, for survivals of older traditions were always liable to occur. He illustrated from lantern slides how certain motives descended from pre-Islamic times, and were modified successively in each age. By decorative sketches and portraits he showed the changes that occurred when painting was no longer confined to manuscripts, and was deprived of its brilliant colouring.”

PERSIAN CARPETS

The second of two lectures organized by the Royal Asiatic Society in connection with the Persian Art Exhibition, was given on Thursday, 11th December, at the Society's rooms, 74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1, by Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Grey.

The lecturer began by explaining the difficulties met with by anyone who tries to obtain accurate information on the subject of Persian carpets. Firstly, most Persian gentlemen care nothing for the points which are most important in the

eyes of European collectors, and are consequently ignorant when asked about them. Secondly, dealers cannot be expected to give information to those who are likely to use it to their disadvantage. Thirdly, most of the various books that have been written about carpets are incomplete and frequently inaccurate. He sketched briefly the history of the carpet industry in Persia, and described the method of weaving. He went on to give an account of the dyes used ; referring to the superiority of vegetable and animal over chemical and mineral dyes, explaining the result of the use of aniline in a carpet. Advice as to the careful examination of pieces before making purchases followed, with some hints on testing for aniline.

The lecturer then proceeded to give some account of certain centres of the carpet industry in Persia, notably, Khurasan, Kirman, Kashan, Shiraz, Isfahan, and Saruq, with reference to the patterns and designs peculiar to each. He emphasized certain points of difference between ancient and modern weaves, in the course of which slides of several very fine old carpets which are to be on view at the approaching exhibition of Persian Art were shown on the screen, with some description of each. Among these were the world-famous "Ardebil" carpet, dating from A.D. 1540, with its millions of "knots", wonderful colours, and exquisite tracing; the eighteenth century "Garden" carpet with its curious design; the "Vase" carpet of the late sixteenth century; the "Animal" carpet of the same date, with its winged figures showing traces of Chinese influence, and others.

Turning to Transcaspian carpets, the lecturer pointed out that it was strictly speaking incorrect to call these after localities; that they should be named after the tribes by which they are made, and that, for instance, there was no such thing as a "Bokhara" carpet. He referred to the tribes by which various types are made, and explained that Transcaspian weaves did not, as a rule, last as long as those woven in Persia, owing to their constant removal from place

to place when the community was on the move. He remarked that carpets were made for utility only up to the time of the Russian occupation of Transcaspia, and that the quality of these articles had deteriorated since then owing to the desirability of quick manufacture for commercial purposes.

Finally, four specimens of these weaves were shown : one, a fine Tekke rug about 100 years old, one Yamut piece of a slightly more recent date ; a good specimen of a Tekke prayer rug with its rich red ground and handsome blue bars ; and a saddle bag, of which the different uses were indicated.

In addition to the lecture, a number of slides were shown, together with a short description of the principal treasures which will be seen by the public at the International Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House in January and February next. These were kindly lent by the Chairman and Directors of the Exhibition.

Will any member give or sell to the Society *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. 2, pts. 1 and 2, 1908, complete with the coloured plate to pt. 1, also title pages to both parts and the index which were issued in a supplement.

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed :—

Bibliotheca Indica, Sanskrit, etc. : No. 4 : Nīti-Sāra, fasc. 1, 1849. No. 9 : Sahitya-darpana, text and transl., 1850-75. No. 11 : Taittirīya, etc., Upaniṣads, 1851-5. No. 27 : Sāṃkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya, 1854-6. No. 32 : Sūrya-siddhānta, etc., 1860-2. No. 102 : Nārada-smṛti, 1885-6.

China Branch R.A.S., *Transactions*, pts. v-vii, 1855-9.

Giornale Società Asiatica Italiana. Nuova Série, vol. 1, fasc. 1, 1926.

Journal of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ix, Nos. 1. 2, 3.

K. Bataviaasch Genootschap Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- en Volkenkunde, Deel 59, afl. 1, 2.

Le Muséon, Nouvelle série, vols. iv, v, vi, and from vol. x to the end of the series, about 1915.

North Indian Notes and Queries, vols. 4-5, 1894-?

Numismatic Chronicle, vol. ii, No. 5; vol. iii, Nos. 11, 12; New Ser., Nos. 9, 10, 1863; *Proceedings* from the beginning.

Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Ancient Egyptian Art*, vol. i, 1883.

Phœnix, The, vol. iii, No. 27, Sept. 1872.

Sudan Notes and Records, vol. i, No. 2; vol. ii, No. 1.

Toyo-Gakuhō, vol. xiii, No. 1.

Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. xxix, pts. iii, iv.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. viii.

NOTICE

The Quarterly Numbers of the *Journal of the R.A.S.* are forwarded to subscribers about the 11th of January, April, July, and October respectively in each year. Should a volume not be received within a reasonable time after the prescribed date, notification should be sent to the Secretary of the Society as early as possible, but, at any rate, by the end of the quarter concerned. Should such notice not be received by the Secretary within six months of the first day of the quarter for which the volume has been issued, the onus cannot be admitted, and the volume cannot be replaced.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

The British Museum Quarterly. Vol. v, No. 2, September, 1930.

The Chester-Beatty Egyptian Papyri.

Old Kingdom Faience and other Objects.

The Maxwell Bequest of Egyptian Antiquities.

Recent Egyptian and Assyrian Acquisitions.

A Portrait Mohur of Akbar.

The Harvey Hadden Gift of Oriental Ceramics.

Japanese prints and Persian miniatures.

The Geographical Journal. Vol. lxxvi, No. 4, 1930.

Nesbitt, L. M. Danakil traversed from South to North in 1923.

Supplement to the *Geographical Journal*, No. 32, July, 1930.

Vol. lxxvi, No. 5, 1930.

Horsfield, George, and Conway, Agnes. Historical and Topographical notes on Edom: with an account of the first excavations at Petra.

Nesbitt, L. M. Danakil traversed from South to North in 1928.
Part ii.

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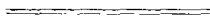
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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1931

PART II.—APRIL

Restorations of Assyrian Rituals

By CECIL J. MULLO-WEIR, B.D., D.Phil.

I

THE text published by Lutz in *PBS.* i, 2, No. 129, is partially restored by K. 9830 + 11768, published in Gray, *The Šamaš Religious Texts*, pl. iii. This latter tablet is of great interest as belonging to the series *bît rimki* (House of Washing). The object of the prayer is to free the suppliant from witchcraft (cf. ll. 8 ff.), and the principal act of the ceremony appears to be washing with water (cf. ll. 5, 17, and 19) of purification. The prayer has some affinities with *maklû* and *šurpu* texts and is followed, after a short ritual, by a Sumerian prayer apparently identical with V R. 50, 1 ff. Hence, and for other reasons,¹ it is not improbable that V R. 50-1 contains the text of the ensuing portion of *bît rimki*. It is worthy of notice that the catchline of V R. 50-1 is the first line of *šurpu*, Tablet IX. The Sumerian prayer above referred to is also quoted, along with other *bît rimki* prayers, in the ritual published by Myhrman, *PBS.* i, 1, No. 15.²

¹ The phrase *bît rimki* (*é tú*) occurs several times, viz. Col. III, 19 f., 48 f., 54 f., 69 f.; Col. IV, 21, 28. ² In obv. 10; cf. rev. 36. With obv. 6, cf. Gray, *Šamaš*, iii, K. 2380, catchline (probably *bît rimki*, cf. l. 9); with obv. 20, cf. *OECT.* vi, 45, 1 (*bît rimki*, Tablet IV, l. 1); with rev. 2, cf. *OECT.* vi, 50, 1 (*bît rimki*, Tablet V, 1). The ceremonial directions are also closely analogous to those of *bît rimki*. Tablets IV and V. All the prayers are to Babbar-Shamash; it is precarious to try to identify the Semitic ones since so many prayers to Shamash begin alike.

In the edition which we herewith present, the restorations in italics are from K. 9830 + 11768, conjectural restorations being in roman type.

PBS. i, 2, No. 129

-
1. [mimma(?)] *ša*
Whatsoever(?)
 2. [mimma(?)]¹ *šá ina zumri-iā* [bašâ-a]
Whatsoever is in my body.
 3. [*ina lumun id*]ātī ittāti lim[nēti lā tábāti]²
On account of the evil of omens and signs, evil and
not good,
 4. KA-KA-ŠA³
.
 5. [*kīma*]⁴ . . itti *mē*⁵ *ša zumri-iā liš-ša-ḥi-i*[t-ma]
Like . . , with the water of my body may it be removed,
and
 6. [*ina*]⁶ *muḥ-ḥi*-šu u la-ni-šu līl-lik *Šamaš ta-* . .
Upon its head and body may it go. O Shamash, . . .
 7. . . . *limnūti ana*⁷ *muḥ-ḥi-šá tūr-ru*-[ud(?)]⁸
The evil . . . upon her head drive away.
 - 8.⁹ [*Šamaš*] *kaššaptu*¹⁰ *lim-ḫut-ma ana-ku lu-ut-bi*
O Shamash, may she fall and may I arise ;
 9. [*ši-i*] *li-in*¹¹ *ni-kir-ma ana-ku lu-ši-ir*
May she be destroyed and may I walk aright ;
 10. [*ši-i*] *li-ir-te-si-ma ana-ku lu-bi-iḥ*
May she be smitten(?),¹² and may I be pure ;

¹ Variant, l. 1, appears to have *mim[ma]* ² Restored from var.
l. 6. Var. omits ll. 3 and 4 but has a corresponding insertion after l. 7.
³ We expect *šá ina ekalli-iā u māti-iā bašâ-a*, cf. var., l. 7. ⁴ Restored
from var., l. 2. ⁵ Written ME-MEŠ, if the copy is correct, instead of the
usual A-MEŠ. For the restoration of this line, cf. *šurpu*, VIII, 72 f. ;
maḫlū, VII, 77 f. and 132 f. ; II R. 51, 66 f. ⁶ Or *ana* ? ⁷ Var. *a-na*.
⁸ Var. inserts two lines : *ina lumun idāti* [ittāti *limnēti lā tábāti*], *šá ina*
ekalli-iā [u *māti-iā bašâ-a*]. Cf. note 2 above ; cf. l. 16. ⁹ With ll. 8-11,
cf. *maḫlū*, II, 79 ff. ¹⁰ Var. *kaš-šap*-[tu]. ¹¹ Var. omits *in*. ¹² On the
verb *rēsu*, see HW. 605b ; Muss-Arnolt, 974b.

- 11.¹ [šī]-i li-mut-ma ana-ku lu-ub-luṭ
May she die, and may I live.
12. [^uŠamaš] ina di-ni-ka i-šá-ru-tam lul-lik
O Shamash, by thy judgment may I walk aright.
13. [^uŠamaš] aš-šù la e²-pu-šá-aš-ši-im-ma i-pu-šá
O Shamash, because (?) I did not bewitch her and she (?)
bewitched,³
14. [^uŠamaš] aš-šù la as-ḫu-raš-ši-ma is-ḫu-ra
O Shamash, because (?) I did not enchant her and she (?)
enchanted,
15. [lumun]-šù⁴ um-ta-si ina muḫ-ḫi-šù mé a-ra-[muk]⁵
Its evil I wash away (?); upon its head I pour water.
16. . . . zumri-ia ušamriṣ(?) -an-ni ki-ma mé . . .
. . . my body has made me ill, like water . . .
17. [itti mé šá zumri-ia] amātu(?) an-ni-tū iš-[šá-ḫa-aṭ(?)]
Along with the water of my body, this thing(?) will
be removed(?).
18. [mimma lim-nu šá ina zumri-ia] šéri-ia u šer'āni-ia
ba-[šá-a]
Whatsoever evil is in my body, my flesh, and my
sinews,
19. [itti mé šá zumri-ia liš-šá-ḫi]-iṭ-ma ina zumri-[ia lis-si(?)]
Along with the water of my body may it be removed,
and from my body may it depart.⁶

II

The prayer published in IV R. 59, No. 1, 1 ff. is partly restored by Schollmeyer, *Šamaš*, No. 33b, which also furnishes us with remains of the earlier portion of the prayer. The copy of this latter text (K. 2625), in Gray, *Šamaš*, plate ix, provides us further with traces of the ceremony which preceded. The following is an edition of the restored lines, the restorations

¹ Cf. IV R. 59, No. 1, R. 17. ² Var. i. ³ The exact meaning of ll. 13 and 14 is obscure. ⁴ Var. šá. ⁵ Cf. Schollmeyer, *Šamaš*, 101, 31.

⁶ Var. continues: 20. [inim-i]nim-ma šarr[u izakka-ar], 21. [inim]-inim-ma bīt rim-ki . . . , 22. . . . šalam (?) kaššapti . . . , 23. [én dingir]Babbar kur-gal-ta [è(n)-na-zu-šú].

in italics being from Schollmeyer's text, while those in roman type are conjectural.

IV R. 59, No. 1

- 1.¹ [*iu*É-a be-lí r]a-bu-ú [ana-ku amēlašipu(?)]

O Ea, my great lord, I am the incantation priest

2. [šá *iu*É-a ú-ma-']-i-ra-an-ni²

Whom Ea has sent

3. [*iu*Šamaš II mār II ša] kiš-pu ù nakās napišti . . . ip-
šu-[šu]

O Shamash, ditto son of ditto, whom witchcraft and
"cutting off of life"³ [have seized (?)] . . his
enchantment,

4. [a-na ba-la-a]t na-piš-ti-šu ú-pi(?) -ši-šu pu-uš-šu-ru

For the life of his soul, to loosen his bewitchment,

5. [di-ni-šu] da-a-ni pu-ru-us-si-e-šu pa-ra-a-si

For the judging of his cause, for the deciding of his
decision,

6. [ina ik-ri]-bi u te-éš-li-ti iz-za-aš-ku

With prayer and supplication he stands before thee.

7. [*iu*Šamaš k]i-bit-ka il-šu li-iz-ziz tes-lit-su liḫ-bi-ku

O Shamash, at thy command may his god stand by
and speak to thee a prayer for him ;

8. [*iu*Kug]-šu li-iz-zi-iz-ma a-ḫu-la-bi-šu liḫ-bi-ku

May Kug-shu stand by and speak to thee intercession
for him.

9. [*iu*Šamaš] pu-uš-šu-ru ú-pi-šu u nakās napišti itti-ka
i-ba-áš-ši

O Shamash, to loosen his bewitchment and the "cutting-
off of life"⁴ rests with thee ;

10. [*iu*Šamaš] be-lí bēlu rabû-ú pa-ri-is di-ni ili u amēli
at-ta

O Shamash, my lord, great lord, the decider of the cause
of god and man art thou.

¹ This line = Schollmeyer, *Šamaš*, No. 33b, 11. ² Cf. King, *Magic*, 12, 99. ³ Written *zi-tar-ru-da*. It is the name of some disease.

⁴ Written *zi-tar-ru-da*. It is the name of some disease.

11. [*kiš-p*]u ru-*hu-ú* ru-[su]-*ú* lim-nu-ti u nakās napišti¹
The evil spell, sorcery, and witchcraft and the "cutting
off of life" ²
12. [*šá II*] mār II ip-šu [e-p]iś-tu kaš-šá-pu kaš-šá-ap-tum
Which the wizard, the witch, the sorcerer, the sorceress,
13. sa-*hi-ru* uš-[te-pi-šu] šá at-ta ti-du-šu-nu-ti-ma
The enchanter, have caused to bewitch ditto the son
of ditto, (they) whom thou knowest, and
14. ma-am-[man ilu lā idû-u šá is]-*hu-ru* iś-te-u
No (other) god knows, who have enchanted, sought(?),
etc.

III

King, *Magic*, No. 59, 1 ff., is partly restored by K. 3231, obv. 1 ff., published by Langdon, *OECT.* vi, plate xxiii. We here give an edition of the restored lines, restorations in italics being from Langdon's text, while those in roman letters are conjectural.

King, *Magic*, No. 59

1. [*VII nār*]āti ina sikkati³ *is*^u [bi-ni⁴ te-*hir-ri*]
Seven rivers with a peg of tamarisk wood thou shalt dig;
2. [*VII šadā*]-ni šá eprēti tašapp-a[k *VII harrānāti*] . . .
Seven mountains of dust thou shalt pour out; seven
highways [thou shalt make(?)];
3. [*nārāt*]i šadā-ni *harrānāti* NUN⁵
The rivers, the mountains, and the highways
-
4. [*šiptu* ^{1u}Šamaš] bēl ēlāti šaplāti pāši⁶-ir šamē ir[*šiti*]
Incantation. O Shamash, lord of the upper and lower
regions, interpreter(?) of heaven and earth,
5. [*li-k*]u-u tes-lit⁷
Acceptor of prayer,

¹ Written *zi-tar-ru-dé*. ² Written *zi-tar-ru-da*. It is the name of some disease. ³ Var. *is*^usikkati. ⁴ Var. omits *is*^u. ⁵ Var. has *harrānā-te i-ŠÁ-SA*. ⁶ *BUR*. Literally, "loosener." For this epithet of Shamash, cf. Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 28, 14 = *RA.* 26, 40, 3. ⁷ Var. has *KA-LID*, i.e. *dug-ab = teslit*; cf. Langdon, *OECT.* vi, p. xiv.

6. [pa-ṭir] *bēl redû-ti*

Remover¹ of the persecutor,

7. [pa-šir(?)] *ár-ni u ma-mit ilāni*

Loosener(?) of sin and of the ban of the gods,

8. [ub-lak-k]a ^uŠamaš *kaspa ḥurāša NU*

I have brought unto thee, Shamash, silver, gold,

.

9. [maḥar-ka k]am-sa-ku a-na eṭē-ir na[piš-ti-ja]

Before thee I have bowed down to preserve my life.

¹ Literally, "loosener."

Orthodox Variants from old Biblical Manuscripts

By H. W. SHEPPARD

§ I

REGISTER OF MSS. AND EDITIONS

Collated fully in § III, and partially in § IV.

MSS.

My No. and Ginsburg's (1926)	British Museum MS. No.	Cat. No. (1900)	Kenn. (1780)	Wickes (1881)	Ginsburg, Introduction (1897) No. page	Date A.D.
5	<i>Ar. Or. 16</i>	118	130	—	8 500	(c. 1300)
7	<i>Add. 21161</i>	116	201	1	28 632	(c. 1120)
11	<i>Add. 15451</i>	55	—	17	25 605	(c. 1300)
13	<i>Harley 5711</i>	54	102	7	4 478	(c. 1300)
14	<i>Or. 2201</i>	52	—	—	37 667	1300
15	<i>Add. 9399</i>	120	—	12	12 553	(c. 1300)
17	<i>Add. 15250</i>	53	—	2	21 582	(c. 1280)
19	<i>Add. 9402</i>	70	—	13	14 543	1286
20	[Paris Bibl. Nat. 3]	—	158	—	58 765	1286
22	<i>Harley 1528</i>	57	100	4	3 477	(c. 1280)
24	<i>Or. 4227</i>	58	—	—	50 721	(c. 1280)
26	<i>Or. 2091</i>	117	—	—	36 663	(c. 1280)
27	<i>Add. 9398</i>	119	—	—	11 526	(c. 1280)
34	<i>Add. 15252</i>	60	—	16	23 590	(c. 1380)
36	<i>King's 1</i>	56	99	3	9 512	1385
37	<i>Harley 5775</i>	121	119	9	6 494	1396
42	(Trin. Coll. Camb. <i>Add. MS. 11</i>)	—	425	—	52 734	1419
43	<i>Add. 15251</i>	61	572	15	22 586	1448
47	<i>Or. 2375</i>	147	—	—	47 704	(c. 1450)
52	<i>Or. 2628</i>	62	—	—	48 707	1483
56	<i>Or. 2451</i>	92	—	—	— —	1483
64	<i>Harley 5715</i>	144	118	8	— —	(c. 1250)
(My No.) 78	<i>Or. 9879</i>	—	—	—	— —	(c. 920)

EDITIONS

	My ref.	B.M. Press Mark	Editor	Date
XIX	Ben-H.	1900 e. 6	Jacob Ben-Hayyim	1525
	Ba.	1945 f. 22	Baer	1880
	Gi.	15003 c.	Ginsburg	1926
	Kit.	1900 c. 10	Kittel	1905

§ II

A FEW REMARKS IN PLAIN ENGLISH

(1) *In General.*

In our days and in our country very little interest is taken in the contents of MSS. of the Hebrew Bible. This statement is supported by the facts of my own experience. For five

years, 1917-22, I was working among Bible MSS. in the Library at Trinity College and in the University Library at Cambridge, and for the last seven years I have been working among similar treasures in the British Museum. The Register of MSS., given above in Section I, will shew that at present I have in use what is practically the whole collection of MSS. of ancient date belonging to the Museum which contain the Hebrew Psalms, as well as *MS. 42*, kindly lent me by the Council of Trinity College, Cambridge, and *MS. 20*, reproduced as regards Psalms in photograph. And throughout all these years it has always been matter of surprise when, at rare intervals, some other scholar has applied for permission to consult some one of the many MSS. in use by me. So it is that the corner of the field in which I find myself growing old is a very lonely corner; indeed, the whole field, as well as my corner in it, cries aloud for workers, and is unheeded. By the rulers of Biblical studies in our times the field of the Hebrew MSS. of the Bible has been treated as an expanse of desert, wholly unprofitable for working, and rightly condemned to be left severely unvisited. As regards my own corner of this field, under date 11th July, 1925, the whole bulk of my own work among the Bible MSS. and Editions, itself in manuscript, was accepted by the Trustees of the British Museum, under the title "Studies in Hebrew Bible", and with the Press-mark for the whole, *Oriental 9624*. The number of volumes of notes and texts to be eventually included will be large, but the first seven volumes already catalogued and available for use by scholars are complete in themselves, in so far as they contain the whole of the Text of Psalms in Ginsburg's (1913) edition, with full tables, notes, and a complete Concordance of the accents of every word of Psalms in that edition. Already finished, and presently to be available in the same series, is the complete text of Psalms as found in *MS. 42* supplied with full apparatus of the same kind and extent. Very welcome to me will be the visit of any scholar who would care to be shewn a few among the many variants of importance in the MSS. of Hebrew Psalms.

(2) *In Particular.*

MS. 78 comes in as an entirely new witness in the case of “Ben-Asher *versus* Ben-Naphtali”, that is, of “Orthodox *versus* Heterodox”, for that is the real meaning of the named leaders in question. This *MS.*, acquired by the British Museum some three years ago, is very fragmentary, but contains considerable portions of the Book of Psalms. Its date is probably not later than early Tenth Century. It is, therefore, a witness contemporary with the earliest appearance of Ben-A.-Ben.-N. lists, one of which lists is brought into court in the following section.

The work of collation of 23 *MSS.* and 4 editions as displayed in Section III I found very fascinating; and I regret that reasons of limited space prevent my annotating the results more fully. The *MSS.* fall very plainly into groups. Thus, what may be called the main Orthodox Group contains 5, 14, 24, 43, 52 (—with them often are 11 and 19, but each of these at times shows strong independence). Of these 14 is so near to the first great Rabbinical Edition of Jacob Ben-Hayyim (1525), as to bear out Ginsburg’s expressed opinion that it was used as a main spring by that editor. 43 breaks off in various places and cases from the Orthodox tradition, and in many things is found in close touch with 78, both of these being found occasionally in alliance with 47 (Yemen) and 56 (Persia). Of what may be called the “Irregulars”, there is a close family relationship in the accents, vowels, and minutiae between 13, 17, 34, 36, 37, 42, and 64. The last-named, alongside of 7, 20, and 22, probably preserves some of the oldest accentual traditions. In both 7 and 20 certain additional accents survive, which have become obsolete elsewhere, and in 20 one accent common in the other *MSS.* has not yet made its appearance.

Finally I dare to predict that the Text of 78, wherever extant, will have to be carefully considered by the Editors of any future Edition of the Psalms in Hebrew.

III §

THE TEXT OF *MS. 78* (WHERE EXTANT) IN ALL PASSAGES CITED BY BAER IN HIS BEN-ASHER-BEN-NAPHTALI LIST (*Psalms*, 1880, pp. 136-151): Collated with the contrasted columns in the same list, with 22 other MSS., and with the editions of Jacob Ben-Hayyim (1525), Baer (1880), Ginsburg (1926), and Kittel (1906).

(1) TABLE

(X signifies exact agreement. N signifies nearly-exact agreement which is noted in Part (2) of this section.)

<i>Oriental</i> 9679	Ref.	78	Ben-A.	Ben-N.	כָּן אֵם	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְיָמִין	בִּנְי
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<i>Oriental</i> 9879	Ref.	78	Rep. A.	Rep. N.	5	7	11	13	14	15	17	19	20	22	24	26	27	34	36	37	42	43	47	52	56	64	Ben-H.	Baer	Ginsburg	Kittel
f. 14b	Ps. 63, 12	וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה	.	X	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
64, 6		וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	X	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	X
11		וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 15a	65, 10	וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
		לְרֹאשׁוֹ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
66, 2		וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
3		וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.
4		וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה	.	.	X	X	.	.	X	.	X	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	X	.	.	X	.	X	.	X	.	.	X
f. 15b	12	וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה	X	X	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	X
15		וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה	.	.	N	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	N	N	.	.	.	.	.	.
67, 2		וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.
f. 16a	69, 16	וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 16b	23	וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Oriental</i> 9879	Ref.	78	Ben-A.	Ben-Z.	5	7	11	13	14	15	17	19	20	22	24	26	27	34	36	37	42	43	47	52	56	64	Ben-H.	Baer	Ginsburg	Kittel
f. 22a	Ps. 94, 4	כְּלִפְסָעֵלִי אֲוֹן	X	X	X	X	X	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	X	X
f. 22b	95, 6	לְסִפְסָעֵלִי	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	X	X	.	X	.	.	.
7		אִם-בָּלָלָהּ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.
96, 2		בִּשְׁכָּרִי מְלוֹם	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	.
8		וְכִבֵּי	X	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	N	X	X	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.
f. 23b	102, 14	כִּי-רָבָא	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.
26		וּמַעֲשֵׂה הַדָּוָה	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	.	.	.
f. 24a	103, 2	כְּלִפְסָעֵלִי	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
4		הַמַּעֲשֵׂה כִי	N	.	.	.	.	.	N	N	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	X	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12		הָרִחֵק	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 24b	104, 9	כִּבְלֵי שִׁמְרָה	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 25a	106, 29	בְּמַעֲלֵי הָרִים	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	X	.	X	X	.	X	.	.	.
32		וְיִקְצִיפוּ	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	X
47		וְקִבְצָנִי	.	X	.	N	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

(2) ANALYSIS AND NOTES

Ps. 1, 2 **כִּי אֵם** 78. So 5, 14, 24, 47, 52, 56, Gi.

Ben-A. **כִּי אֵם** Ben-N. **כִּי אֵם**

„ **וּבְתוֹרָתוֹ** 78. So 14, 22, 24, 37, 43, 47, 52, 56, xix, Gi.

Ben-A. **וּבְתוֹרָתוֹ** Ben-N. **וּבְתוֹרָתוֹ**

Ps. 2, 5 **וּבְחֵרוֹנִי** 78.

Ben-A. **וּבְחֵרוֹנִי** Ben-N. **וּבְחֵרוֹנִי**

7 **אֶסְפָּרָה** 78. So Ben-A., 5, 13, 14, 19, 37, 43, 47, 52, 56, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. **אֶסְפָּרָה**

11 **בִּירְאָה** 78. So 7. (Ben-N. **בִּירְאָה**)

Ben-A. **בִּירְאָה**

12 **פָּן יֵאָנֶף** 78. So 13, 14, 15, 24, 36, 43, 52, 56, xix, Gi.

Ben-A. **פָּן יֵאָנֶף** Ben-N. **פָּן יֵאָנֶף**

Ps. 3, 2 **מְהֵרָבִי** 78. So Ben-A., 34, 47, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. **מְהֵרָבִי**

8 **אֶת־כָּל־אֵיבִי** 78. So 5, 7, 11, 13, 14, 17, 20, 22, 24, 34, 37, 42, 43, 47, 52, 56, Gi. (Ben-A.)

Ben-N. **אֶת־כָּל־אֵיבִי**

Ps. 13, 3 **עֲרֹאנָה** 78. So 7, 15, 20, 26.

Ben-A. **עֲרֹאנָה** Ben-N. **עֲרֹאנָה**

Ps. 14, 1 **הַשְׁחִיתוּ הַתְּעִיבוּ** 78. So 17. (**הַשְׁחִיתוּ** 5, 14, 24, 37.)

Ben-A. **הַשְׁחִיתוּ הַתְּעִיבוּ**

Ben-N. **הַשְׁחִיתוּ הַתְּעִיבוּ**

Ps. 14, 2 עַל־בְּנֵי־אָדָם 78. So 5, 14, 24, 43, 47, 52, xix, Gi.

Ben-A. עַל־בְּנֵי־אָדָם

Ben-N. עַל־בְּנֵי־אָדָם

Ps. 18, 8 כִּי תָרָה 78. (כִּי־תָרָה 14, 52, 56.)

(כִּי־תָרָה Ben-A., 7, 20.)

Ben-N. כִּי־תָרָה

30 כִּי־גָדָה 78. So Ben-A., 5, 14, 43, 52, Ba., Kit.

Ben-N. כִּי־גָדָה

46 וַיִּחַרְנוּ 78. So Ben-A., 13, 17, 20, 22, 24, 27, 34, 37, 43, 52, 56, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. וַיִּחַרְנוּ

49 מִפְּלִטִי 78. So Ben-A., 11, 14, 17, 22, 27, 43, 47, 52, 56, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. מִפְּלִטִי

Ps. 19, 2 כְּבוֹד־אֵל 78. So Ben-A., 14, 52, xix, Ba., Gi.

Ben-N. כְּבוֹד־אֵל

5 בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ | 78. So Ben-A., 5, 7, 14, 22, 36, 42, 43, 52, 56, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ |

8 עֲרֹת יְהוָה 78. So Ben-A., 11, Ba.

Ben-N. עֲרֹת יְהוָה

9 מִצֵּנֹת יְהוָה 78. So Ben-A., Ba.

Ben-N. מִצֵּנֹת יְהוָה

10 מְהוֹרָה 78. So Ben-A., 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 27, 34, 36, 42, 43, 52, 56, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. מְהוֹרָה

Ps. 19, 11 הַנְּחִמָּדִים 78. So 5, 14, 17, 24, 37, 52, 56, xix,
Gi. (נְ Ben-N.)

Ben-A. הַנְּחִמָּדִים

14 מַפְשֵׁעַ 78. So Ben-N., 5, 7, 11, 14, 17, 19, 20,
26, 34, 37, 42, 43, 52, xix, Gi.

Ben-A. מַפְשֵׁעַ

Ps. 20, 5 יִתְחַלֵּץ 78. So Ben-N., 14, 19, 24, 37, 47, 52,
56, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-A. יִתְחַלֵּץ

6 כָּל־מִשְׁאֲלוֹתֶיךָ 78. So Ben-A., 5, 11, 13, 14, 15,
19, 22, 24, 26, 34, 36, 42, 43, 52, xix, Ba., Gi.,
Kit.

Ben-N. כָּל־מִשְׁאֲלוֹתֶיךָ

8 בְּשֵׁם־יְהוָה 78. So 11, 17, 34, 36, 37, Gi. (בְּ 14,
52, xix.)

Ben-A. בְּשֵׁם־יְהוָה Ben-N. בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה

Ps. 22, 12 כִּי־אֵין 78. So 56.

Ben-A. כִּי אֵין Ben-N. כִּי אֵין

15 וְהִתְפָּרַדְי 78.

Ben-A. וְהִתְפָּרַדְי Ben-N. וְהִתְפָּרַדְי

25 לֹא־בָּהָ 78. So Ben-A., 5, 14, 43, 47, 52, xix,
Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. לֹא־בָּהָ

Ps. 23, 4 כִּי־אֵלֶּךָ 78. (כִּי 19.)

Ben-A. כִּי־אֵלֶּךָ Ben-N. כִּי־אֵלֶּךָ

5 דִּשְׁנָתָ בְּשֵׁמֶן 78. So Ben-A., 11, 47, 56, Ba.

Ben-N. דִּשְׁנָתָ בְּשֵׁמֶן

- Ps. 24, 7 וְהִשָּׁאוּ 78. So Ben-A., 43, Ba.
Ben-N. וְהִשָּׁאוּ
- Ps. 25, 2 אֶל־יַעֲלֶצוּ 78. (י Ben-A., 15, 19, 20, 27.)
Ben-N. אֶל־יַעֲלֶצוּ
- 5 קִרְאָתָהּ 78. So Ben-A., 5, 14, 43, 52, xix, Ba.,
Gi., Kit.
Ben-N. כִּי אָתָּה
- Ps. 27, 3 אִם־תִּחַנֶּנָּה 78.
Ben-A. אִם־תִּחַנֶּנָּה Ben-N. אִם־תִּחַנֶּנָּה
- 6 וְעָתָּה 78. So Ben-N., 43.
Ben-A. וְעָתָּה
- Ps. 28, 1 אֶל־תִּתְחַרֵּשׁ 78. (47.)
Ben-A. אֶל־תִּתְחַרֵּשׁ Ben-N. אֶל־תִּתְחַרֵּשׁ
- 7 וּמִשִּׁירֵי 78. So 43.
Ben-A. וּמִשִּׁירֵי Ben-N. וּמִשִּׁירֵי
- 9 וְרַעֲמִים 78. So 14, 24, 36, 37, 47, 52, 56.
Ben-A. וְרַעֲמִים Ben-N. וְרַעֲמִים
- Ps. 29, 4 קוֹל־יְהוָה בִּבְחָם 78. So 5, 14, 24, 42, 52, 56, Gi.
Ben-A. קוֹל־יְהוָה בִּבְחָם
Ben-N. קוֹל יְהוָה בִּבְחָם
- 6 וַיִּרְקְדוּם 78. So Ben-A., 5, 11, 14, 17, 24, 37,
43, 56, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.
Ben-N. וַיִּרְקְדוּם
- 9 וַיַּחֲשֹׁף 78. (43.)
Ben-A. וַיַּחֲשֹׁף Ben-N. וַיַּחֲשֹׁף
- Ps. 30, 1 שִׁיר־חֲנֻכָּת 78. So 5, 7, 14, 17, 19, 20, 34, 36,
37, 47, 52, 56, xix, Gi.
Ben-A. שִׁיר־חֲנֻכָּת Ben-N. שִׁיר חֲנֻכָּת

Ps. 31, 3 לַצֹּר מַעֲזֹ 78.

Ben-A. לַצֹּר-מַעֲזֹ Ben-N. לַצֹּר מַעֲזֹ

12 וְלִשְׁכְּנִי (13. וְלִשְׁכְּנִי) 78.

Ben-A. וְלִשְׁכְּנִי Ben-N. וְלִשְׁכְּנִי

16 הַצִּילֵנִי 78.

Ben-A. הַצִּילֵנִי Ben-N. הַצִּילֵנִי

23 בְּשֹׁעֵי 78.

Ben-A. בְּשֹׁעֵי Ben-N. בְּשֹׁעֵי

24 אֶהְבֵּהּ 78. So 47. (17. אֶהְבֵּהּ) Ben-A.)

Ben-N. אֶהְבֵּהּ

Ps. 33, 4 וְכָל-מַעֲשָׂהּ 78. So 5, 11, 13, 14, 17, 22, 26, 34, 36, 37, 42, 43, 52, 56, 64, xix, Gi. (כָּל Ben-A.)

Ben-N. וְכָל-מַעֲשָׂהּ

Ps. 34, 1 וַיְהִי-שִׁירָהּ 78. So 37. (Ben-N. וַיְהִי-שִׁירָהּ)

(34. וַיְהִי-שִׁירָהּ) (5, 24, 47, 52.) וַיְהִי-שִׁירָהּ

Ben-A. וַיְהִי-שִׁירָהּ

4 וַיְהִי-מִקְדָּהּ 78. So 5, 42, 47, 56.

Ben-A. וַיְהִי-מִקְדָּהּ Ben-N. וַיְהִי-מִקְדָּהּ

12 לָכֵן בָּנִים 78. So 47, 56.

Ben-A. לָכֵן בָּנִים Ben-N. לָכֵן בָּנִים

19 וְאֶת-דִּבְאֵי רִיחַ 78. So 14, 17. (7. וְאֶת-)

Ben-A. וְאֶת-דִּבְאֵי רִיחַ

Ben-N. וְאֶת-דִּבְאֵי רִיחַ

Ps. 50, 6 שֹׁפֵט הוּא 78. So Ben-A., 34, Ba. (17, 20, 52.)

Ben-N. שֹׁפֵט הוּא

Ps. 52, 5 מְדַבֵּר צֶדֶק 78. So 5, 13, 14, 19, 37, 52, 56, xix, Gi., Kit.

Ben-A. מְדַבֵּר צֶדֶק Ben-N. מְדַבֵּר צֶדֶק

Ps. 62, 4 תִּרְצָחוּ 78. So Ben-A., 13, 14, 22, 36, 43, 47, 52, 56, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. תִּרְצָחוּ

13 כָּמַעֲשֶׂהוּ 78. So 14, 37, 43, 47, 52 (pr.m.), 56, xix, Gi.

Ben-A. כָּמַעֲשֶׂהוּ Ben-N. כָּמַעֲשֶׂהוּ

Ps. 63, 12 וְהַמְלִיךְ 78. So Ben-N., 24. (7.)

Ben-A. וְהַמְלִיךְ

Ps. 64, 6 יִרְאֶה לָמוֹ 78. So 5, 14, 17, 19, 22, 47, 52, xix, Gi.

Ben-A. יִרְאֶה לָמוֹ Ben-N. יִרְאֶה לָמוֹ

11 וַיִּתְּהַלֵּל 78. (13, 27, 34.)

Ben-A. וַיִּתְּהַלֵּל Ben-N. וַיִּתְּהַלֵּל

Ps. 65, 10 וַתִּשְׁקֶלֶה 78.

Ben-A. וַתִּשְׁקֶלֶה Ben-N. וַתִּשְׁקֶלֶה

„ 78.

Ben-A. בְּרֵי בֵן Ben-N. בְּרֵי בֵן

Ps. 66, 2 וּמְרוֹ כְבוֹד־שָׁמוֹ 78. So 7, 52.

Ben-A. וּמְרוֹ כְבוֹד־שָׁמוֹ Ben-N. וּמְרוֹ כְבוֹד־שָׁמוֹ

3 וַיִּכְחָשׁוּ לָהּ 78. (7.) (56.)

Ben-A. וַיִּכְחָשׁוּ לָהּ Ben-N. וַיִּכְחָשׁוּ לָהּ

4 כְּלִי־הָאָרֶץ 78. So 5, 7, 14, 17, 19, 27, 36, 37, 52, 56, xix, Gi., Kit.

Ben-A. כְּלִי־הָאָרֶץ Ben-N. כְּלִי־הָאָרֶץ

Ps. 66, 12 בָּאֵנֹר־בָּאֵשׁ 78. So Ben-A., 5, 7, 14, 47, xix, Ba., Kit.

Ben-N. בָּאֵנוּ בָּאֵשׁ

15 אֶעֱשֶׂה 78. (אֶעֱשֶׂה 7, 14, 43, 47, 52.)

Ben-A. אֶעֱשֶׂה Ben-N. אֶעֱשֶׂה

Ps. 67, 2 יֵאָרֶ 78. So 47, 56.

Ben-A. יֵאָרֶ Ben-N. יֵאָרֶ

Ps. 69, 16 וְאֶל־תִּתְאֶטֶר 78. So 47. (וְ 7.)

Ben-A. וְאֶל־תִּתְאֶטֶר Ben-N. וְאֶל־תִּתְאֶטֶר

23 וְלִשְׁלֹמִים 78. So 43. (וְ 7.)

Ben-A. וְלִשְׁלֹמִים Ben-N. וְלִשְׁלֹמִים

25 שִׁפְדָּעֲלֵיהֶם 78. So Ben-N., 43.

Ben-A. שִׁפְדָּעֲלֵיהֶם

28 תִּנְהַעֲזֹן 78. So 13, 14, 15, 24, 47, 52, 56, xix,

Ba., Gi., Kit. (20. תִּנְהַעֲזֹן) (22. תִּנְהַעֲזֹן)

Ben-A. תִּנְהַעֲזֹן Ben-N. תִּנְהַעֲזֹן

35 יִהְלְלוּהוּ 78. So 5, 11, 14, 24, 36, 37, 47, 52, 56,

xix, Gi., Kit. (וְ 7.)

Ben-A. יִהְלְלוּהוּ Ben-N. יִהְלְלוּהוּ

Ps. 71, 2 הִטְהַרְאֵלִי 78.

Ben-A. הִטְהַרְאֵלִי Ben-N. הִטְהַרְאֵלִי

11 הִדְפֹּ 78. (pr.m. Both diacritical marks above and below the ר can be seen under erasures—cf. הִדְרִיק Ps. 103, 12 below.)

Ben-A. הִדְפֹּ Ben-N. הִדְפֹּ

„ בִּי אֵין 78. So 14, 43, 52. (56. בִּי אֵין)

Ben-A. בִּי אֵין Ben-N. בִּי אֵין

Ps. 72, 7 יִפְרַח בְּיָמָיו 78. So Ben-A., 5, 14, 47, 52, 56, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. יִפְרַח בְּיָמָיו

12 וְאֵין עֵוָר 78. So 43.

Ben-A. וְאֵין עֵוָר Ben-N. וְאֵין עֵוָר

Ps. 77, 1 עַל־דִּיהֶוָה 78. So 5, 7, 11, 13, 15, 19, 24, 26, 27, 37, 43, 47, 52, 56, Gi.

Ben-A. עַל־דִּיהֶוָה Ben-N. עַל־דִּיהֶוָה

13 וּבַעֲלִילוֹתֶיהָ 78. So 14, 24, 37, 52.

Ben-A. וּבַעֲלִילוֹתֶיהָ Ben-N. וּבַעֲלִילוֹתֶיהָ

Ps. 78, 52 וַיִּנְהָגוּם 78. So 43, 47. ('1, 14, 42, 52, 56.)

Ben-A. וַיִּנְהָגוּם Ben-N. וַיִּנְהָגוּם

Ps. 79, 9 וְהַצִּילָנוּ וְכַפֵּר 78. So Ben-N., 5, 14, 15, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26, 34, 42, 52, xix, Gi., Kit.

Ben-A. וְהַצִּילָנוּ וְכַפֵּר

10 אֱלֹהֵיהֶם 78. So Ben-N., 14, 24, 47, 52. ('56.)

Ben-A. אֱלֹהֵיהֶם

Ps. 92, 5 בְּמַעֲשֵׂי דָרֶךְ 78. So 5, 22, 37.

Ben-A. בְּמַעֲשֵׂי דָרֶךְ Ben-N. בְּמַעֲשֵׂי דָרֶךְ

15 דְּשָׁנִים וְרַעֲנָנִים 78. So 5. ('56.)

Ben-A. דְּשָׁנִים וְרַעֲנָנִים Ben-N. דְּשָׁנִים וְרַעֲנָנִים

Ps. 93, 4 מִשְׁבְּרֵיהֶם אֲדִירִים 78. So Ben-A., 5, 7, 15, 24, 34, 37, 43, 47, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. מִשְׁבְּרֵיהֶם אֲדִירִים

Ps. 94, 4 כָּל־פֶּעַל אֶוֶן 78. So Ben-A., 5, 11, 13, 24, 26, 42, 43, 47, 52, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. כָּל־פֶּעַל אֶוֶן

Ps. 95, 6 לפְּנֵי־יְהוָה 78. So 5, 14, 15, 17, 24, 42, 52, 56, xix, Gi.

Ben-A. לפְּנֵי־יְהוָה Ben-N. לפְּנֵי יְהוָה

7 אִם־בָּקְלוּ 78.

Ben-A. אִם־בָּקְלוּ Ben-N. אִם־בָּקְלוּ

Ps. 96, 2 בְּשִׁירֵי מִזְמוֹר 78. So 5, 14, 52, xix, Kit.

Ben-A. בְּשִׁירֵי מִזְמוֹר Ben-N. בְּשִׁירֵי מִזְמוֹר

8 וּבְאוֹ 78. So Ben-N., 5, 14, 20, 22, 24, 27, 47, 64. (19 בְּאוֹ.)

Ben-A. וּבְאוֹ

Ps. 102, 14 כָּרִבָּא 78. So 56. (24 כָּרִבָּא.)

Ben-A. כָּרִבָּא בֵּי בָא Ben-N. כָּרִבָּא

26 וּמַעֲשֵׂה יְדִיד 78. So 5, 14, 24, 43, 47, 52, 56.

Ben-A. וּמַעֲשֵׂה יְדִיד Ben-N. וּמַעֲשֵׂה יְדִיד

Ps. 103, 2 כָּל־צְמוּלָיו 78. So Ben-A., 5, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 26, 34, 36, 37, 42, 43, 47, 52, 56, 64, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. כָּל־צְמוּלָיו

4 הַמַּעֲטָרִכִּי 78. So 17, 34, 37, 43. (Ben-A., 14, 15, 47.)

Ben-N. הַמַּעֲטָרִכִּי

12 הָרִחִיק 78.

Ben-A. הָרִחִיק Ben-N. הָרִחִיק

Ps. 104, 9 **גְּבִיל שָׁמַת** 78. (42. **גְּבִיל שָׁמַת**.)

Ben-A. **גְּבִיל-שָׁמַת** Ben-N. **גְּבִיל שָׁמַת**

Ps. 106, 29 **בְּמַעֲלֵיהֶם** 78. So Ben-A., 14, 15, 20, 27, 34, 36, 37, 43, 52, 56, Ba., Kit.

Ben-N. **בְּמַעֲלֵיהֶם**

32 **וַיִּקְצִיפוּ** 78. So Ben-A., 5, 7, 11, 13, 14, 19, 22, 34, 36, 37, 43, 47, 52, 56, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. **וַיִּקְצִיפוּ**

47 **וְקִבְצָנוּ** 78 (pr.m.). So Ben-N., 14 (pr.m.), 37, 43. (7. **וְ**)

Ben-A. **וְקִבְצָנוּ**

48 **בְּרִידֶךָ** 78.

Ben-A. **בְּרִידֶךָ** Ben-N. **בְּרִידֶךָ**

Ps. 107, 3 **וּמִאֲרָצוֹת** 78. So 5, 47, 56. (Ben-N. **וְ**.)

Ben-A. **וּמִאֲרָצוֹת**

Ps. 113, 5 **הַמִּגְבִּידֶיךָ** 78. (43. **הַ**.)

Ben-A. **הַמִּגְבִּידֶיךָ** Ben-N. **הַמִּגְבִּידֶיךָ**

Ps. 118, 25 **הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא** 78. (52, 56, Gi.) **הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא**)

Ben-A. **הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא**

Ben-N. **הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא**

Ps. 119, 17 **נָמַל עַל-עֲבֹדֶךָ** 78. So 5, 14, 43, 47, 52, xix, Gi.

Ben-A. **נָמַל עַל-עֲבֹדֶךָ** Ben-N. **נָמַל עַל-עֲבֹדֶךָ**

Ps. 119, 29 וְתוֹרָתְךָ 78.

Ben-A. וְתוֹרָתְךָ Ben-N. וְתוֹרָתְךָ

35 בִּי בָּ 78.

Ben-A. בִּי בָּ Ben-N. בִּי בָּ

38 לִירְאָתְךָ 78. So Ben-A., 5, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 26, 27, 34, 36, 37, 42, 43, 47, 52, 56, 64, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. לִירְאָתְךָ

43 וְאַל־תִּפְּצֵל 78. So 14, 24, 37, 43, 47, 52 (pr.m.), 56, xix, Gi. (׳׳, 5, 7.)

Ben-A. וְאַל־תִּפְּצֵל Ben-N. וְאַל־תִּפְּצֵל

45 וְאַחֲתִלְכָּהּ 78. (׳׳ Ben-N., 37, 43.)

Ben-A. וְאַחֲתִלְכָּהּ

47 וְאַשְׁתַּעֲשַׁע 78. (׳׳ 37, 43, 47.)

Ben-A. וְאַשְׁתַּעֲשַׁע Ben-N. וְאַשְׁתַּעֲשַׁע

48 אֶל־מִצּוֹתֶיךָ 78. (אֶל־ Ben-N., 14, 37, 43, 47.)

Ben-A. אֶל־מִצּוֹתֶיךָ

Ps. 144, 15 שִׁבְכָה לִּי 78.

Ben-A. שִׁבְכָה לִּי Ben-N. שִׁבְכָה לִּי

Ps. 145, 4 וַיְבָרֶךְךָ 78. So Ben-A., 7, 14, 47, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. וַיְבָרֶךְךָ

Ps. 146, 7 עֲשֵׂה 78. So Ben-A., 7, 11, 13, 17, 20, 34, 37, 43, Ba.

Ben-N. עֲשֵׂה

§ IV

SOME OTHER NOTABLE THINGS IN *MS. 78*.

Folio. Ref.

1a Ps. 1, 1 לא עמד So 43.

2 כי אם בתורת יהוה In top margin

כי אם בתורת יי כי אין חרצבות למותם

אך טוב לישראל אלוהים אילן בחד מעמא

(Ps. 1, 2; 73, 4; and 73, 1—in that order).

The Text of 78 is not extant for Ps. 73.

The accentuation demanded here for its first and fourth verses appears to belong to an ancient tradition whereby verses 1 and 2, and 4 and 5, in each case were intoned as a single verse. 14 supports this in Ps. 73, 1, and Gi. in verse 4.

Ps. 2, 7 יהוה אמר אלי בגי אתה Same accents in 5, 14, 24, 43, 56, xix, a formidable group.

1b Ps. 3, 7 לא אירא מרבבות עם Same accents in 43.

2a Ps. 12, 8 תצילנו מן הדור זה לעולם So Baer.

Ps. 13, 4 הביטוה עני 43 הביטוה עני

2b Ps. 14, 7 מי יתן מציון So in Ps. 53, 7.

3b Ps. 17, 14 יהוה ממתיים מחלד ממתיים ידו

In the margin is the following—

ז ז “Note Seven

פסוק verses

בקרית in Scripture

Folio.

Ref.

מז יֵה	on the 7-15 plan
יֵה מילין	15 words
ז מילין	7 words
מיכא	on the one hand
וז מלין	and 7 words
מיכא	on the other
ומציעיתא	and the central word
אית בה	comprises

כח K^ethîbh

וקר and K^erê."

There is a note to the same purport, though differently worded at the end, in 20.

3b Ps. 18, 1 בָּיֹם הַצִּילֵי־יְהוָה Gi. בָּיֹם הַצִּילֵי־יְהוָה

7 בַּצֹּר־לִי אֶקְרָא יְהוָה

Contrast v. 4 מְדַלֵּל אֶקְרָא יְהוָה

4a 16 וַיִּרְאוּ So Gi.

20 כִּי תִפְקֹד־בִּי Contrast Ps. 22, 9 below.

31 אֶמְרַת־יְהוָה Gi. אֶמְרַת־

4b 36 וַעֲנוּתָהּ

45 לְשִׁמְע־אֶזְנִי

5a Ps. 19, 3 יִבְרַע־אֶמֶר [sic].

5b Ps. 20, 7 בִּי הוֹשִׁיעַ So 14, 43, 52, xix.

Ps. 21, 9 יְמִינֶךָ No accent.

6a Ps. 22, 1 מְזֻמֹּר

9 כִּי תִפְקֹד בִּי Contrast Ps. 18, 20 above.

Folio. Ref.
6b Ps. 22, 20 לְעֹרְתִי Gi. לְעֹרְתִי

27 נִרְשָׁיו

7a Ps. 24, 4 נִפְשִׁי No קרי So 9, 26, 36.

(Note.—MS. 9 (my No. and Gi.'s), not often legible in its small things, is cited occasionally in this section. It is B M. MS. No. *Add.* 9403, Cat No. 73, Ginsburg Introd. No. 55, Page 549.)

7 וְהִנְשֹׂאוֹ So Baer.

8 Note in the same verse וְהִנְּה but וְהִנְּה (the accent swallowing the vowel).

7b Ps. 25, 7 חֲטִיאוֹת [*sic*].

Ps. 26, 1 הִלַּכְתִּי So Gi. (1913). The change to הִלַּכְתִּי in Gi. (1926) is an error. See the note on the variant in *both* editions.

8a Ps. 27, 2 תִּפְסֶה כְּשֶׁלֶךְ (pr.m.) So 19.

3 אִירָא (pr.m.) So 15.

6 וְעֵתָה יָרוּם 43 וְעֵתָה יָרוּם רֹאשִׁי

8b 10 וַיִּהְיֶה יֹאסֵפִי Same accents 14.

11 תִּזְכְּרֵנִי So Gi.

13 לִגְלָא

Ps. 28, 5 כִּי לֹא יִבְיֶינוּ 43 כִּי לֹא יִבְיֶינוּ

7 וּמִשִּׁירֵי So 43.

8 וּמִעֲזוֹ So 43.

9a Ps. 29, 9 וּבְהִיכְלֹ

Ps. 30, 8 לְהַרְרֵי עוֹ So 43, Gi.

- | Folio. | Ref. | |
|--------|------------|---|
| 9b | Ps. 31, 11 | בִּי כָּלִי בְּגָדֶיךָ So Baer. |
| 10a | 14 | עָלַי So 43. |
| | 17 | הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי So Gi. |
| | 19 | שִׁפְתֵי אֶקְרַר So 14, 43, xix. |
| | 22 | בִּי הַפְּלִיא חֶסְדְּךָ לִי So 47, xix, Gi. |
| | 23 | נִבְרַחְתִּי The נ apparently protecting against a known variant נִבְרַחְתִּי.
15 and some of De Rossi's MSS. have נִבְרַחְתִּי. |
| 10b | Ps. 32, 9 | בְּמַתְנֵי וְרָסָן Ba. and Gi. בְּמַתְנֵי וְרָסָן |
| 11a | Ps. 33, 22 | יִחְלְנוּ |
| | Ps. 34, 2 | אֶבְרָכָה |
| | 8 | כָּבִיב So 37. |
| | 9 | יִחְסְדֶךָ So 47, 56. |
| | 10 | יִרְאוּ יְהוָה יִרְאוּ 7 and 37 have יִרְאוּ 42 יִרְאוּ |
| 12a | Ps. 49, 14 | בְּסֵל So Baer, Mandelkern, and B.D.B.
MSS. should be studied here. 7, 64, xix have בְּסֵל, and so Gi. (with no note).
78 has ב in the side margin, and in the lower margin
בְּסֵל ב וְסִימָה זֶה דְּרָכָם וְלֹדַעַת רָשָׁע כְּסֵל
but in Eccl. 7, 25 (folio 35b) בְּסֵל with marginal ל. |
| 12b | Ps. 50, 19 | תִּצְמִיד |
| 13a | Ps. 51, 11 | וְכָל־עֲוֹנֹתַי |

Folio.

Ref.

13b Ps. 52, 7 וְשִׁשָּׁה

11 וְאַמְנֵה שִׁמְךָ כִּרְטוֹב

Ps. 53, 1 עַל־מִחְלָת

2 הַשְׁחִיתוּ וְהִתְעַנְבוּ עָלַי 43 similarly, but הַשְׁחִיתוּ

4 אֵין עֲשׂוּה־מָוֹב So Gi. (43 אֵין עֲשׂוּה)

7 מִי יִתֵּן מִצִּיּוֹן as in Ps. 14, 7.

„ יִשְׁמַח

14a Ps. 62, 6 אַתָּה לֵאלֹהִים הָדוּמִי נִפְשִׁי So Gi. Baer דְּמִי

9 שִׁפְכֵנוּ לִפְנֵינוּ 43 שִׁפְכֵנוּ לִפְנֵינוּ Cf. v. 13.

10 בְּנִי אִישׁ Gi. בְּנִי־אִישׁ

11 חִיל־כְּרִיגוֹב So Gi. (but כִּרְ), Baer כִּי
Cf. Ps. 53, 4.13 וּלְךָ אֲדֹנָי 43 וּלְךָ אֲדֹנָי Cf. v. 9. Gi.
וּלְךָ אֲדֹנָי

Ps. 63, 2 אֲשַׁחֲרֶךָ Gi. אֲשַׁחֲרֶךָ

3 חֲזִיתֶךָ So 5, 13, 19, 22, 42, 43, 47, 56, xix.

14b Ps. 64, 2 מִפְּחַד

חֲצֹר

7 יִחַשְׁשֶׁר So Gi.

9 יִתְנַדְּדוּ So 43. Baer יִתְנַדְּדוּ

10 וַיִּגְדְּדוּ פֶּעַל אֱלֹהִים (pr.m.)

15a Ps. 65, 9 מוֹצֵא־בְּקֶרֶב וְעָרַב (xix) מוֹצֵא־ר 14 מוֹצֵא־בְּקֶרֶב

10 פְּקֻדֹת הָאָרֶץ וְהַשָּׁמַיִם

- Folio. Ref.
- 15b Ps. 66, 18 **לֹא יִשְׁמַע אֶזְרָאִי** pr.m. (So Gi.) altered to **יִשְׁמַע**.
- 20 **בְּרַח אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִהְיֶה תַפְלִיר תַּפְלִיתִי וְחִסְדּוֹ מֵאֵתִי**
- 16a Ps. 69, 19 **קָרַבָּה** So Baer.
- 16b 22 **וַיִּתְּנִי** Same accent in 13 and 64.
- Ps. 70, 2 **לְעִזְרָתִי** So 22 (and five early Edd. acc. to Gi.—not xix).
- 17a Ps. 71, 12 **לְעִזְרָתִי** So 22.
- 17b Ps. 72, 3 **הָרִים** So Ba. Gi. **הָרִים**
- 4 **וַיִּדְבָּא** So Ba. Kitt. **וַיִּדְבָּא** Gi. **וַיִּדְבָּא**
- 8 **וַיִּרְדֵּ** (pr.m.)
- 18a Ps. 76, 12 **נִדְרֵי** So Kit. Baer **נִדְרֵי** Gi. **נִדְרֵי**
- Ps. 77, 8 **הַלְעֹלָמִים יִנְגַּח אֶזְרָאִי**
- So Ba. (but **הַלְעֹלָמִים**).
- Gi. **הַלְעֹלָמִים יִנְגַּח** So Kit. (but **הַלְעֹלָמִים**).
- 10 **הַשְׂכַּח חַנּוּת אֵל**
- 18b Ps. 78, 7 **מַעֲלָלִי 20 מַעֲלָלִי אֵל**
- 9 **נִשְׁקִי רֹמִי נִשְׁקִי רֹמִי** Baer **נִשְׁקִי רֹמִי** (Kit. **נִשְׁקִי**). Gi. **נִשְׁקִי רֹמִי**
- 19b 38 **וְהוּא רַחוּם** There is no break of any sort marked before these words.
- 20a 66 **חַרְפוֹת** pr.m.
- 21a Ps. 91, 13 **תִּרְמָם תִּרְמָם קִפְּרִי וְתִמְיִן** Ba. Gi. Kit. **תִּרְמָם**
- 21b Ps. 92, 10 **כָּל-פְּעֻלֵי אֱוֹן**
- 15 **יִשְׁנִים וְרַעְנָנִים יִהְיֶה**
- Ps. 93, 2 **מַעֲלָם** So Ba.

- Folio. Ref.
- 22a Ps. 94, 4 יִבְרְעוּ יִדְבְּרוּ So 43 and many other MSS.
 6 וַיְתוּמִים So Ba.
 9 הִנֵּמְעֵ-אֵן 43 הִנֵּמְעֵ-אֵן (So Gi.)
 „ אִם-יִצְרָר עֵין 43 אִם-יִצְרָר-עֵין
 11 בְּרִתְהֶמָּה
- Ps. 95, 2 גְּרִיעֵ-לֹו [sic].
 7 הַיּוֹם to the Scribe of the Consonants began
 a new verse.
- 22b Ps. 96, 2 שִׁירוֹ לִיהוָה בְּרָכּוֹ שִׁמּוֹ pr.m.
 4 כִּי גָדוֹל יְהוָה וּמִהֶלֶל מְאֹד So Ba.
 7 לְבָדּוֹ וָעוֹ
- 23a Ps. 100, 3 הוּא עֲשָׂנוֹ 43 הוּא-עֲשָׂנוֹ
 4 בְּרָכּוֹ
- Ps. 101, 1 מוֹמֹר pr.m. but altered by the punctuator to
 לֵא
 חֹם מְזִמָּר with marginal חֹם
 לַמַּעַר
 43 has מְזִמָּר with same marginal note.
- 3 שְׁמִים So 7, 9, 15, 19, 34, 36, 64.
- 23b Ps. 102, 7 כְּבוֹם So 15 (pr.m.) and two of the three
 “intralinear-Latin” MSS., Kenn. 73 and
 97 (the latter, Trin. Coll. Camb. R.8.6,
 seen and noted by me). MS. 47 has
 the traditional כְּבוֹם, but its Arabic
 rendering is כְּבוֹם. The variant בּוֹם was
 known to Jerome.
- 14 כִּי עַתָּה לְחַנּוּנָהּ בְּרָבָא מוֹעֵד :
- 24a 27 תַּחֲלִיפָם כְּלָבוֹשׁ תַּחֲלִיפָם וַיִּחַלְפוּ Gi. תַּחֲלִיפָם

- Folio. Ref.
 24b Ps. 103, 20 : בְּקוֹל דְּבָרוֹ [sic]. The plural. So LXX, Vulg. (and *AEHR* of Jerome), Coverdale (1535), Great Bible (1539), P.B.V.
 Ps. 104, 7 מִן-נַעֲרָתָהּ So 9, 14, 52, xix.
- 25a Ps. 106, 38 וַיִּשְׁפְּכוּ דָם נָקִי Same accents Ba. Gi. דָּם
 בְּרִיךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן-הָעוֹלָם וְעַד הָעוֹלָם
 וְאָמַר בְּלִי-הָעֵם אָמֵן הִלְלוּהָ:
 25b Ps. 107, 1 בְּרִלְעוֹלָם pr.m.
 3 מִצָּפוֹן וּמִיָּם: See Ps. 113, 6, below.
- 26a Ps. 113, 4 דָּם עַל-כָּל-גּוֹיִם וְיְהוָה So Ba. Gi. גּוֹיִם
 6 בְּשָׂמִים וּבְאָרְץ: Cf. Ps. 107, 3 above. Gi. in both cases treats the last word as short (as in this Text), Ba. as long.
 7 מְקִימִי (In MS. written מְקַמִּי, so as to leave no doubt as to the identity of the first accent.) So 14, 52, wrongly listed by Gi. as having מְקִימִי, which is only certainly found in 5, 43, and 47 in Gi.'s list, as in 9 the first accent has been added by a modern hand, and the scribe of 56 writes the accents Mer'kha מְרָכָא (ֿ), and Tarḥa טַרְחָא (ֿ), exactly alike as ֿ.
- 26b Ps. 114, 7 יַעֲקֹב אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל [sic].
 Ps. 115, 1 The two Psalms as one.
 7 יְיָ לֹא יִמְשֹׁן pr.m.—corrected with the vowels.
- 27a Ps. 118, 17 מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם Ba. and Gi. מַעֲשֵׂי
 25 אָנָּה יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא
 אָנָּה יְהוָה הַצִּלִּיתָהּ נָּא:

Folio.

Ref.

In MS. הַצִּלִּיתָהּ, an entirely different accent from that in הוֹשִׁיעָה (as shewn).

27a Ps. 118, 29 פִּי־לְעוֹלָם חִמְדוֹ : The Makkeph intentionally so placed. See Ps. 107, 1 above.

27b Ps. 119, 12 לִמְדֵנִי and so in v. 26.

28a 31 The Text displayed (but not accented) for the main division to follow יְהִיָּה—so Vulg. and Jerome—also the Geneva English Bible (1560). אֶל־... תְּבַרְכֵנִי : The two (? “ Extraordinary ”) points on the line of the consonants.

28b 35 בְּיָ בֹהַבְּחֵי Note בְּיָ not בִּי. Contrast Ps. 22, 9 above. Baer בִּי בֹהַבְּחֵי, Gi. בִּי בֹהַבְּחֵי

29a Ps. 144, 13 מְרַבּוֹת Although the preceding words are not extant in this MS., the fact that מְרַבּוֹת, and not מְרַבּוֹת, is found here proves that on this word, and not on מְאֲלִיפּוֹת, as Gi., was the main division of the second section of the verse. Thus 14 accents : צִוִּינוּ מְאֲלִיפּוֹת מְרַבּוֹת בְּחֻצוֹתֵינוּ :

Ps. 145, 1 וְאֶבְרַכָּהּ Ba. וְאֶבְרַכָּהּ Gi. וְאֶבְרַכָּהּ

2 וְאֶחְלֶלֶה (metheg so placed). Ba. וְאֶחְלֶלֶה

4 וְיִבְרַחְתִּיךָ So Ba. and Gi.

6 וְיִבְרַחְתִּיךָ with marginal וְיִבְרַחְתִּיךָ

וְיִבְרַחְתִּיךָ (Note 5)

לְ

The two לְ לְ are in the same size and ink

Folio

Ref.

as the consonants of the Text. Both refer to this word, there being two different differences in the reading required. The word appears in the same full written form in 47, 52, 56, xix.

- 29a Ps. 145, 8 וְנִדְלָהּ Gi. seems to have followed xix alone in the whole of his listed MSS. and Editions in printing וְנִדְלָהּ.

11' וְנִבְרָתָהּ 43 וְנִבְרָתָהּ Ba. וְנִבְרָתָהּ Gi.

וְנִבְרָתָהּ 42 וְנִבְרָתָהּ Kit. וְנִבְרָתָהּ

Jerome read וְנִבְרָתָהּ

13 נָדָר וְנָדָר So 5, 43, 47, 56, xix.

15 וְנִתְּנָהּ Perhaps a Pāṣek.

16 וְנִתְּנָהּ לְכִלְתִּי So Ba. Gi. וְנִתְּנָהּ לְכִלְתִּי

29b 21 וְנִתְּנָהּ לְכִלְתִּי So 42.

Ps. 146, 4 Now עֲשֵׂתָנִתִּי but orig. (and correctly) עַ

10 הִלְלִיָּהּ The placing of the last vowel corrects the spacing of the consonants. One word, not two, here.

Ps. 147, 5 בְּכַף לְתִבְנוֹתָיו i.e. "Thus, and not מִזֶּה לְתִבְנוֹתָיו in correct codices". The latter is found in 9, 27, 42, 64, LXX, Vulg.

The Geographical Names in the Staël-Holstein Scroll

By G. L. M. CLAUSON

THE "Staël-Holstein Scroll" is a convenient name to give to the document on which are inscribed the texts recently published by Professor Thomas and Professor Sten Konow in "Two Mediaeval Documents from Tun Huang", *Oslo Etnografiske Museums Skrifter*, Bind 3, Hefte 3 (Oslo, 1929). It bears on one side a Buddhist Sūtra in Chinese and on the other one document in Tibetan and one in the Śaka language (also sometimes called "Khotanese" and "Nord-Arisch"). These latter have no relation to the Chinese text and were written on it when it had become waste paper.

The two documents appear to be, so to speak, the "office copies" of the correspondence of a mission sent by the King of Khotan to the ruler of Sha-chou, the place now usually known as Tun-huang, in Western Kansu.

The Tibetan text falls into three parts, a rough and a fair copy of a memorial from the mission to the ruler of Sha-chou, and a metrical summary of the writer's principal points. This text contains no geographical names and we need not consider it further.

The Śaka text falls into five parts, the first three of which are preceded by dates in the fourteenth year of King Viśa-sambhata of Khotan, a "cock year", which Professor Konow shows to be the equivalent in all probability of A.D. 757-8, with A.D. 769-70 as a possible alternative. The first section is short and its meaning obscure. The second is apparently, at any rate in part, a copy of the mission's passport and contains several lists of names. The third part is a report by the mission. The fourth and fifth, apparently in verse, seem to be irrelevant.

The editors have rightly emphasized the extreme importance of the lists of geographical names contained in the second part

of the Śaka text as a new and independent authority for the geographical names in Chinese Turkestan and the adjacent areas in the eighth century.

My excuse for reopening the question so soon is that the editors have wisely preferred to publish their material at once instead, as is too often the case, of keeping it to themselves until they have squeezed the last drop of juice out of the lemon. It is in no spirit of carping criticism that I offer a contribution to the elucidation of their text, which they could no doubt have made themselves if they had kept the rest of the world waiting a little longer.

For the geography of Central Asia in and around the eighth century there is already a good deal of information, but it is of a very mixed kind and, apart from those Chinese authorities which were written specifically, or partly, for the purpose of giving geographical information, the texts often create more problems than they solve.

Apart from the Chinese authorities, which are the principal source of our knowledge, we have the following sources of information :—

(1) The Arab and Persian geographers and historians, who in this period hardly come far enough East to throw much light on the present document.

(2) The “ Runic ” Turkish inscriptions which hardly come far enough south.

(3) The Tibetan documents from Sir Aurel Stein’s and other excavation in Central Asia, extracts from which are published from time to time by Professor Thomas in this *Journal*. These contain a number of place-names but only rare indications of their location.

(4) The Kharoṣṭhi documents from the same excavations, which have been published in *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, by Boyer, Rapson, Senart and Noble. These come from the right area but are some 500 years earlier.

(5) The Sanskrit documents published by Lüders in his

articles "Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans" and "Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte, etc." (*SPAW.*, 1922, pp. 243-61, and 1930, pp. 3-60), with the former of which Pelliot dealt in his article "Notes sur les anciens noms de Kuča, d'Aqsu et d'Uč Turfan" (*T'oung Pao*, N.S., xxii, pp. 126-32). The names in these documents are unfortunately mostly just outside our area.

Modern works on the subject are too numerous to record, but special mention must be made of the works of Chavannes, Pelliot and Stein.

In working out the identifications of the place-names in our Śaka document we must remember that those names fall into three classes:—

(1) Original Śaka names, of which the document gives the true spelling, while the Chinese authorities give the nearest equivalent of which the language is capable.

(2) Original Chinese names, represented as the writer of the documents heard them.

(3) Names neither Chinese or Śaka by origin, represented as the writer of the document heard them, while the Chinese authorities give the nearest equivalent of which the language is capable.

It is obvious that a higher standard of equivalence between the document and the Chinese authorities must be required in the case of the first two classes than is required in the third, for two things which are approximately equal to the same thing are not necessarily so approximately equal to one another. Moreover in the case of the first and third classes allowance must also be made for the fact that in some cases the Chinese equivalents were standardized at an earlier period, while the Śaka text represents the same name in a more advanced stage of phonetic decay.

As is well known, we are still only very imperfectly acquainted with the Śaka language and the translation of the text is by no means certain. About the transcription of the names, however, there is fortunately no doubt, as the text,

even in the reduced photograph which accompanies Professor Konow's paper, is admirably clear. On the other hand, in the case of some strings of names the division of the syllables into words is not always absolutely certain.

I will now proceed to examine in detail the text of the second part of the Śāka document sentence by sentence, giving the original text where there is any doubt regarding the meaning.

(a) *In the 14th year of King Lion Viśa'sambhata, cock year, 12th day of the month of Kaḍi.*

(b) *ṣi niṣkici pīḍaki tte heri prracaina cu maṃ Śacū kūthi tti kaburi haḍaya.*

The order of the last six words is a little puzzling, but accepting Professor Konow's translation of *niṣkici pīḍaki* this may be translated: "This (is) a letter of security inasmuch as the following are my envoys to the town of 沙州 Sha-chou." It should be noted that 州 is here transcribed *cu*, in other cases *cū*; there is no obvious reason for this.

(c) *Buluṃni Rrgyaḍisūṃmi & Sarrnidatti, the ṣau of the Ttāgutṭa province, & Saṃdū, the ṣau of the Hvamṇa [i.e. Khotan] province & Śvāṃnakai ṣau of Naṃpa Jamñai & they know the following towns:—*

I have little to add to what has already been said regarding these names. *Buluṃni Rrgyaḍisūṃmi* is *Hbal Rgyal-sum* in the Tibetan text, *Hbal* (no doubt pronounced *mbal*) meaning "Nepalese". Tibetan scholars will note with interest that initial *r-* was still pronounced at this period. The alternation *d/l* should be noted. Dr. Konow rightly calls attention to the attachment of the usual Śāka termination *-i* to the Tibetan monosyllables, we find the same phenomenon again later in the transcription of Chinese monosyllables. The equation between *Ttāgutṭa* and the Tibetan place-name *Sta-gu* quoted by Professor Thomas is probably correct as the alternative form *Ta-gu* is also found (see *JRAS.*, 1930, p. 280).

It was perhaps, as Professor Thomas suggests (*loc. cit.*), in the Cherchen area.

Professor Thomas' identification of *Jamña* with a district of the same name in the Khotan area is no doubt correct. *Nampa* must in this case be a Tibetan adjective ending in *-pa*. The equation of *nam* with Chinese 南 *nan*, in Karlgren's "Ancient" pronunciation *nām*, "South," is too tempting to be quite convincing.

The next section, like some later sections, begins with two dots.

(d) ". . . The town of *Phimāmna* and the inhabited town *Tsāḍikām* and the inhabited town of *Paḍaki* and the inhabited town of *Kaṃdaki* and the inhabited town of *Ysabaḍiparrūm*. The town of *Raurata* [below the last three names are written in a second hand "*Nākichittipū*, *Nāhi* [*du*?], *Hūttartī*, the Three Towns"] and the town of *Sūcamni* and the town of *Ṣacū* and the town of *Śalahi* and the town of *Hvinitcviṃni* [below the last two names are written in the same hand "*the town of Tcīdyaimi* and the town of *Ūnikū*"] and the town of *Kvacū* and the (abandoned¹) town of *Śīniṣe* and the (abandoned) town of *Dviṃikyē* and the (abandoned) town of *Gākimaṃ'ni* and the abandoned town of *Hve'ttu* and the (abandoned) town of *Puṃkari* and the town of *Sauhicū* and the (abandoned) town of *Lāhipuṃ* and the (abandoned) town of *Kvīmnikam* and the (abandoned) town of *Lvainitsvaini* . . . The town of *Kaṃmacū* and the town of *Lemcū* and the town of *Śāhvā*.

The editors have correctly stated that this is a list of the towns on the road running due east from Khotan, but it is exactly, not "roughly", in geographical order, and is therefore of very great interest.

Phimāmna is correctly identified by them with 婁摩 *P'i-mo*, Ancient *pji* [or *b'ji*?] -*muā*. Stein (*Serindia*, p. 1255) identifies this place with Uzun Tati; Herrmann ("Die alten

¹ The word *ttūsā* "abandoned, desolate" is added here and in future cases below the line.

Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien," vol. xxi of *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie*, p. 98) puts it a little further to the east on the ground of the distances given by the Chinese authorities, but the disagreement is unimportant.

Tsādīkām is at first sight a difficulty. The obvious identification is 精絕 Ching-chüeh, Ancient *tsiäng-dz'ī'vāt*, the modern Romok, the next "kingdom" to P'i-mo in the Chinese authorities, and this is no doubt correct. The transcriptions in Tibetan characters of Chinese Buddhist text published by Dr. Thomas and myself in this *Journal* (1926, p. 508 ff., 1927, p. 281 ff., 1929, p. 37 ff.), which come from this area and are approximately of the same date as this document, show that final *-ng* was frequently omitted in the Chinese dialect of the area so *tsiäng* > *tsā* is quite in order, but it is not easy to see why the Chinese should have represented *-dīk* by *dz'ī'vāt* when they had such characters as 敵 Ancient *d'iek* at their disposal.

As this identification is reasonably certain and that of *Kamḍaki* quite certain, *Paḍaki* must lie between the two and the obvious choice is Cherchen. Unfortunately, however, the Chinese name for this place in the T'ang period, 播仙 Po-hsien, Ancient *pua-siän* (see Stein, *Serindia*, p. 299), though it starts well, clearly does not correspond to the second half of the word, neither have I been able to find any Ancient *dāk*, *diek*, etc., for which 仙 might be a scribal error. The identification, therefore, though probable, is not certain.

The editors have got almost all that is to be got out of the next three names and the note below them, but have not quite pushed things to a logical conclusion. The equations which are singularly complete are as follows:—

(i) *Kamḍaki* = *Ka-dag* of the Tibetan documents (see Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 565 ff.) = *Katak* of Mirza Haidar's *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī* (for references see the Index to Elias and Ross's translation) = *Naki chettipo* = *Nob-ched-po* of the Tibetan documents (see Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 568 ff.) = Great

Nob or Lop = the modern Charkhlik (see Stein, *Serindia*, p. 322).

(ii) *Ysabaḍiparrum* (*Ys-* is the Śaka scription for *Z-*) = Hsüan-Tsang's 納縛波 Na-fu-po Ancient *nâp-b'îwak-puâ* with the pronunciation *nġ-* or *nž-* for initial *n-* of which numerous examples exist in the contemporary Sino-Tibetan texts = *Nahi-chum* (in spite of Professor Konow's doubts, it seems to me that the facsimile permits us to read the syllable transcribed by Professor Konow as [du] as *chum*) = *Nob-chuñ* (see Thomas, loc. cit.) = Little Nob or Lop = the modern Miran (see Stein, loc. cit.).

(iii) *Raurata* = *Kroraina* of the Kharoṣṭhi documents = 樓蘭 Lou-lan, Ancient *ləu-lân* = *Hūttartī* (apparently not mentioned elsewhere, but presumably the Tibetan name) = Stein's "Lou-lan site".

(iv) *ḍrraya kanthe* = "the Three Towns", not merely "three towns" = the Tibetan *mkhar-sum* (see Thomas, loc. cit.) = (i), (ii) and (iii) above.

This table enables us to tie up two or three loose ends in the nomenclature of this area.

Sūcamñi is correctly identified by the editors with 壽昌 Shou-ch'ang, Ancient *ṣṣeu-t's'ṣang*, now Nan-hu, the only place of any importance between the Lou-lan site and Tun-huang.

Ṣacu is of course Sha-chou, i.e. Tun-huang.

I have not succeeded in identifying the next four places, but as it seems probable that they are all Chinese they can be left for further consideration to the Sinologists.

The element *-lahi* is *Śalahi*, which reappears below in *Lahipum* presumably represents a modern *lai* or *lei*. *Hvinit-cvimñi* presumably represents *huan-* or *hsüan-chuan* or something of that kind.

It is tempting to identify *Tcidyaimi* with *Tsaidam*, but this cannot be regarded as certain, especially as *Tsaidam* is an area and not a town.

Ūnikū presumably represents something like *uên-ku* or *kou*.

The main lines of the remainder of the route are clear; *Kvacū* = Kua-chou, *Kammacū* = Kan-chou, *Lemcū* = presumably Liang-chou and not Lan-chou, though the latter is a possible alternative. This being so, *Šāhvā* can hardly be anything except Hsi-an-fu, the capital of the T'ang Empire, at that time called Ch'ang-an, but the Chinese name which it represents is not obvious.

I have not succeeded in identifying the intermediate towns, but as they all lie within China on a known route they are not of great importance.

There follows a clause of five words, preceded and followed by two dots; it is not clear whether it is to be read with the preceding phrase and translated "*The above which are inhabited towns*" or with the following phrase and translated "*The following which are inhabited towns*"; the latter seems the more probable.

(e) *The town of Īcū, and the town of Kau'yāki and the town of Dapicī and the town of Phūcamni and the town of Šakahi and the town of Tsīrikyepi and the town of Īsumi and the town of Yūsūmi and the town of Hve'tseri and the town of Ttukicū and the town of Ttiyāki and the town of Tcyāmtsvaini and the town of Kautañai, which is the greatest of the Five Towns, the town named Hinibihiraki (?), the town named Šapari and the town named Yirrūmcimni, the town named Cammaidī Badaiki, the inhabited town of Argiñvā, the inhabited town of Ermvā, the town of Phalayākī, the town of Tturpaṃni, the town of Bāpaṃni.*

It is in connection with this list of names that I think that I can claim to have made definite progress beyond the original editors, who have contented themselves with the obvious identification *Tturpaṃni* = Turfan, together with two identifications which are incorrect. It is clear that the list contains the names of places on the old "northern route" running north-west from Tun-huang. Unlike the list of names on the

southern route, which the mission had presumably traversed themselves, this list, which was no doubt compiled from hearsay, is not in rigid geographical order and, as a consequence, the problems of identification are much more difficult.

The first name on the list, however, is that of the first place on the road. *Īcū* = 伊州 *I-chou*, an abbreviated form, which is also used by Hsüan-tsang for *I-wu-chou*, the old name of *Hami*.

Kau'yāki and *Ttiyāki* obviously belong together, the first elements being 高 *kao* "high" and 低 *ti* "low" respectively. *Yāki* was at first a puzzle, but I am inclined to think that it must be 億 *i*, Ancient ʾĭk the first element in *I-ni*, Ancient ʾĭk-nji, the Chinese transcription used in the translation of the Candragarbasutra for the Sanskrit name of the modern *Qarashahr*, *Agni*, which was inferred from Hsüan-tsang's transcription *A-chi-ni* and has now actually been found in a Sanskrit document from *Qyzyl* (see H. Lüders, "Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan," *SPAW.*, 1930, p. 27). "Upper" and "Lower *Agni*" are presumably two parts, perhaps Northern and Southern, of the "kingdom" of *Qarashahr*.

Dapici looks rather like another Chinese name *Dapi-ci*, but I cannot identify it, or either element in it.

Phucaṃni is almost certainly *Pichan*. This name is spelt *Pucian* in the account of *Niccolo* and *Maffeo Polo*'s travels (see the map of routes of mediæval travellers in *Richthofen's China*, vol. i).

Śakahi looks like a local name received direct and not through a Chinese medium, but I cannot identify it.

Tsīrikyepi is presumably *Sirkip*, 15 miles east of *Karakhoja* on the road to *Pichan* (see *Stein's Innermost Asia*, p. 612).

With *Īsumi* and *Yūsumi*, however, we apparently move eastwards again, since it is very tempting to identify them with the two kingdoms of 且彌 *Tsü-mi* (*Chü-mi*), Ancient *tsi'wo-mjiē*, just west of the *Barkol Lake*, but the first syllables present some difficulty. The two kingdoms are usually

described as “anterior” and “posterior” 前 ch’ien, Ancient dz’ien, and 後 hou, Ancient γəu; alternatively they might be described as “left” and “right” (i.e. east and west), 左 tso, Ancient tsá, and 右 yu, Ancient jieu. Yü- might well represent jieu, or, at a pinch, γəu, and is in the right position, looked at from Tun-huang, for this identification, but *I* is not explicable on either hypothesis.

Hve’tseri is another puzzle, it does not look Chinese in form.

Ttukicū looks like a Chinese name, *ttuki* representing tu, Ancient *tuk* or *t’u*, Ancient *t’uk*, and *cū* 州 chou, but I cannot identify the place.

Ttiyāki has been explained above.

Tcyāmtsvaini is no doubt another Chinese name, the first element being something like *chiang* and the second possibly 泉 ts’üan (ch’üan), Ancient dz’ään “fountain, spring”. This latter element is also found in *Lvainitsvaini* in the earlier list.

I do not think that there can be any serious doubt that *Kautañai* is the Śaka spelling of the original (non-Chinese) name which the Chinese represented by 高昌 Kao-ch’ang, Ancient *káu-t’s’ang*, the modern Karakhoja, which the Uighurs, whose capital it was, knew as Beshbaliq, “the Five Towns.”

The next name is uncertain. The editors give the alternative readings, *Hinibihiraki* as a proper name and *hi ni bihi Raki* “and in addition to them Raki”. I have a strong suspicion, however, that *hini* is to be connected with the Sanskrit *hīna* “small” and that the whole phrase means “and the lesser ones are the towns named Raki (or Bihiraki?), Śapari, Yirrūmcimni and Cammaidī Badaiki”. This would at any rate explain why four towns should be singled out as “named”.

Professor Thomas has suggested to me that *Badaiki* is perhaps the Turkish *balıq* “town”; the theory is an attractive one.

Śapari is perhaps to be connected with the name Sha-po-liu,

which is found in the genealogies of the Western Turkish Qaghans, and is perhaps Tokharian by origin.

Yirrūmcimni is no doubt the name which the Chinese represented by 輪臺 Lun-t'ai, Ancient 婁丹 d'ai (see Chavannes' *Documents sur les Tou-kious Occidentaux*, p. 11), the modern Urumtsi, though not necessarily in the same place as the latter now is.

The next two names are uncertain; -vā is the Locative Plural in Śaka (see Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, Oxford, 1916, p. 233), and the phrase may mean "the inhabited towns in the Argiñs and the Erms".

I am inclined to connect *Phalayāki* with the modern Buluyuk, shown in the maps in Sir A. Stein's *Innermost Asia*, 8 miles north of Turfan, which is of course the *Tturpaṃni* of our text. I have not identified *Bāpaṃni*.

The next section commences a new line, and is preceded by two dots.

(f) . . *Anittuṃga*, *Cāttuṃga*, *Tsāṃśāṃśī*, *Cimkiśāṃśī*, *Bvā'yūṃśāṃśī*. These names are obviously Chinese; and, as the word "town" is not mentioned in connection with them, we may assume that they are the names of districts, in which case the editors' suggestion that *sāṃśī* represents 山西 shan-hsi (*Shen-si* is a misprint), Ancient 善西 *shan-siei* "west of the mountains", is no doubt correct, and *tuṃga* is probably 東 tung, Ancient *tung* "east". I cannot, however, identify the names themselves.

The next section begins a new line.

(g) *In the Ijūra Yahida province, Aḍapahūtti, Bākū, Bāsikātti, Kurabīri, Kāribari*; these are *Ttūlisi*. Leumann suggests that *tūlisi* here means "twenty-four", a suggestion which, with all deference to a great scholar, is singularly inept.

It will be noted that here too there is no mention of "towns". I suggest that in *Ttūlisi* we have the Turkish tribal name which is usually spelt *Tölös*. This spelling is of course incorrect,

since Turkish does not admit *ö* elsewhere than in the first syllable. Chavannes (*Documents sur les Tou-kioeu Occidentaux*, Index) gives the alternative forms Tölös and Tülis, the latter identical with our work here; the Chinese form 鐵勒 T'ieh-li, Ancient *t'iet-lək*, though an inadequate representation of either, is nearer the latter form than the former. The Tölös were a large tribe, which was subsequently merged in the Uighur confederation and in the eighth century they occupied an area somewhat to the north of the places mentioned in section (e) of this text. It is perhaps significant that the tribe was made up of five sub-tribes, and the five names in this section may be intended to be the names of those tribes, but they do not look particularly Turkish (unless *Bākū* is meant for *Buḡha* and *Kāribari* for *Qara Büri*), and have no points of similarity with the Chinese list quoted by Chavannes in *Documents sur les Tou-kioeu Occidentaux*, p. 34. There is, however, a second possibility somewhat inconsistent with the above. It is tempting to see in *Aḍapahūtti* and *Añahiḍi-pabhūtti* below compounds derived from a Prakrit or quasi-Prakrit original in which case *-pahūtti/pabhūtti* would be derived from the Sanskrit *prabhutā* "sovereignty" or *prabhūta* "sovereign, exalted", and *Añahiḍi* would represent the Iranian goddess *Anāhitā* and the latter word would then mean "having *Anāhitā* as their sovereign". It is difficult, however, in that case to explain *Aḍa-*.

The next section begins a new line and starts with two dots,
 (h) *In the Imjū Sī province Ttaugara, Ayabīri, Caraihi, Yabū, tti kari Añahiḍipabhūtti, Karattahapata, tti ttari Ttrūsahūta. Rrūkibayarkāta, Cūñūda.*

It is not clear whether *tti kari*, *tti ttari* mean "these on the one hand", "those on the other hand", or are additional names, but the former seems the more probable, particularly if *Añahiḍipabhūtti* is an adjective.

It is not at all clear with what area we have to deal here. It is difficult to resist the theory that *Imjū Sī* is the Turkish *Yenčü Su* "Pearl River", i.e. Jaxartes of the Inscription

of Toñuquq (see Hirth's *Nachwort*, pp. 70 and 81-3) the 眞珠河 Chên-chu Ho, "Pearl River" of the *T'ang Shu*, ch. 221b, p. 3, and elsewhere. In that case the area is to be sought west of the Pamirs, which would agree with *Ttaugara*, which is no doubt the area known to the Arabs as Tokharestan, the country of the Tokharians. This, however, in fact lay about the upper waters of the Oxus, and not the Jaxartes.

Of the other names I can make nothing, except that they are clearly not Chinese and have an Iranian rather than a Turkish flavour. This would agree with a situation west of the Pamirs, but it is odd to find no familiar name among them beyond the first.

Islam and the Protected Religions

By A. S. TRITTON

SINCE the manuscript of *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects* was given to the printer further material has accumulated. Most of it, though interesting or amusing, only confirms what was said in the book. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Bar Hebraeus, however, gives a clearer idea of the relations between the state and the church.

GOVERNMENT

Some general statements give a favourable impression of Muslim rule. When the Muslims took the lordship they preserved every confession as they found it.¹ Marútha, maphrian of Tekrít, surrendered the town to the Muslims and so no one was hurt.² ‘Umar I gave this charge to his successors, “I charge you to do good to the protected peoples and not to burden them above their strength so long as they pay their dues to the Muslims,”³ and again, “I charge you not to let yourself or any other do wrong to the protected peoples.”⁴ His advice to the Muslims includes rules for their behaviour to those of other beliefs: “Train horses, use the toothpick, sit in the sun, do not suffer pigs near you, do not sit at a table where wine is drunk, beware of foreign manners, do not let a believer enter a bath without a loincloth, nor a woman except for sickness.”⁵ When he entered Jábía he saw some Christian lepers and ordered money to be given them from the *ṣadaqa* and food.⁶

Bar Hebraeus says that the ‘Abbásids were kinder to the Christians than the Umayyads.⁷

¹ B(ar) H(ebraeus) 1, 273. Where a volume is mentioned the reference is to the Church History, the page only refers to the Syriac Chronicle.

² B.H. 3, 125.

³ Jáhiz B(ayán) 2, 22.

⁴ Jáhiz B. 2, 23.

⁵ Jáhiz B. 3, 97.

⁶ Baládhuri 169.

⁷ B.H. 3, 153.

CHURCHES

Bar Hebraeus often mentions the building and destruction of churches. A selection of the more important references are given below. (The dates are *Hijrî*.)

Before 29 one was built on the fort at Tekrît and the orthodox of Mosul wanted to build one but the catholicus bribed the judges and stopped the work.¹ About 50 that of Sergius and Bacchus was built in Tekrît.² About 69 that of Akhudema was built also in Tekrît³ and about 100 a new church in Antioch.⁴ In 151 a Nestorian church was built in Tekrît with the consent of the Jacobites after the Nestorians of Nisibis had restored one they had taken from the Jacobites there.⁵ The governor gave permission to build one in a monastery in Kinnesrîn.⁶ In 346 one was built of brick and wood and fourteen years later it was rebuilt in stone.⁷ In 566 a man of Márdîn was taken in adultery with a Muslim woman and his property confiscated. As he had just before restored the church of Thomas it was reckoned as his and taken by the Muslims.⁸ The cathedral of Malaṭia was rebuilt and the dome raised. It cost two thousand darics and took six years, being finished in 573.⁹ In 579 the monastery of Bar Šúmá was burnt. It was three years rebuilding and the church twelve.¹⁰

Before 29 many churches in Kúfa and the district of Ḥíra had been destroyed.¹¹ About 225 five in Baṣra were destroyed.¹² In 271 the monastery of Kalílishu' was destroyed through the avarice of the catholicus. The muezzin of a mosque near his cell was accustomed to get presents from him. John b. Narsi refused to give so the Muslim plotted with his friends. When a Muslim funeral passed the monastery one of them threw a stone at it and the others asserted that the stone was thrown from the monastery. So they sacked it,

¹ B.H. 3, 127.⁵ 3, 155.⁹ 1, 565.² 3, 133.⁶ 1, 353.¹⁰ 1, 591.³ 3, 147.⁷ 1, 403 ff.¹¹ 3, 131.⁴ 1, 297.⁸ 1, 561 f.¹² 3, 189.

broke open the tomb of the catholicus Anúsh, put his head on a lance, and paraded it through the streets.¹ In 391 the church in the Third Market in Baghdad and the monastery of Kalílishu' were wrecked. Others were attacked but the catholicus gave big bribes and saved them.² Next year the Jacobite church in the Corn Quarter was burnt and some Nestorian churches plundered. The cause was that a Muslim wanted a plot of land by the church but was refused. Then a Christian was accused of committing adultery with the wife of a Muslim baker. Then the baker was murdered. The land-hungry Muslim helped to carry the corpse through the town crying out, "A Muslim whom the Christians of the church in the Corn Quarter have killed!" During the sack the church caught fire and the mob inside could not escape and was burnt.³ About 452 that of Akhudema in Tekrít was sacked.⁴ In 566 Kurds attacked the monastery of Mattai and after some fighting were bought off for thirty dinárs. They attacked again and captured it, except the keep, winning great booty, for the people of the neighbourhood had put their valuables in it for safe keeping. The monks then abandoned it. Troops from Mosul attacked the Kurds and killed the weaklings. In revenge the Kurds raided four hundred villages of the Nestorians, killed the men, enslaved the women and children, and burned the houses.⁵

Baládhurí says that in his time the church built by Khálid al-Kasrí for his mother in Kúfa was turned into a post office.⁶

The Government sometimes interfered with the Christians in small matters. A little before 182 the patriarch went to Samosata, where the bishop would not let him into the church. The governor, on seeing the patriarch's commission, had the doors opened for him.⁷ About 573 the church of Ámid was released from its tax of one hundred dinars.⁸

¹ 3, 211.² 3, 257.³ 3, 261.⁴ 3, 309.⁵ 3, 363.⁶ p. 286.⁷ 1, 333.⁸ 1, 565.

THE PATRIARCH

The head of the Jacobites was called the patriarch and the head of the Nestorians the catholicus. They were treated differently. To begin with the Jacobites. Between 29 and 47 the patriarch was supported by the Muslim monarch.¹ Elias had an audience with Walíd who received him gladly and showed him great respect.² John prepared great honours for Marwán when he came to Ḥarrán and was given a commission, as was done to later patriarchs in the years 138, 174, 203, and 487.³

David of Dárá, the schismatic, accused the patriarch George to Manşúr of having taken his office without the caliph's permission and of levying taxes on the Christians. He alleged that George had excused himself for not getting the commission on the ground that he did not think it right for the prophet's name to come under his robe. The caliph was angry, had George fetched, and stripped. He called out in Greek, "Mother of God, help me," and one of his enemies explained that he was speaking blasphemy. Then he was flogged till his blood ran down to the ground. The caliph asked him :

"Why did you not get my commission ? "

"Because I did not propose to harm any man."

"Why do you not allow the prophet's name to come under your gown ? "

"The prophet's name is under our gowns and in our purses on the dirhams and dinars." He was imprisoned in Baghdad.⁴

In 191 the patriarch was accused to Hárún ul-Rashíd of being a spy of the Greeks so he sent soldiers to fetch him. He made haste to humiliate himself before the caliph, who pardoned him, telling a secretary, Ismá'íl b. Şáliḥ, to see to the matter. He drove away the accusers and sent the patriarch back to his monastery.⁵ In 204 the people of Tekrít suffered

¹ 1, 283.

⁴ 1, 323.

² 1, 297.

⁵ 1, 339.

³ 1, 307, 317, 329, 353, 465.

from the violence of their rulers and the patriarch was advised not to enter the town.¹

When Ma'mún decreed that any ten men of a confession might choose their head, the patriarch went to Baghdad, but before he could have an audience with the caliph a schism broke out about Lazarus the bishop. Ma'mún heard of it. After a time the patriarch got his audience, but alone without his attendant bishops. The caliph asked about the schism, so he explained that the bishop had been legally dismissed and complained of the new order. The caliph said that it applied to the Jews first for he did not wish to force a head on the Christians. The patriarch said : " Your wisdom knows that we have old promises and charters, when our fathers surrendered to you many towns, that you would not change our laws. It is evident that without a lawgiver the law cannot be upheld ; and one of our laws is that our head is a churchman."

" The Christians are a nuisance, especially the Jacobites."

The talk was renewed later in the presence of lawyers.

CALIPH : Ought we to support Christian leaders where our authority rules ?

LAWYERS : No. But we must not force them to change their beliefs and customs, as they are dutifully subject to us and under our rule enjoy peace.

PATRIARCH : Your fathers, O caliph. gave us authority and commissions ; and you gave a commission to me. Do not now impose a new law on us.

CALIPH : Why are you Christians so afraid of this decree ?

PATRIARCH : We complain because the headship of the Magians and Jews is corporal, hereditary, while ours is spiritual and leads to the fear of God. Theirs can be bought with gold, ours touches faith. We cannot inflict death, blows, or fines on evildoers but can unfrock a bishop or priest or excommunicate a layman.

The caliph issued this decree. " We do not stop you from removing offenders from their rank and dignity, but we do not

¹ I, 353.

permit you to drive them from the church and prayers, for sinners have most need of prayer and forgiveness." He told Isaac, a lawyer, to see whether Lazarus obeyed the patriarch in his confession and to enforce this decree about him.¹

In 220 the patriarch went to Baghdad to do homage to the new caliph Mu'tasim.¹

After these many references to commissions given to patriarchs it is surprising to read that it was not till 376 that a catholicus received a commission from the caliph though from then on it was essential.² Before this date the government had interfered in Nestorian affairs, for a dispute between the catholicus and the maphrian had been brought to Mutawakkil for settlement.³ In 286 a catholicus was chosen by lot, but John b. Bukhtīshu' did not accept the result. He wrote to the caliph asking that his father's services might not be forgotten. The eunuch Badr was sent to settle the dispute and told the bishops to accept John. They refused to select one who played with hounds and apes. When Badr assured them that he would give up these vanities they next objected that he had not been born in wedlock. Badr then advised John to submit and recommended to the caliph to give the bishops the right of free election.⁴ In 293 'Abdullah b. Simeon obtained the caliph's command, went to Ctesiphon, and had Abraham elected catholicus.⁵ When he died, the bishops agreed to elect one of themselves; but Abu'l Ḥasan, a lawyer of the caliph Rāḍī, compelled them to choose his nominee in 326.⁶ In 350 Phetion offered three hundred thousand dirhams to the caliph to be elected. The bishops fled to avoid being compelled to choose him, but lawyers mediated between them, and the bishops had to pay one hundred and thirty thousand dirhams for the privilege of choosing their own man.⁷ In 376 the caliph forced the unwilling bishops to choose Mari b. Tubi: the recalcitrant voters were beaten.⁸

¹ I, 365 f.

² I, 381.

³ 3, 255.

⁴ 3, 195.

⁵ 3, 221.

⁶ 3, 229.

⁷ 3, 245.

⁸ 3, 249.

⁹ 3, 255.

In 411 the catholicus paid for his office five thousand dinars to the government which issued this order: "Whoso does not receive him shall be drowned."¹ About 450 the commission contained the words, "All princes of the Muslim world shall receive him with honour."² About 530 the newly elected catholicus was summoned to the gate of the palace and invested with the mitre. Accompanied by some great ones from the palace he rode on a mule to the church in the Third Quarter.³ In 585 the newly elected maphrian could not enter Mosul without the consent of the governor.⁴ In 623 Sabrishu' was made catholicus without having to pay anything to the caliph Zâhir on account of the reputation of his brothers.⁵ About 650 the abbot of the monastery of Mattai refused to let the maphrian take his seat on his throne till he had shown his commission from Badr ud-Dîn the governor of Mosul.⁶ In 664, after the death of Húlágú, the Christian queen Daḳúz Khátún gave orders that Denha should be catholicus because Makíka had obtained the office by bribery and slander.⁷

Some other troubles of these dignitaries may be recorded. Athanasius Sandalána accused the patriarch of having collected from the east one hundred thousand dirhams and taken bribes for the appointment of bishops. Marwán imprisoned him in Ḥarrán and gave order that he should not be let out till he had paid fourteen thousand darics.⁸ In 138 the patriarch Isaac was examined by the caliph, found ignorant, and put to death one year after his appointment.⁹

In 300 a Chalcedonian metropolitan was appointed in Baghdad. He quarrelled with the catholicus and the case came before the vizier. The catholicus claimed that the Nestorians were friends of the Muslims but the Greeks their enemies. The vizier said they were all alike, only pretending

¹ 3, 285.² 3, 307.³ 3, 327.⁴ 3, 381.⁵ 3, 401.⁶ 3, 421.⁷ 3, 439.⁸ 1, 311.⁹ 1, 317.

to love the Muslims. This silenced the catholicus. Then he gave one thousand dinars to a lawyer who pointed out to the vizier that the Nestorians had no ruler save the caliph while the Greeks were always fighting the Muslims. It is said that the catholicus spent thirty thousand dinars in bringing the Chalcedonian patriarch to Baghdad when he arranged that he should not maintain a bishop permanently in the capital.¹ In 394 the catholicus forbade his bishops to visit the Jacobite maphrian. The Muslim friends of the maphrian appealed to Abu'l Hasan 'Alí b. 'Abd ul-'Azíz, secretary of the caliph Kádir, and an order was issued that the catholicus must go without delay to visit the maphrian. By bribes he managed to get this order cancelled. He then published the usual libel about friendship towards the Greeks, so the caliph considered the matter and pronounced that the catholicus should live in Baghdad and the Jacobite maphrian in Tekrít.² In 449 Abú Sa'íd, a tax collector of Işfahán, forced the election of Sabríshu' Zanzúr as metropolitan of Níshápúr.³

BRIBERY

Several instances of bribery have already been mentioned. Once 'Abd ul-Malik was enraged with the catholicus, and one John saw in this his opportunity, bribed the chief men and got a letter to Bishr b. Marwán. He presented the letter with gifts, so Bishr sent for the catholicus, stripped him, and gave his vestments and staff to John.⁴ About 390 John, metropolitan of Fárs, gave gifts to Bahá'ud-Dawla and by his intervention was made catholicus.⁵ In 411 five thousand dinars was given for this post.⁶ About 483 Marcus gave three thousand to Philartus (? Philardus), two from himself and one from his monastery: then he took two bishops and forced them to elect him patriarch.⁷ When Dionysius went to Mosul about 506 the priest Abu'l-Faraj sent two Turks to drive him

¹ 3, 235.

³ 3, 301.

⁵ 3, 261.

⁷ 1, 457.

² 3, 271.

⁴ 3, 135.

⁶ 3, 285.

out of the town. The men of Tekrít bribed the governor, who expelled Abu'l-Faraj from the cathedral of the men of Tekrít.¹ At the same time the bishop of Arzan came to Mosul, gave money to the governor, and was by him permitted to exercise authority over the Christians of Nineveh; and Ibn Kutla bribed the governor to force the maphrian to make him metropolitan of his monastery.² About 551 Gabriel of Sarúj was accused of fornication, driven from his see, and put in prison by the governor of Malaṭia. His brother went to Kīlij Arslán, son of Sultan Mas'ūd, lord of Mar'ash, and gave money that he might be restored. He was sent to Damascus, a strange land where his vices were not known.³ In 573 Denha gave bribes to get the patriarch condemned but without success. He then offered two thousand dinars to the lord of Mosul to be made head of all Mesopotamia.⁴ In 576 four bishops offered money to Abu'l-Kásim of Ámid that they might appoint a patriarch to dwell in his city.⁵

In 586 seven thousand dinars were paid to the caliph for the post of catholicus and Amín ud-Dawla arranged the succession of Sabríshu' for the same sum.⁶ In the same year the lord of Nisibis received two thousand dinars from rival Christians; "he was ready to take as much as they would give."⁷ At the end of this century several instances of bribery are recorded at Malaṭia; Rukn ud-Dín was offered six thousand dinars and Muntajib was also bribed, but a little later the governor banished a bishop for taking a bribe to permit a divorce.⁸

In 654 the election of the catholicus was disputed. Each of the three candidates offered money to the caliph till the sum reached forty-five thousand dinars. They were told that the first to pay would be appointed. One collected four thousand and the others at once said he was in league with the Tartars. The palace believed this, so Makíka was appointed. As the Tartar attack on Baghdad happened shortly after,

¹ 3, 317.² 1, 521.³ 1, 577.⁴ 3, 383.⁵ 3, 323.⁶ 1, 567.⁷ 3, 371.⁸ 1, 613, 617; 3, 397.

reply with the words "You know well", implying that the vizier was almost a Christian.¹ In 357 the Byzantines killed or captured most of a Muslim army drawn largely from Antioch. In revenge the inhabitants of that town killed the Chalcedonian patriarch and destroyed many churches.² About 391 the governor of Daḳúḳá reported that the Christians had thrown the head of a pig into the mosque. For some time they went in fear of their lives till it was proved that the governor was a rebel and an army was sent against him. He was captured and allowed to starve to death in prison.³ When the maphrian entered Tekrít about 447 the Muslims stoned him so that he had to take refuge in the church of Akhudema.⁴ A little later the Christians of Tekrít were scattered and the maphrian fled to Mosul and did not return till 506, when the new governor, an Armenian named Mujáhid ud-Dín, was kindly disposed to them.⁵ Later again the maphrian was imprisoned and fined one hundred and fifty dinars.⁶ An enemy told the judge of Mosul that the maphrian was bound to give him a mule and had failed to do so. The judge took one by force.⁷ In 561 the bishop of Malaṭia was fined three hundred darics; as the citizens disliked him they would not help him to pay.⁸ In 565 the governor of Márdín seized a house belonging to a Christian and incorporated it into the mosque. Not long after he fell from his horse and was sorry for his high-handed action, but the house was not given back.⁹ In 615 the maphrian visited Tekrít and was received by a procession with crosses, Gospels, and hymns both in Syriac and Arabic. The Muslims complained to the caliph, who decreed that the maphrian being a stranger was without blame, but that the local Christians were to be despoiled of their property. The local Muslims thought that this might have unpleasant consequences for themselves, so they substituted for it a fine of twenty thousand dinars and put the

¹ 3, 241.² 190.³ 3, 259.⁴ 3, 305.⁵ 3, 309, 317.⁶ 3, 319.⁷ 3, 323.⁸ 1, 543.⁹ 1, 559.

maphrian in prison till it was paid. When the money was paid and the prisoner not released, the Christians appealed to Badr ud-Dīn Lu'lu', governor of Mosul; he used his influence and the maphrian was set free.¹ In 628 the Kurds of Ṭūr 'Abdīn attacked the Christians, so the maphrian took up arms, went out to fight them, and was killed.²

In this record of fines and imprisonment we have only one side of the case; if we could hear the other party we might see that some of the stories are records of justice. One thing stands out clearly: much depended on the governor; if he was a friend, the Christians were not troubled.

THEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

'Abd ul-Malik came to the land of Sin'ár (?) where the catholicus met him and prayed for his welfare. The caliph asked his opinion of the Muslim religion. He said, "A kingdom that stands by the sword and is not confirmed by miracles like that of Christ and the old covenant given by Moses." The caliph was furious and wanted to have his tongue torn out, but was restrained from doing so. He forbade him to come into his presence again.³

The Nestorian metropolitan in Merw committed sodomy, was excommunicated, turned Muslim, and received gifts from the caliph. He accused the Christians of praying for the success of the Greeks. The caliph threatened to destroy the Christians, but his doctor, Abú Kuraish 'Ísá, told him that the Greeks hated the eastern Christians more bitterly than the Jews. A respected patrician chanced to be a prisoner, so the caliph asked him about the Nestorians. He knew of the apostate's knavery, so said that they were not Christians but were more like Muslims than Greeks.⁴

Sergius, an Arian doctor, disputed with the catholicus in the presence of the caliph about 254. The Arian played for the support of the Muslims by claiming to be truly Christian

¹ 389 f.² 3, 405.³ 3, 135.⁴ 3, 171.

as he did not admit that God had a son. The catholicus turned the tables on him by asking the Muslims present what the Koran said about Christians. They said at once that according to the Koran Christians believe that Jesus is the Son of God. The caliph liked the doctor, so did not force him to become a Muslim, though he did so before long.¹

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Often Muslims treated their Christian neighbours most generously. Thus during the reign of 'Umar I the mother of Ḥārith b. ul-Sawdá died. The notables had gathered for the funeral when Ḥārith heard a tumult among the women ; they had found a cross on her neck and knew that she had died a Christian. He told the company to go away, saying " She has co-religionists who are nearer to her than you ". His action was approved.²

A Muslim beat the *nāḳús* for his aged father who was either the priest or sacristan of a church.³ Abú Ṭamahán wrote these verses in praise of Christians of the Banú Ḥaddá.

"It is as if there was not in the castle of Muḳátíl and Zawra
the shadow of a gentle friend.

I do not go down to Baḥhá to mix its water with old wine
from Birwúkatán.

With me were men in flowing robes, eloquent when wine
ran in them.

Sons of the cross and of Ḥaddá ; in every chief strains of
a noble race.

Though Christians, I love them ; and my heart goes out to
them in desire."⁴

Some held that a *dhimmí* sorcerer ought not to be put to death unless he had injured Muslims and so broken the covenant ; but Abú Ḥanífa ruled that he should be executed.⁵

They could enjoy a joke at the Christians' expense. They tell that a priest made a bet that the cross round his neck was

¹ 3, 201.

² Aghání (new ed.) 1, 67.

³ Jahiz B. 3, 23.

⁴ Jahiz Ḥ(ayawán) 5, 52.

⁵ Damirí, Ḥayawán, 2, 248.

of wood that could not burn because it was part of the tree on which the Messiah was crucified. In this way he misled many foolish persons till a theologian brought a piece of wood from Kirmán which resisted fire better than his cross, to his confusion.¹ A poet could say, "In the battle of Sughd you stood shaking with cowardice the whole time till I thought you had turned Christian."² The following anecdote was meant to provoke laughter. Ibn Fihríz thought himself the most learned and cultured of men and was anxious to be catholicus. Another Christian said to him, "There cannot be on earth a more ignorant man than you." He asked why and got this answer: "You know that we only choose as catholicus a tall man, and you are short; one with a loud voice and a fine presence, while you have a weak voice and a mean figure; one with a full long beard, and yours is short and thin. We choose one who does not desire authority and you seek it passionately and openly. How can you be other than the most ignorant of men since these qualities of yours exclude you from the office of catholicus? You spend sleepless nights planning how to attain it!"³ Some jokes are rather recondite. For example, some one said to a Shi'ite: "Mu'áwia is your maternal uncle." He replied, "I do not know, my mother is a Christian; ask her."⁴

Muslims were sometimes severe. A Christian came to condole with a Muslim who said, "The like of you does not condole with the like of me. Consider what the ignorant refrain from and make that your delight."⁵ Niftawaih († 323) said, "If I say to a Jew or a Christian *اطال الله بقاءك*, I make a statement; but to a Muslim it is a prayer."⁶

They could appreciate a story when the laughter was not all on one side. An Indian merchant brought a fish of ambergris set with jewels to Badr ul-Jamálí († 487) and asked one thousand dinars for it. He did not buy it. As the

¹ Jāhiz H. 5, 95; 6, 148.

² Balādhuri 412.

³ J.B. 1, 69.

⁴ Y(ákút) Ir(shád) 1, 313.

⁵ J.B. 3, 99.

⁶ Y.Ir. 1, 315.

merchant went away Abu'l-Maliḥ, a Christian, met him and bought it. Some time after Abu'l-Maliḥ got drunk, insisted on cooking a fish, and roasted this one. The fragrance penetrated every house in Cairo so that Badr thought his storehouses were on fire. When he learned what had actually happened he was very angry. Next day he rebuked Abu'l-Maliḥ for buying what he had thought too dear and thus insulting him. He explained that the opposite was the case: "I bought the fish lest some lord should say that he had bought what Badr could not afford. Now it will be said that a Christian secretary bought what Badr despised." Badr was so pleased that he gave him two thousand dinars and raised his salary.¹

Observers noted, sometimes with contempt, strange customs. Christians made fish dear so that Muslims bought it on certain days only—Thursday, Saturday, and Tuesday—hoping to get it cheap as Christians buy only a little on those days. They are the greatest eaters of fish. During Easter they slaughter many animals.² Elsewhere it is said that they are like the Zindīks and disapprove of the slaughter of animals, hating the shedding of blood, and eating meat sparingly.³ In towns they know the time by the movements of their swine—their waking early, their morning movements, and the noises they make.⁴ They claim that God said, "Quench not the lights in my houses." So churches have always a light in them day and night. Houses and priests are appointed for these lights and they endow them heavily.⁵

Muslims could be severe. In Egypt in the seventh century no Christians were allowed near Ibn ul-Bakarí, a pervert, when he was dying.⁶ In a *fatwá* delivered by Ibn Nakḳásh in 759 it is stated that 'Umar I did not permit *dhimmis* to mount animals in the sight of Muslims. This lawyer forbade Muslims and *dhimmis* to eat from the same dish. Where

¹ Y.Ir. 2, 244.

² J.H. 4, 138.

³ J.H. 4, 137.

⁴ J.H. 2, 107.

⁵ J.H. 4, 152.

⁶ Maḳrízí, *Khīṭāṭ*, 2, 391.

their shops are close together the platform in front of a *dhimmi's* must be lower than that before a Muslim's. Muslims might not sell Bibles and a *dhimmi* corpse had to be carried to the grave with the face uncovered.¹

Social relations were at times more than neighbourly. In 355 Abu'l Faraj al-Isfahání, Abu'l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad, with a number of young Christian clerks, made an excursion to the convent of Tha'álíb to see the gathering of Christians there and to drink by the canal of Yezdegird which ran by the monastery. A lovely girl, like a branch of myrtle blown by the wind, touched the hand of Abu'l-Faṭḥ and asked him to read some verses written on the wall of the shrine. Pleased with her beauty and her sweet voice, they went with her, and inside the building she pointed with an arm like silver to the words :

“ She went out at the feast in the dress of a nun,
 She turned those who came and went distracted at the
 thought of her.
 To my sorrow I saw her on the day of Tha'álíb
 Walking with the women, with swelling breasts among
 swelling breasts ;
 Among them she was as the moon among stars.”

He told her that the verses referred to her. She stayed with him for the rest of the day and friendship grew up between them. He went to Syria and died there. What became of her is not known.²

Several cases are recorded of Muslims developing passions for Christian lads. Mudrik b. 'Alí al-Shaibání went mad and died for 'Amr b. Yúḥanná who lived in the convent of the Greeks.³ (Ḥarírí saw 'Amr when he was an old man.) Yúsuf b. Hárún was devoted to a young Christian named Naṣír.⁴ Sa'd, a bookseller of Edessa, conceived a passion for

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 1851, pp. 509, 487, 511, 500.

² Y.Ir. 5, 158.

³ Y.Ir. 7, 152.

⁴ Y.Ir. 7, 309.

the son of an important Christian merchant and his infatuation was notorious. When the boy grew up he became a monk and Sa'd continued to visit him till the monks forbade him the monastery. He went mad and later was found dead beside it. The monks were charged with the murder, so the governor, 'Abbás b. Kaighalagh, threatened to kill the young man and flog the rest of them. They ransomed themselves for one hundred thousand dirhams. If the lad went into the town he was stoned, so they sent him to another monastery.¹

Monks did not always bear a good reputation, for we read that if a Christian was base, mean, and hated work, he turned monk and wore wool. He trusted that in these clothes and adorned with those garments he would be supported by the rich and wealthy.² Monks lived long because they were celibate.³

The wealth of some church dignitaries has been noted. When John b. Bukhtishu' went on a visitation (c. 293) many Greek and Nubian slaves in royal garments and silken girdles rode with him. His kitchen was carried on six camels and the rest of his baggage on mules.⁴ They sometimes used their wealth and influence for charity. Thus the metropolitan gathered his Christians and persuaded them to build a tomb for Yezdegird and bury the dead emperor.⁵ In 540 John of Márdín released the captives taken by Núr ud-Dín Zanjí at Edessa.⁶

CHRISTIAN ARABS

A bishop of Taghlib died in 89 and one of the Christian Arabs in 127.⁷ In the third century many of the Taghlib were still Christian, for Ibráhím al-Ḥarbí († 285) said that his mother belonged to Taghlib, and most of his maternal uncles were Christians.⁸

¹ Y.Ir. 2, 23 f.

² J.H. 1, 103.

³ J.H. 7, 68.

⁴ B.H. 3, 233.

⁵ Tabarí 1, 2883.

⁶ B.H. 1, 501.

⁷ B.H. 1, 295, 303.

⁸ Y.Ir. 1, 38.

JEWS

Gharīd the singer, a contemporary of ‘Umar b. abí Rabí‘a, was a Jew and lived in Mecca.¹ He liked the voices of some monks whom he heard singing at night in a convent and, when it was suggested to him that he should make a melody like theirs, did so.² There was a dispute as to who should be Head of the Dispersion; the men of Babylon chose one man and those of Tiberias another. The case was taken to Ma‘mún who decreed that if ten of any communion agreed to choose a head none should prevent them.³

A poet said of some of them :

“Among the Jews we found truthful men though of a false religion.

By your life, I and my son ‘Arīd are as water mixed with milk.

I have gained two friends and always strive for the friendship of a worthy man.”⁴

Yet they did not bear a good reputation, for a tradition says : “A Jew is never alone with a Muslim without plotting to kill him.”⁵ And another says : “In weak peoples pride is stronger and more general, but their state of abasement and weakness prevents it being shown (only wise men know this) like our subjects in Sind and the Jews protected by us.”⁶ They were not immune from slander; it was said that the Shechina in the ark of Moses was the head of a cat.⁷ But Ghazálí commented favourably on their fidelity to their faith : “Consider the Jew and his steadfastness in his faith which neither threats, intimidation, insults, nor admonition, neither demonstration nor proof can shake.”⁸ Jáḥiẓ remarks that their piety is shown in keeping the Sabbath.⁹ The fact that they did not eat eels was noted.¹⁰ Muslims were allowed to eat game killed by Jews, Christians, and Magians.¹¹

¹ Aghání 3, 116.

² Aghání 2, 397.

³ B.H. 1, 365.

⁴ J.H. 5, 52.

⁵ J.B. 2, 18.

⁶ J.H. 6, 22.

⁷ J.H. 5, 104.

⁸ Ihyá 1, 90.

⁹ J.H. 1, 80.

¹⁰ J.H. 1, 111.

¹¹ Damíri 2, 61.

‘Alí heard one ask a Muslim about a matter of religion and said, “Ask me and let that man alone.” The Jew said, “Commander of the faithful, you are a learned man.” ‘Alí said, “It is better for you to ask a learned man.”¹

Mu‘áwia, in a letter to ẖais b. Sa‘d, called him a Jew; and Bilál b. abí Burda was also called by this name.² The lawyers forbade this form of abuse.

There are two traditions, that ‘Umar did and did not expel the Jews from Wádi’l Kūrā.³ A Jew bought land in Jurf, cultivated it, and paid tithe. Málik explains that he was a foreigner and his ownership was regarded as trade.⁴ Šafiya bint Huyai left property to her Jewish relatives.⁵

Christian doctors, though enemies of the Jews, state that they have never seen a Jew who suffered from the effects of circumcision performed on the eighth day after birth, while Muslims and Christians beyond number had suffered lasting ill effects from the operation performed at a later age.⁶

In later times the Jews were numerous in Cairo, as is shown by the fact that the ‘Áshúriya school was in a house which had formerly belonged to one and then was almost completely closed because it was in a road inhabited solely by them.⁷

There were degrees among *dhimmís*. Ibn Taimíya says that Šábians and Magians are worse than Jews and Christians, while those who claim godhead for ‘Alí are worse heathen than Jews and Christians.⁸ He also noted resemblances between the Jews and the Shí‘ites. The one have kings from the house of David, the other *imáms* from the family of ‘Alí. Jews postpone prayers till the stars shine and Shí‘ites the sunset prayer till they are fully out. Both do not keep the *kibla* exactly, sway in prayer, and let their robes hang down. Both say that God ordained fifty prayers. Neither regards the wiping of the shoes before prayer as sufficient.

¹ Mubarrad 553.

² Mubarrad 298; J.B. 1, 179.

³ Baládhurí 34.

⁴ Baládhurí 75.

⁵ Minháj ul-Sunna 3, 197.

⁶ J.H. 7, 11.

⁷ Maḡrízí 2, 368.

⁸ Minháj ul-Sunna 2, 101.

Both regard the taking of others' property as lawful. One falsified the Law, the other the Koran. Both greet Muslims with "Death be on you". The Jews say that Gabriel is their enemy, the Shí'ites that he was mistaken in giving the revelation to Muḥammad. Both allow *mut'a* marriage.¹

MAGIANS

Ziyád b. Abíhi sent an expedition that penetrated to Sijistan putting out the sacred fires. Káriyán is especially mentioned, but the fire there was evidently lighted again, for Yáḳút says that in his day fire was taken from it to other temples.² In Armenia the Less is a temple the roof of which was coated with mortar. Below the spout from the roof is a tank to collect the rain. If water runs short they wash the roof with water from this tank; rain then falls.³ The Magians kept their own marriage laws though in some ways they were worse off than other *dhimmís*. 'Umar I dissolved certain of their marriages, but Sháfi'í thinks that one of the parties concerned must have asked him to interfere.⁴ One of them paid the bride-price for a Muslim, who rewarded him in verse:—

"I testify to the goodness of your nature, you are a great sea of generosity.

You are the lord of the people of hell when you perish among those who sin.

The equal of Haman in its depth, of Pharaoh, and him called Abú Ḥakam.

A Magian gave me the bride-price of the Ribáb; may my uncles be a ransom for the Magian."⁵

A writer noted that no man with a religion ever turned from his own faith to that of the Magians,⁶ but sometimes the laugh was on the other side. A Muslim who did not

¹ Minháj ul-Sunna 1, 6.

² J.H. 4, 153.

³ Nuzhat ul-Ḳulub 293.

⁴ Kitáb ul-Umm 4, 133.

⁵ J.H. 5, 52.

⁶ J.H. 5, 99.

believe in the freedom of the will asked a Magian, "Why do you not turn Muslim?"

"I shall when God wills," was the answer.

"God has willed it but Satan does not let you."

"I am on the side of the stronger."¹

A Magian, Abu Naṣr Khwásháda, was secretary to 'Aḍud ud-Dawla the Buwaihíid sultan.²

Jáḥiẓ repeats some Zoroastrian legends for the amusement of his readers. God made mice and the devil cats; which is strange as the mouse is destructive. When a cat micturates in the sea it kills ten thousand fish.³ At creation poison was distributed to the animals as they came for it. One lizard came in the middle of the crowd and got a little with which it feeds snakes. Another came too late, when the poison was exhausted, so it is inconsolable and lives in dung-hills and ruins. If it halts suddenly when running you may know it has just remembered its loss.⁴ It was believed that a certain ulcer could be cured by the spittle of a child begotten by a Magian on his sister.⁵

Zoroaster was a subject of discussion. Some held that his success was due to royal aid, others maintained that he succeeded because he was a prophet.⁶ In the next world cold is the means of punishment. This is proof that he was sent to mountaineers only.⁷

They say that an animal which has been strangled or killed by a blow has sweeter flesh for the blood in it; the blood is the sweet part of the fat.⁸

ŠÁBIANS

The Šábians kept their principles, for Ibráḥím b. Hilál († 384) was offered one thousand dinars if he would eat broad beans, and refused as they were forbidden to eat them.⁹

¹ 'Uyún ul-Akhbár 2, 142.

² Y.Ir. 5, 357.

³ J.H. 4, 99; 5, 98.

⁴ J.H. 4, 99.

⁵ Lisán ul-Arab 14, 204.

⁶ J.H. 5, 99.

⁷ J.H. 5, 25.

⁸ J.H. 4, 34.

⁹ Y.Ir. 1, 324 n.

The caliph Kāhir asked a lawyer his opinion about them, and he said that they might be put to death because they differed from the Jews and Christians and worshipped the stars. The Šābians collected much money and so turned the caliph from his purpose.¹

CHRISTIAN LEGEND

One author mentions the miracle of the Holy Fire and says, as is perhaps natural in a Muslim, that it is a fraud.² Another refers to the removal of the Holy Handkerchief from Edessa.³

To the realm of pure legend belongs the story that the *ṭalh* and *sayāl* trees grew thorns first on the day when the Christians said that Christ was the Son of God.⁴ David is quoted as saying, "My desire for Christ is like that of a hart which is thirsty after eating snakes." The explanation given is that the animal walks round the water but dare not drink, for it knows that to drink would kill it. The water would mix with the poison of the snakes and penetrate its whole body. Provided that it does not drink soon after eating a snake the poison is harmless.⁵ It is also said that the rhinoceros is mentioned in the Psalms. The animal meant is that called in the authorized version the unicorn.⁶

APOSTASY

About 300 one Theodore committed fornication with a Muslim woman and then turned Muslim, and fifty years later the bishop of Adherbaiján turned Muslim in similar circumstances.⁷ About 545 Aaron bishop of Ḥadīth committed fornication, was excommunicated, and turned Muslim. Later he repented and reverted. As he was not reinstated he went to Constantinople and became a Chalcedonian, but later came back to the patriarch who had mercy on him and in a synod gave him licence to anoint. This angered

¹ Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2, 193.

² J.H. 6, 62.

³ Subkī 2, 179, 184.

⁴ J.H. 4, 68.

⁵ J.H. 7, 12.

⁶ J.H. 7, 40.

⁷ B.H. 3, 229, 247.

the maphrian. The patriarch accused the maphrian of having ordained Aaron without investigation, and further of hindering his penitence. Finally, the maphrian was justified, for this madman again without cause joined the Muslims. A second time he reverted, went to Jerusalem, and there joined the Maronites.¹ This shows clearly that the law punishing apostasy with death was not always enforced. The tale of Ma'mún reveals the Muslim rule as merciful.

An apostate from Khorásán was brought before Ma'mún and a discussion arose between the caliph and the captive. Ma'mún said, "I should prefer sparing your life justly to putting you to death justly, and pardoning you freely to condemning you on suspicion." The apostate said that he had been disgusted by the differences among the Muslims. Ma'mún pointed out that these differences were about minor things such as the precise form of the call to prayer and argued that in every religion there were differences about the interpretation of the sacred books. The apostate who had been a Christian returned to Islam.²

DRESS

The poet Shammákh notes that Christians wore shoes of black leather.³ In 391 two Muslims tried to make the Christians of Baghdad wear humiliating garments to distinguish them from the Muslims. They mocked a Christian astronomer because he had not put on these clothes. He complained to the ruler in whose service he was and the two men were thrown into prison. Then a riot broke out.⁴

Asad ud-Dín Shírkúh made the Christians wear the *ghiyár*, turbans without a hanging end, the *zunnár*, made them cut the hair on their foreheads, and dismissed them from government service.⁵ In the *fatwá* of Ibn Nakkásh it is stated that

¹ B.H. 1, 517.

² J.B. 3, 186 f.; cf. 'Uyún ul-Akhhár 2, 154.

³ Díwán 11.

⁴ B.H. 3, 257.

⁵ Y.Ir. 2, 247.

the *kalansuwa* of the Christian had a slit in front while the turban and the *tailasán* were forbidden them.¹

WINE

Some Muslims drank wine and some sold it. This follows from a saying preserved in two forms. The perfect wine-seller should be a *dhimmí* with a Persian, Jewish, or Christian name, variegated clothes, and a seal on his neck.² I do not profit from the drinking of wine unless the seller is not a Muslim, an old man who does not speak good Arabic. If a Magian, his name must be Shahriyár or Máziyár or such-like; if a Jew, Manasse or Solomon; and if a Christian, Joshua or Simeon.³

BLOOD MONEY

In 360 two Muslims were killed at night in a mosque near the convent of Michael in Mosul. Abú Taghlib b. Náṣir ud-Dawla fined the Christians a hundred and twenty thousand dirhams.⁴ The legal justification, if any, for this action is probably the rule that if a Muslim was killed by persons unknown in a land inhabited by *dhimmís*, the country should pay the blood-wit. There is no reason to assume that Christians committed the murder in the mosque.

HOLY GROUND

Abú Lu'lu'a was a Magian, a slave of Mughíra, to whom he paid four dirhams a day from his trade of making mills. He asked 'Umar to use his influence to get this toll reduced. He felt sympathy for the *dhimmís* brought captive to Medina and killed 'Umar to avenge his co-religionists and because his request had been ignored.⁵ Some believed him to be a Christian. One Ḥafna, a Christian of Nejrán, was killed because he was suspected of being privy to the murder of

¹ p. 505.

² J.B. 1, 52.

³ J.H. 2, 124.

⁴ B.H. 192.

⁵ Minháj ul-Sunna 3, 243.

the caliph.¹ Ibn Zubair brought in foreign masons to repair the Ka'ba.²

TAXES

Dhimmis in Yemen paid poll tax and double land tax.³ Some of the Ibádīs did not approve of taking the *jizya* from Christians.⁴ The people of Egypt were exhausted and burdened above their strength.⁵ In 222 the Christians suffered from unbearable taxes.⁶

The mosque of Kúfa was built from the materials of the palaces of the kings of Ḥíra; the value of them being deducted from the tribute of Ḥíra.⁷ In the reign of Hárún ul-Rashíd some estates were deserted. He sent Harthama to see to the cultivation of them. He invited some of the peasants and farmers to return to them and promised to reduce their taxes and deal with them leniently. These were called Men of Reductions. Later others came back and received their lands on the previous terms; these were called Men of Restitution.⁸ This statement has evidently to be combined with the other that Hárún ul-Rashíd increased the taxes on the Christians so that many deserted their farms.

Bahá'ud-Dín 'Alí b. Muḥammad, who was vizier from 654 to 677, doubled the poll tax.⁹

DOCTORS

Abú Kuraish 'Ísá was a favourite of Khaizurán, though Bar Hebraeus exaggerates slightly the story as told by Muslims.¹⁰ A doctor who was not a Muslim was sent to Ṭabarí in his last illness.¹¹ In the time of Ghazálí in many towns the only doctor was a *dhimmi*.¹² Ibn Muḥashshar, a Christian, was doctor at the court of the Fátimide caliph

¹ Damirí 1, 314.

² Aghání 1, 250.

³ Baládhurí 75.

⁴ Ibn Ḥazm, *Milal*, 4, 189.

⁵ Baládhurí 217.

⁶ B.H. 1, 383.

⁷ Baládhurí 286.

⁸ Baládhurí 144.

⁹ Maḳrízí 2, 369.

¹⁰ B.H. 3, 163.

¹¹ Y.Ir. 6, 462.

¹² Iḥyá 1, 16.

Ḥākīm.¹ From the words "like a madman escaped from a monastery" used by Badī' uz-Zamán in one of his Assemblies we may conclude that monasteries were sometimes used as asylums.²

LITERATURE

Somewhere between 10 and 29 'Amr b. Sa'd, the governor of the Muslims, called the patriarch Athanasius and asked him to translate the Gospel into Arabic, but without describing Christ as God or mentioning the baptism or crucifixion. He answered that he would not take one jot or one tittle from the Gospel though all the arrows and lances of the army went through him. When the governor saw his boldness he told him to write as he thought fit.³

Jáḥiẓ wrote a book about Jews and Christians.⁴ Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāḵ learnt from Jews and Christians and called them the first scholars.⁵ In the third century Yúsuf b. Ibráhīm was a pupil of the Nestorian doctor 'Ísá b. Ḥakam of Damascus.⁶ Kudáma b. Ja'far, mentioned by Ḥarírí as a master of language, was at first Christian but turned Muslim; he died in 338.⁷ Muḥassin b. Ibráhīm b. Hilál, the Šábian († 401), studied under Muslim masters.⁸

Iṣḥāḵ b. Yahyá b. Shuraiḥ, a Christian secretary born in 300, was an authority on tribute and the supervision of officials. He wrote the *Book of Tribute* in one thousand folios, the *Popular Book of Tribute* in two hundred folios, the *Small Book of Tribute* in one hundred, the *Conversion of Dates, Councils at the Capital*, and a *Summary of History*.⁹ 'Alí b. Naṣr († 377), also a Christian secretary, wrote the *Book of the Reformation of Character*, the *Companionship of the Monarch*, and the *Book of Success*.¹⁰ 'Alí b. 'Ísá (c. 400) wrote the *Oculist's Guide*.¹¹ Abú 'Alí 'Ísá b. Zur'a was an author as well as translator.¹²

¹ Y.Ir. 5, 427.

² Saimiriya.

³ B.H. 1, 275.

⁴ J.H. 1, 5.

⁵ Y.Ir. 6, 401.

⁶ Y.Ir. 2, 157.

⁷ Y.Ir. 6, 203.

⁸ Y.Ir. 6, 244.

⁹ Y.Ir. 2, 238.

¹⁰ Y.Ir. 5, 432.

¹¹ B.H. 3, 277.

¹² B.H. 3, 277.

Ya'kúb, alias Severus b. Shakkú, had a big library ; at his death it was placed in the treasury of the governor of Mosul.¹

Christian and Muslim boys attended the same school.²

GOVERNMENT SERVICE

According to the *fatwá* of Ibn Nakkásh *dhimmís* were turned out of government service by 'Umar II, Maṣṣūr, Maḥdí, Hárún ul-Rashíd, Ma'mún, Mutawakkil, and Muḩtadir. Complaint was made to Rádí of the same matter. In Egypt, Najm ud-Dín Ayyúb (637-47), Muḩammad b. Káláwún (700), Şaláh (752-5), and ḩasan (748-62) dismissed them.³

A few *dhimmís* were viziers, Şá'id under Mu'tamid, 'Abdún b. Şá'id, while the Christian Ibn Málik succeeded the Jew Ibn Faḩlán in the reign of Rádí.⁴ Dalíl b. Ya'kúb was secretary to Bughá and then to Mutawakkil.⁵ ḩusain b. 'Amr was in charge of the expenditure and estates of the army in Rai.⁶

In Egypt, 'Azíz had as chief secretary Abu'l-Nuşúr, and Mustanşir had the Jew Ibn abi'd-Dam.⁷

A Christian turned Muslim and became vizier. A man called on him, was told that he was at prayer, and came back later to find him still praying. "It is excusable ; all novelties are amusing." ⁸

¹ B.H. 3, 411.

² Tuhfat ul-Aḩbáb 11 (margin of Makḩarí, v, 4, Egypt, A.H. 1302).

³ J.A., p. 416 f.

⁴ Y.Ir. 2, 130, 259 ; J.A. 458.

⁵ Y.Ir. 2, 130.

⁶ Tab. iii, 2140.

⁷ ḩusn ul-Muḩáḩara 2, 146 ; Makḩrizí 2, 291.

⁸ Y.Ir. 7, 65.

Une étoffe orientale, le *kaunakes*

Par JEAN PRZYLUCKI

EN 1887, Léon Heuzey consacra au *kaunakès* une étude fondamentale¹ dont il n'est pas superflu de reproduire ici les passages essentiels, car cet article n'est pas mentionné dans plusieurs travaux récents dont j'aurai ci-après à discuter les conclusions.

“ Dans le Vocabulaire de Julius Pollux, qui, sous prétexte de nous donner des leçons de mots, nous donne, sur toute la vie antique, de si précieuses leçons de choses, j'ai trouvé,” dit L. Heuzey, “ au milieu d'une série de noms de vêtements barbares, la brève indication suivante, qui a été pour moi un trait de lumière : *Βαξυλωνίων δ' ἐστὶν ὁ καυνάκης*.² Les Babyloniens avaient donc une pièce nationale de leur costume qui s'appelait *kaunakès*. Quelques lignes plus haut, je lis même que l'usage s'en était conservé chez les Perses.

“ Pollux cite même à ce propos un passage bien connu des *Guêpes* d'Aristophane, où nous allons trouver sur le vêtement en question des indications plus précises. C'est la scène où Bdélycléon offre à son père Philocléon un luxueux manteau, qu'il a précédemment qualifié de *χλαῖνα*, l'assimilant au châle épais et laineux dont les Grecs se couvraient en hiver. En apercevant l'étoffe dont son fils veut le couvrir, le vieux juge se révolte :

PHIL.—Par tous les dieux, quel est ce fléau ?

BDÉL.—Les uns l'appellent *persis*, les autres *kaunakès*.

PHIL.—Vraiment, je le prenais pour une *sisyra* du bourg de Thymaetes.’

“ Ainsi, il s'agit certainement d'une étoffe orientale tellement velue qu'elle ressemblait à une toison : car la *sisyra*

¹ “ Une étoffe chaldéenne (le *kaunakès*),” dans *Revue Archéologique*, 1887, 16 pp., 2 pl., 6 fig.

² Pollux, *Onomasticon*, vii, 60 et 59.

était un vêtement de peau de chèvre ou de mouton, fabriqué en Attique. Toute la plaisanterie est dans l'erreur analogue à celle qui fait encore aujourd'hui prendre souvent pour une peau de mouton la *flocata* des pallicares. Poursuivons, dans le texte même du poète comique, la lecture de cette curieuse scène :

BDÉL.—Ton erreur n'a rien d'étonnant, car tu n'es jamais allé à Sardes ; tu saurais alors ce que c'est, tandis que tu l'ignores absolument.' Et plus loin : 'Cela se fabrique à Ecbatane.'

PHIL.—On fait donc à Ecbatane des *intestins de trame* ?

BDÉL.—Que veux-tu dire ? Sais-tu que, chez les barbares, cette étoffe se tisse à grands frais : à lui seul, ce manteau a dévoré largement un talent de laine.

PHIL.—On devrait donc l'appeler *mange-laine* plus justement que *kaunakès*.'

"La comparaison de la trame de ce tissu avec l'aspect que présenteraient des *intestins* ou des *boudins* de laine est surtout significative :

Ἐν Ἐκβατάνοισι γίγνεται κρόκης χόλιξ ;

"Le scoliaste a parfaitement compris qu'il s'agissait des mèches saillantes et tortillées, produites par la trame de l'étoffe : *τὰς ἐξοχὰς τῶν κρόκων*.

"Ensuite vient une série de plaisanteries sur la chaleur du vêtement : le vieillard se plaint qu'on *l'habille avec un four* ; il demande que l'on apporte un *croc*, 'pour me retirer,' dit-il, 'avant que je ne sois fondu !' On remarquera aussi que le poète se sert des expressions *ἀναξαλοῦ*, *ἀναξαλοῦ τριβωνικῶς*, convenant à un manteau dans lequel on se drape en le rejetant sur l'épaule, comme le manteau grec.

"Ainsi, le vêtement appelé *kaunakès*, qui pouvait se draper comme la *chlaina* ou comme le *tribon* des Grecs, était une étoffe d'un grand prix, chaude et très velue, dont la laine tombait en longues mèches frisées. On la fabriquait non seulement en Babylonie, mais encore à Ecbatane ; elle s'était

répandue dans l'Asie-Mineure, jusqu'en Lydie et jusqu'à Sardes, et, de là, on l'exportait même en Grèce. Il y a tout cela dans le texte du poète comique."

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"La conclusion à tirer de ces indications techniques, c'est que le *kaunakès* appartenait (comme on dirait dans le langage spécial de nos expositions) au même *groupe de tissus* que les tapis. Il est tout à fait logique et naturel qu'une pareille étoffe ait pris naissance au milieu de la grande fabrique de tapisseries dont cette partie de l'Asie a été de tout temps la source féconde, intarissable. C'était là évidemment l'un des produits les plus merveilleux des fameux ateliers de tissage dont la Chaldée et Babylone furent les centres très antiques, ateliers où l'on associait les plus belles teintures aux laines les plus fines de l'Orient. On parvenait ainsi à transporter dans une étoffe, sous leur aspect presque vivant, les magnifiques toisons qui font encore aujourd'hui la réputation des chèvres d'Angora ou des troupeaux de Kachmyr.

"Quant au mot *kaunakès*," dit en terminant L. Heuzey, "emprunté par les Grecs aux langues asiatiques pour désigner une étoffe chaldéenne, les orientalistes auront à rechercher s'il est lui-même chaldéen, assyrien ou perse, ou s'il se rattache à quelque autre idiome de l'Asie antérieure." C'est cette question que je me propose d'examiner ici tout d'abord.

En 1924, M. Jarl Charpentier¹ a essayé d'expliquer une série de mots indiens, iraniens et autres par un élargissement en *-n-* de la racine indo-européenne qui désigne le bœuf. Pāṇini connaît *goṇa* "taureau, bœuf" et Patañjali a *goṇī* "vache". A ces formes communes au sanskrit et au moyen-indien, M. Charpentier veut rattacher *goṇī* "sac". Il cite en outre, sur le domaine iranien, schughnī *γaun* "grober Sack, Beutel". Le latin *gaunacum* (Varr.) pourrait, à son

¹ "Beiträge zur indoiranischen Wortkunde," dans *Le Monde Oriental*, vol. xiii, pp. 32-3.

avis, provenir du vieux-perse non attesté **gauna(ka)* "peau de bœuf". Mais il laisse de côté grec *καυνάκης* dont la relation avec les mots précédents lui semble obscure.

Une tentative du même genre a été faite récemment par M. Carlton C. Rice¹ qui cherche à expliquer skr. *guṇā* par le nom du bœuf. Les sens successifs seraient 1) "bovine", 2) "bovine sinew", 3) "sinew", 4) "bow-string", 5) "strand, cord (of rope)", etc.

Malgré le talent avec lequel ces théories ont été présentées, je ne crois pas qu'elles soient exactes. *Goṇī* "sac" ne peut guère provenir du nom du bœuf. Il en est de même de *yaun* et de *gaunacum*. Quant à skr. *guṇā*, il n'a pris qu'assez tard, et par accident, le sens de "bow-string"; les significations anciennes "fil, cordon" (cf. *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, 7, 2, 4, 2) ne permettent de supposer aucun rapport avec *gó*.

Dans la *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* de 1928, M. Ed. Schwyzler² a montré qu'une forme *γαννάκης* est attestée en grec dès le 3^{me} siècle avant J.-C. C'est également avec la sonore initiale que le mot a passé en latin : *gaunacum*. Puisque le témoignage grec le plus ancien fait venir cette étoffe d'Ecbatane, il faut chercher dans l'Iran l'origine de son nom. Après Bartholomae, M. Schwyzler suppose "eine altiranische Bildung **gaunaka*- als adj. haarig, farbig, Farbiger (substantiviert)".

Cette construction repose uniquement sur une forme iranienne non attestée : **gaunaka* ; il y aurait avantage à l'étayer sur d'autres faits. En outre, l'exposé de M. Schwyzler attribue sans doute trop d'importance à la notion de couleur. D'après tout ce que nous savons du *kaunakès*, le caractère principal de cette étoffe n'est pas sa couleur, mais son aspect velu qui la fait ressembler à une toison.

Les auteurs précédents n'ont pas accordé assez d'attention aux faits indiens. Ils ont surtout considéré *goṇī* qui est

¹ "The Etymology of Sanskrit *guṇā*," dans *Language*, Mars, 1930, pp. 36-40.

² *Iranisches*, p. 234 et suiv.

équivoque. Plus important et plus clair est le pali *goṇaka* auquel correspond en sanskrit bouddhique *goṇika*, et pour lequel on trouve aussi la forme *gonaka*. Le Dictionnaire pali de Rhys Davids et Stede donne les indications suivantes : *goṇaka* "a woollen cover with long fleece" (*DA.*, i, 86 : *ḍiḡhalomako mahākojavo* ; *caturāṅgulādhikāni kira tassa lomāni*).

On voit que *goṇaka*, de même que *kaunakès*, *gaunacum*, désignait une étoffe à longs poils. L'existence et le nom de ce produit sont donc attestés depuis l'Inde jusqu'à la Grèce et l'Italie. D'autre part, les commentaires indiens ne fournissant aucune indication sur la couleur du *goṇaka*, il est très douteux que celle-ci soit un trait caractéristique.

Pali *goṇaka* et skr. bouddhique *goṇika* devaient être sentis comme des équivalents moyen-indiens de skr. **gaṇaka*. Quant à la graphie sans cérébrale, *gonaka*, c'est probablement une faute due à la négligence des scribes.

En iranien, *gaona* signifie "poil" et par extension "couleur". De "poil" à "couleur" le passage est aisé. En français, par exemple, lorsqu'on parle du cheval et de quelques autres animaux, "poil" signifie "couleur". Dire "de quel poil est ce cheval?" revient à demander quelle est sa couleur. A partir de *gaona* "poil" on s'explique aisément la formation d'un dérivé iranien **gaunaka* désignant une étoffe à longs poils, le *kaunakès*. Dans **gaunaka*, la notion de couleur n'est qu'accessoire et il n'y a pas lieu de lui attribuer une importance particulière.

En regard de av. *gaona*, il est tentant de poser skr. *guṇa*. Wackernagel les a déjà rapprochés, bien qu'il donne pour les deux mots des sens assez divergents. *AV. guṇá-* "Schicht, Abteilung": av. *gaona-* "Farbe, Fülle" Justi.¹ Skr. *guṇá* signifie "partie, division" et aussi "fil, cordon", mais il

¹ *Altind. Gram.* i, 173. Même rapprochement dans Uhlenbeck, qui fait toutefois des réserves (*Etym. Wörterbuch der altind. Sprache, s.v. guṇá*. Cf. E. und J. Leumann, *Etym. Wörterbuch der Sanskritsprache*, Lief. 1, Heft. 1, 1907.

n'a jamais le sens de "poil". De plus, entre *guṇa* (avec *ṛ* et *ṇ*) et *gaona*, la différence est phonétiquement assez grande.

Puisqu'on avait en moyen-indien *goṇaka*, *goṇika*,¹ noms d'étoffe à longs poils ou à longs fils conçus comme des équivalents de skr. **gaunaka*, skr. *guṇa* "fil" peut avoir été refait sur **gaunaka*. Quant à *goṇaka*, nom d'une étoffe d'origine chaldéenne et fabriquée ensuite dans l'Iran, il est sans doute un emprunt du moyen-indien à l'iranien. Ainsi, la liaison s'établit par l'intermédiaire de l'Iran, entre grec *καυνάκης*/*γαινάκης* et indo-aryen *goṇaka*.

Enfin, dans la langue philosophique, skr. *guṇa* a pris une valeur particulière; il signifie "sorte, espèce", et désigne également les éléments des êtres en relation avec une couleur déterminée. En iranien, *gaona* signifie non seulement "poil" mais aussi "couleur, sorte, espèce".² Skr. *guṇa*, dans la langue philosophique, a donc la même valeur qu'iranien *gaona*. Cette coïncidence s'explique aisément si, comme j'ai tenté de l'établir ailleurs, la théorie indienne des *guṇa* a une origine occidentale.³ A un mot *guṇa* "fil", tiré de *goṇaka* nom d'une étoffe iranienne, les philosophes ont ajouté des sens qui sont proprement ceux de l'iranien *gaona*.⁴ L'étude du commerce des étoffes confirme donc ce que l'histoire des doctrines nous avait permis de deviner: l'une et l'autre révèlent, entre l'Inde et l'Iran, des échanges d'idées ou de produits.

Sur le domaine indo-européen, le problème s'élargit encore, parce qu'on trouve dans les langues slaves des formes *gunja*

¹ *Gonī* "sac" paraît bien être l'équivalent de *goṇika*. Le sac aurait été désigné ainsi parce qu'il était fait d'une étoffe velue. Chinois *hu-na* est probablement un emprunt à l'iranien. Cf. Laufer, *Sino-iranica*, p. 496.

² Cf. Schwyzer, *ibid.*, p. 241.

³ "La théorie des *guṇa*" article sous presse dans *BSOS*.

⁴ Oldenberg a supposé que le mot *guṇa* "fil, cordon" a été choisi pour désigner les éléments constitutifs de la matière parce qu'une corde est faite de plusieurs fils. Mais tous les fils d'un câble sont de même nature et ce qui caractérise la théorie des *guṇa* c'est que les éléments des êtres sont essentiellement différents et en relation avec une couleur déterminée. Par là, *guṇa* de la langue philosophique s'apparente à av. *gaona*, non à *goṇaka*.

(*guna*), *gunj*. M. Schwyzer incline à expliquer celles-ci par un emprunt ancien à l'iranien et il suppose une forme iranienne **gaunya* qui signifierait "die Farbige". C'est encore attacher trop d'importance à la notion de couleur qui n'apparaît pas sous les mots slaves.

Mon collègue, M. Vaillant, à qui j'ai demandé des précisions, a bien voulu me fournir les indications suivantes :

"Le mot *gunja* (*guna*), *gunj* se rencontre dans toutes les langues slaves, mais il peut être relativement tardif. Il n'est attesté sûrement, semble-t-il, que depuis le XIV^e siècle (serbo-croate, tchèque).

"Les sens sont : 'étoffe poilue' (cf. tchèque *huňatý* 'poilu, velu')—'étoffe grossière'—en particulier 'manteau (de drap grossier)'—'manteau de poil de chèvre'—'veste de fourrure' (en russe : 'fourrure usagée qui a perdu ses poils').

"Les formes sont : *gunja* (fém.) tchèque, polonais, russe, slovène, bulgare. *guna*, russe et bulgare ; mais il doit s'agir (sûrement pour le bulgare *gúna* 'fourrure') d'un emprunt plus récent au grec. *gunj* (masc.) serbo-croate, slovène.

"On admet (Berneker, Niederle, Schrader-Nehring) que c'est un mot de civilisation emprunté au costume gréco-latin du Moyen-Age : gr. *γούνα* (*γούνα*, *γούνα*, comme on veut l'orthographier), lat. *gunna* 'fourrure' (ital. *gonna*, v. fr. *gonne*, *gonnelle*, etc.) ; donc 'surtout (manteau, tunique) fourré', 'pelisse'.

"La forme slave ne répond pas exactement à la forme gréco-latine (*guna* du bulgare, et sans doute du russe, étant à part comme emprunt plus récent). On pourrait supposer un dérivé latin *gunneu*—(masc. ou fém.) adjectif au sens de 'fourré'—mais ce dérivé n'est pas chez Du Cange.

"Ce qu'on peut dire pour le slave, c'est que le mot peut avoir—théoriquement—deux origines : ou bien, c'est un emprunt, postérieur à la période du slave commun (où *ū* > *y*, *ǔ* > *ъ*), au gréco-latin *gunna*, mais alors nous trouvons un

élargissement *-j-* supposant quelque chose comme **gunnea* ; ou bien, si c'est un vieux mot slave commun, il suppose **goun-* et ce pourrait être un dérivé en *-j-* d'un primitif *gouno-* du type de *koža* "peau" (= *koz-ja*) de *koza* "chèvre".

"Que le slave ait tiré de lui-même d'un **guna*, emprunt au gréco-latin, un dérivé *gunj-*, c'est peu vraisemblable : la forme primitive *guna* serait mieux attestée, et on ne trouverait pas *gunj-* dans toutes les langues slaves. Ce qui apparaît slave commun, ancien ou emprunt tardif, c'est *gunj-* élargi, non *guna*."

Il est donc possible, comme le montre bien M. Vaillant, que *gunj-* slave commun soit "un dérivé en *-j-* d'un primitif **gouno-*". On rejoint alors la forme iranienne *gaona-* et rien ne s'oppose à ce qu'un mot signifiant "poil", attesté ou présumé en iranien et en slave, n'appartienne au vocabulaire indo-européen.

Un dérivé slave du nom du "poil" non attesté directement peut d'autant mieux être posé que le baltique a le mot, au suffixe près :

lit. *gaurai* "poils—sur le corps", lette *gauri* "poils" (cf. Trautmann, *Balt.-slav. Wörterbuch*, p. 80).

Dès lors, on s'explique mieux les faits slaves : le doublet *gunja* / *gunj* devient clair s'il s'agit d'un adjectif substantivé ; et serbo-croate *gunjav* "hirsutus, villosus" se rattache à la même série.¹

On aperçoit une aire du nom du "poil" :

- 1) celtique **gour-yo*, germanique **gour*, baltique *gaura-*.
- 2) slave **goun-*, iranien (av.) *gaona*.

On notera l'accord du slave et de l'iranien. Les autres groupes (baltique, etc.) ont un dérivé différent. Une même racine indo-européenne aurait été élargie ici en *-r-*, là en *-n-*. Sous cette dernière forme, le nom du "poil" pourrait donc

¹ Cette forme, ainsi que les faits baltiques, me sont signalés par M. Vaillant.

entrer dans un groupe de termes communs au slave et à l'iranien.¹

En somme, il faut distinguer d'une part des noms vulgaires signifiant "poil" et d'autre part des mots de civilisation désignant une étoffe précieuse à longs poils. Les premiers, dont on n'a aucune raison de supposer la propagation d'une langue à l'autre, peuvent se rattacher à une même racine indo-européenne diversement élargie suivant les groupes. Ils ont donné des dérivés qui ont servi au sud à désigner le *kaunakès*, tandis qu'au nord, dans les langues slaves, *gunj* désigne surtout une fourrure ou un vêtement fourré. Grec *gaunakès* / *kaunakès*, latin *gaunacum* et indo-aryen *goṇaka*, *goṇika* s'expliquent tous par un dérivé iranien **gaunaka*.² Pour l'historien, le fait capital est la diffusion d'un produit originairement babylonien, par l'intermédiaire de l'Iran et sous un nom iranien, dans toutes les grandes civilisations du monde indo-européen.

¹ Sur ce groupe de termes, cf. Meillet, "Le vocabulaire slave et le vocabulaire indo-iranien," *Revue des études slaves*, vi, p. 165 et suiv.

² Dans une note parue ici (*JRAS*, 1920, 326-9), le Professeur S. Langdon assigne une origine assyrienne au mot *kaunakès*. Il pose un mot sumérien prononcé *gu-èn*, *gu-èn-na*, *gu-an-na*, et conclut: "... The Sumerian word *gú-èn* is always employed in the texts, never the Semitic *naḥlaptu* or *ašit kišadi*, which were mere Semitic explanations. It is, therefore, almost certain that the Semites made a loan-word of *gú-èn*, or *gú-an-na*, and this should be *guennakku*, *guannakku*, the original of the Greek *καυνάκης*." L'existence d'une forme sémitique telle que **guannakku*, si elle est admise, n'est pas incompatible avec la thèse que je viens de soutenir. Que la forme iranienne **gaunaka* ait été calquée ou non sur un mot plus ancien, elle ne pouvait être sentie par les sujets parlants que comme un dérivé de *gaona* "poil", et cette dérivation donnait, en l'espèce, un sens pleinement satisfaisant. L'hypothèse du Professeur Langdon tend à prolonger dans le passé l'histoire du mot *kaunakès*; elle ne fait pas obstacle à l'explication que j'ai proposée pour une période plus récente. On trouvera encore d'utiles indications sur l'archéologie du vêtement sumérien dans un article du même auteur, *Archæologia*, lxx, 146-7.

An Old Moorish Lute Tutor

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

MAGHRIBĪ or Moorish documents on the theory of music are extremely rare. We certainly have the Commentary on Aristotle's *De anima* by Ibn Rushd (d. 1198), but that deals with the question of the physical basis of sound, and not with practical theory. Probably the latter is treated in the *Kitāb al adwār al-mansūb* attributed to Ibn Sab'īn (d. 1269), but this is, unfortunately, locked away in a private library in the East.¹ We also have the treatise bearing the name of Al-Shalāhī (ca. 1301) known as the *Kitāb al-imtā' wa'l-intifā'*, and the chapter on music in the *muqaddima* of the *Kitāb al-'ibar* of Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406), but they tell us very little. The former is mainly concerned with the question of the "lawfulness" of music, whilst the latter is too general in its treatment to be of much use, and tells us nothing about practical theory.

In view of this, one can make bold to say that the Maghribī manuscripts now brought forward for the first time ought to be welcomed. The most important of them is a treatise on the lute ('ūd) which I have called elsewhere,² for the sake of convenience, the *Ma'rifat al-naghamāt al-thamān* treatise, a title based on the opening lines of the manuscript. Although it was included by Lafuente y Alcantara in his *Catálogo de los Códices Árabigos adquiridos en Tetuan* (Madrid, 1862),³ it did not excite attention until 1906, when Rafael Mitjana called the notice of musicologists to it in *La Monde orientale* (pp. 212-13), when he wrote as follows :—

"Ce manuscrit qui à ma connaissance n'a pas été encore étudié comme il le mérite, contient une reproduction dessinée du manche du 'ūd [lute], où sont signalées les

¹ *Al-Hilāl*, xxviii, 214.

² *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, 307-11.

³ No. 220, 4.

diverses cordes, et sur elles, indiquée par des chiffres arabes, la place où on doit les effleurer pour obtenir le son voulu. Ce me semble être une espèce de *tablature* qui ressemble étrangement à celle employée par les grandes *vihuelistas* espagnols du quinzième siècle.”¹

I promised a translation of this manuscript in 1926,² and now a letter from the Dolmetsch family reminds me that I must fulfil this pledge and bring the document into the light of the English language, together with relative treatises, similarly unknown, which may also prove helpful in elucidating some doubtful points.

If only to probe the question of the Arabian influence on the *vihuelistas*, as Mitjana suggests, this particular treatise deserves editing and translating, although I also hope to show that a great deal more can be learned from its study, including the recognition of the twenty-four *naubāt* of the Moors of Spain, and the actual structure of the modes (*tubūʿ*, *ṣanʿāt*) used at that period.

§ 1

MAʿRIFAT AL-NAGHAMĀT AL-THAMĀN

This treatise is now in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, and is described by F. Guillén Robles in his *Catálogo de los Manuscritos Árabes existentes en la Bibl. Nac. de Madrid* (Madrid, 1889), under the number: cccxxxiv, 2, *Tratado sobre el laúd árabe*. It comprises four folios, quarto, fourteen lines to a page, written in a Maghribī hand in red and black ink, the copying having been carelessly performed. The MS. was acquired in Tetuan, and is undated. Neither Lafuente nor Robles gives its date, but from the paper it would seem to

¹ In his article on “La Musique en Espagne” in Lavignac’s *Encyclopédie de la Musique*, tome iv, 1922, published in 1920, he says: “Seizième siècle” and adds: “Une semblable coïncidence ne résoud pas le problème, et il faudrait une étude plus complète et approfondie de cet intéressant document, avant de se hasarder à prononcer une conclusion.”

² *The Influence of Music: From Arabic Sources*, 18.

have been copied in the second half of the sixteenth century, and was executed in Morocco. It is certainly not an original work, but a copy from an older treatise. How old the latter could be is not easy to determine. The absence of the names of the Perso-Turkish modes and notes may enable us to fix a date prior to 1504, when the Turkish corsairs first landed in the Barbary States. The theory dealt with in the treatise is based on a single octave *accordatura*, which is a very early system, as I have shown elsewhere.¹

Translation

“ The first to which attention is necessary is the knowledge Fol. 14.
of the eight notes (*naḡhamāt*), upon which the song (*ḡhinā'*) and the melodies (*alḥān*) all of them are centred, and the manner of taking-hold of them by way of arrangement from the four strings, as you should know that they are differing in the interval (*bu'd*). Then the nearest of them [the notes] is the note of the *bamm*, and it is the string named nowadays the *ḏīl*.² And next to it in the interval is the string of the *mathlath*, and it is the string of the *māya* without fingering (*dass*) with the *biṣīr* (third finger) or the *sabbāba* (first finger) of the left hand. And next to it is another note by fingering with the *sabbāba*. Then there is next to it another note by fingering with the *biṣīr*. Then [follows] the note of the *mathnā*,³ and it is the *ramal*. Then [follows] the *zīr*, and it is the *ḡusain* without fingering. Then [follows] its note also, by fingering with the *sabbāba*. Then [follows] its note also, by fingering with the *biṣīr*. Then with that the eight notes are complete.

And the positions (*marātib*) of these notes will scarcely admit another note higher or lower (*literally*, ‘distant or nearer’), but every note is derived from the whole of the

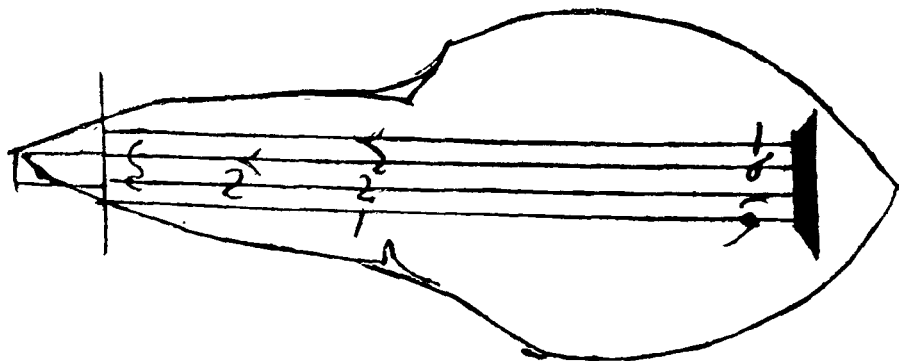
¹ See my *History of Arabian Music*, 70, and *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, 241, 307–11.

² Also written *ḏhīl* and *ḏhail* elsewhere.

³ The text has *مئلى* by mistake.

strings and the sounds [and they are being traced to these].¹ And they are expressed by means of the letters ا ب ج د² (A, B, J, D). So you make ا (A) the first note, which is the nearest of the notes, and the lowest³ of them, and it is the note of the *dīl*. And ب (B), which is next to it in lowness, and it is a little higher than it, and a little lower than that which is above it, and it is the note of the *māya* without fingering. And the ج (J) is that which is next to it, and it is the note of the *māya* also, by fingering with the *sabbāba*. And the د (D) is that which is next to it, and it is the note of the *māya* also, by fingering with the *binṣir*. And the ه (H) is that which is next to it, and it is the note of the *ramal* [without fingering]. And the و (W) is that which is next to it, and it is the note of the *ḥusain* without fingering. And the ز (Z) is that which is next to it, and it is the note [of the *ḥusain*] also, by fingering with the *sabbāba*. And the ح (Ḥ) is that which is next to it, and it is the note [of the *ḥusain*] also, by fingering with the *binṣir*. And the figure of that, and its appearance are as you will now see, Please Allāh.

Fol. 14 r.



¹ A marginal addition.

² Read from left to right.

³ The text has اخفضها but read اخفضها.

Then the open string (*darb*) and the fingering (*dass*) in the arrangement of the extracting of the notes are according to the places of the letters ا ب ج د (A, B, J, D) which are placed upon the string. Then the open string is where ا ب (A, B, W, H) are, and the fingering with the *sabbāba* is where ز (Z) and ج (J) are, and with the *binṣir* where ح (H)¹ and د (D) are. And the arrangement of the notes ² is according to the arrangement of the letters; it removes with them where they remove.

Then concerning the string upon which is one letter, in it is an indication that it is alone [with the open string]³ without fingering. And by that you know that as for the *dīl*, there is but one note in it, which is the lowest of the notes. And like it is the *ramal* in its being alone with one note. You play upon both of them [the *dīl* and the *ramal*], but there is no fingering. And in each [of the strings] of the *māya* and the *ḥusain* are three notes, one with the open string,⁴ and two with fingering with the *sabbāba* and the *binṣir*. Then when you know the positions of these notes, and the playing of them has become ingrained in you, and your hand runs over them in the strings without hesitation, there becomes easy to you the taking-hold of what you wish from the string[s] by means of the eight letters, ا ب ج د [&c.] (A, B, J, D [&c.]).

And the custom runs in putting foremost the metre (*baḥr*) of the *ramal*⁵ in learning on account of its primitive character (lit. 'the nearness of its source'), and its simplicity (lit.

¹ The text has ج (J).

² In the text, this phrase وترتيب النغمات, through a slip of the copyist, is repeated.

³ A marginal addition.

⁴ The text has an omission mark here, but there is nothing to correspond in the margin, and there does not appear to be a hiatus in the matter dealt with.

⁵ The *ramal* poetic metre has no connection with the *ramal* musical mode.

‘the fewness of its troubles’). And it is the metre which is composed from six seven-lettered feet (*ajzā*), and they are *fā’ilātun* six times. Into the last foot of its first hemistich (*‘arūd*) and the last foot of its second hemistich (*ḍarb*), there enters the deviation (*zihāf*), changing the seven-lettered feet, which is *fā’ilātun* [— ∼ —], into the five-lettered which is *fā’ilun* [— ∼ —]. Fol. 15

And the discourse about that is simple in respect to what is aimed at. And the arrangement of it from the letters د ج ب ا (A, B, J, D), in the extracting of it from the strings, will be perfect of measure (*wazn*). And the notes are thus :—

ح ب ا ج د ج ب ا ج د ج ب ا ب ج د ج ا ب ج د ج ا ج د ج ب ا
د ا ب ج (A B J D J A B J D J A B B A B J D J J A B J
D J A B J D B A A H).

This is the first verse in its perfection.

And in the second verse there is some difference in the first and last, thus :—

ب ب ا ج د ج ب ا ج د ج ب ا ب ج د ج ا ج د ج ب ا ه و ه (H W
H A B J D J A B B A B J D J A B J D J A B B).

Then the last foot of its first hemistich (*‘arūd*), and the last foot of its second hemistich (*ḍarb*) are agreeing in the production according to this operation. So take note.¹

And in the learning of the taking-hold of the notes from the strings mentioned, and the learning of their places, and their conformability,² man becomes acquainted with the management (*taqwīm*) of the lute (*‘ūd*), without needing a master in that nor a rule (*qā’ida*). Yet there is no harm in the mention of a rule in regard to that, by which he may obtain assistance in its management before knowing the places of the notes. And this is that you should grasp the *māya* first [because] it is upon a mean scale (*tabaqa*). Then you place

¹ نفس or فقس.

² ملايتها ?

your *sabbāba* (first finger) upon the place of the *binṣir* (third finger) in it [the *māya* string], and you place the *binṣir* where the position necessitates after that. Then it will be the interval of the *ramal*. Then correct it [the *binṣir* finger] according to it [the *ramal* note] until it agrees with it.¹ Then you place your *sabbāba* upon the *husain* [string] in its proper place according to usage, and you place after it the *binṣir* in its place, then it will be the interval of the *dīl*, except that it is a *shaiḥh*, but correct it [the finger] upon it [the string] until the *shābb* of the *husain* agrees with the *shaiḥh* of the *dīl*.² Fol. 16.

And you must put forward the management of the *dīl* upon a mean scale, and you place your *sabbāba* upon its place in it [the *dīl*], then it will be the interval of the *māya*. Then correct it [accordingly]. Then go over the rest of the performance as before.

Then between the *dīl* and the *māya* (is the interval of a tone (*tanī*), and between the *māya* and the *ramal*) is a fourth, and between the *ramal* and the *husain* is the interval of a tone. Then the ratio of [the *dīl*] to the *ramal* is like the ratio of the *māya* to the *husain*.³

¹ Meaning, shift the finger until it is in tune with the open *ramal* string.

² The note of the *dīl* (= C) is called the "old man" (*shaiḥh*) whilst its octave on the *husain* string is named the "young man" (*shābb*). The old classical names for these were *saḥāh* (*shuhā*) and *ṣiyyāh* respectively.

³ The text has, owing to the marginal correction, got slightly mixed here. It reads as follows:

فبين الدیل والماية (margin) بعد طنى وبين العاية والرمل والحسين
بعد بالاربع وبين الرمل والحسن بعد طنى فنسبته [الدیل] من الرمل كنسبه الماية
من الحسين

"Then between the *dīl* and the *māya* (is the interval of a tone, and between the *māya* and the *ramal*) and the *ramal* and the *husain* the interval of a fourth, and between the *ramal* and the *husain* the interval of a tone. Then the ratio of [the *dīl*] to the *ramal* is like the ratio of the *māya* to the *husain*."

The words in brackets are from the margin, and clearly the words that follow *والحسين* and *الرمل* are redundant. I have made the translation agree with my revision of the text. The word *tanī* is rather unusual. The general term is *tanīn*.

And as for the arrangement of the string according to its composition in position (*mauḍa'*) it has been indicated by four letters, and they are د ح م ر (D, H, M, R). Then the د (D) is for *dīl*, and it is the leading one. And the ح (H) is for *ḥusain*, and it is next to it. And the م (M) is for *māya*, and it is the third. And the ر (R) is for *ramal*, and it is the fourth of them.

And contemplating these letters so far as concerns the mode of their arrangement in position (*waḍ'*), first their number and every letter of them is taken from the first string mentioned. . . .¹ more desirable, and on his authority, may Allāh bless him, he said that all which turns upon the tongues of the different sorts of melodious sound (*talḥīn*), according to the difference of their kinds, and they all go back to the five principal modes (*uṣūl*) of the elements (*tubū'*) and what branch out from them. [And the branch modes (*furū'*)] are nineteen. They branch out from four principal modes (*uṣūl*), and they are, *dīl*, and *zaidān*, and *mazmūm*, and *māya*. And there does not branch out from the fifth [principal mode (*aṣl*)], which is *gharībat al-muḥarrar*, anything. Fol. 16 v

In the branching from the *dīl* are six branch modes, and they are, *ramal al-dīl*, and *'irāq al-'arab*, and *muḥannab al-dīl*, and *raṣd al-dīl*, and *istihlāl al-dīl*.² And those which branch out from the *zaidān* are six, and they are, *ḥijāz al-kabīr*, and *ḥijāz al-mashriqī*, and *'ushshāq*, and *ḥiṣār*, and *iṣbahān*, [and] *zaurankand*.³ And those which branch out from the *māya* are four, and they are, *ramal al-māya*, and *inqilāb al-ramal*, and *ḥusain*, and *raṣd*. And those which branch out from the

¹ There is a folio or folios missing here. This is a great loss, because an author is mentioned whose name would, to some extent, have assisted in fixing the date of the author of the MS.

² Only five out of the six are named, the missing one being, it would seem, *'irāq al-'ajam*.

³ Cf. *zaukand* (Ibn al-Khaṭīb), *zīrāfkand* (Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min'), and *zīrakḡand* (below).

mazmūm are three, and they are, *gharībat al-ḥusain*, and *mashriqī*, and *ḥamdān* . . .

And these four principal modes (*uṣūl*) are dependent on the four elements (*tubū'*),¹ the *fiery*, and the *watery*, and the *airy*, and the *earthy*. Then that which prevails upon the owner of the *fiery* is the *yellow bile*, and there moves him of the principal modes (*uṣūl*),² *mazmūm*, and its branch modes (*furū'*) are three, and *gharībat al-muḥarrar*, which is a principal mode without a branch mode. And that which prevails upon the owner of the *watery* is the *phlegm*, and the owner of it is moved by *zaidān*, and its branch modes are six. And that which prevails upon the owner of the *airy* is the *blood*, and the owner of it is moved by *māya*, and its branch modes are four. And that which prevails upon the owner of the *earthy* is the *black bile*, and the owner of it is moved by *dīl*, and its branch modes are six. Fol. 17.

And they have placed the principal modes of the elements³ and their branching according to the picture of a tree, in which appears every principal mode and what branches out from it visibly. And the picture of that is as you will see, Please Allāh, Praised be him. Here is the figure."⁴

§ 2

[THE NATURES, ELEMENTS, AND MODES]

By Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Salmānī

This poem is contained in the same volume as the preceding treatise on the lute which I have entitled the *Ma'rifat al-naḡhamāt al-thamān*, and immediately follows it, being

¹ The text has *ṭabā'i'* ("natures"), but *ṭubū'* ("elements") is intended.

² The text has *ṭubū'* ("elements") but principal modes (*uṣūl*) is intended.

³ The text has *صبوع* in place of *طبوع*.

⁴ The text contains no figure of this "tree". There is a "tree" with "branches" showing principal and branch modes according to the Eastern Arabian musical system to be found in a Bodleian Library MS. (Ouseley, 106). See my *Arabic Musical MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, p. 17.

catalogued by Robles as CCCXXXIV, 3—*Poesía sobre música*. It comprises two folios, and is written in red and green inks in a clear, bold, Maghribī hand, which is certainly different from the hand that penned the preceding treatise. The text is pointed, and there are marginal and other notes in different hands.

The name of Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Salmānī has had a line lightly drawn through it, and an interlineal note added which reads, "Rather by the *shaikh*, the *faqīh*, Sīdī 'Abd al-Wāḥid [ibn Aḥmad] al-Wanṣhirīsī." The latter (d. 1549) was a noted *qāḍī* of Fez, "a majestic poet, and a linguist unrivalled by any of his generation" says Ibn 'Askar (d. 1578), but was better known for his religious verse inspired by, and his commentary on, the doctrines of Mālik ibn Anas. We know from Ibn 'Askar that Ibn al-Wanṣhirīsī was interested in music, and even wrote popular ballads,¹ but the above is a serious poem, and if we compare it with another poem of his, the *Naẓm al-qawā'id*, there does not appear to be much similarity in style. Further, one of the marginal notes calls attention to the fact that the author of the poem omits the customary pious exordium begging for Peace and the mention of the Prophet, a neglect which could scarcely be laid at the door of the *faqīh* Ibn al-Wanṣhirīsī, but which certainly could have been perpetrated by the Freethinker (*zindīq*) Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Salmānī (d. 1374) the *wazīr* of the Nasrids at Granada and the Marīnids at Fez. Finally, it is probable that the manuscript itself dates from the sixteenth century, and if the poem is the work of Ibn al-Wanṣhirīsī (d. 1549), there ought to have been little dubiety about his authorship in the century that he was living in. The manuscript came from Tetuan, a town that was founded by the refugee Granadans in 1492.

The poem has considerable interest not only on account of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, to whom it is ascribed, but because of the

¹ See T. H. Weir, *The Shaikhs of Morocco in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 149.

additional information that it contains about the musical modes of the Western Arabian system.

Translation

“Praise be to Allāh. Ascribed to the *imām*, the learned, Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Salmānī.¹ The mercy of Allāh be upon him. May Allāh be gracious to him.

“The natures² of what are in the world of existence are four,
And like them are the different kinds of elements,³ to
the perspicuous.

Then the first of them is the *Black Bile*, and the *Earth* is its
element ;

And with coldness and dryness the Almighty has particularized it.

And the *Phlegm* [belongs to] the element of *Water*, moist and
cold ;

And the moisture of the heat of the *Air* belonging to the
Blood follows.

The *Yellow Bile* [belongs to] the element of *Fire*. Its heat
consumes

On account of what is in it of dryness through the design
of the Exalted.

Then the note⁴ of the sound⁵ of the *Dhail*⁶ and its branch
modes

Are moved by the *Black Bile*. Take them cantilating.⁷

¹ As pointed out above, the name of this author has been crossed out and an interlineal note added which says : “ Rather by the *shaikh*, the *faqih*, Sidi ‘Abd al-Wāhid al-Wanshirisi.”

² *Ṭabā’i’*. These are the same as the “ humours ” (*akhlāq*) of Al-Kindī, Al-Mas’ūdī, and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’.

³ *Tubā’*.

⁴ *Naqhma*.

⁵ *Ṣaut*.

⁶ It is vocalized with *fatha* ذَيْل but the other treatises, and present day pronunciation, have *dhīl* or *dīl*.

⁷ *Murattil*.

[They are] '*Irāq* and *Ramal al-Dhail*. Then attend to its [the *Dhail*'s] melody ¹

And *Raṣḍ* belongs to it, so observe,² if you are a possessor of sublimity.

And to the *Phlegm* is *Zaidān*, and from it is its *Iṣbahān*.

Permitted also is *Hiṣār* [and] *Zaukand*, as is clear.

And '*Ushshāq* is derived from it. It is good in singing (*ghinā*).

Then there are yet five branch modes connected.³

And *Māya* is a species ⁴ which is played for the people of *Blood*;

And *Raṣḍ*, and *Ramal*, and *Husain* [also], which is clear.

And the *Yellow Bile* belongs to the *Mazmūm*, so reckon its branch modes,

The *Gharīb al-Husain* completing the elements.

And add to it an element from the *Gharīb al-Muḥarrar*;

And it is a principal mode without a branch mode, and there is no doubt that it is lost.

And add the element of *Istihlāl* and *Mashriqī* together,⁵

And the element of '*Irāq al-ʿAjam* [belonging] to *Dhail*.

It becomes manifest.

And do not forget in the company of the elements the *Mujannabā* ⁶

¹ *Lahn*.

² فارصده. A play on the preceding word *raṣḍ*.

³ A marginal note gives a different line, which reads: "And its '*Ushshāq* take, it has gone up, and the singing has become light."

⁴ جنس. Word of text doubtful.

⁵ Here a marginal note has been added which runs: "Pray and beg for peace, in the beginning, for him [the Prophet Muḥammad] who was sent to created things." This was due to the author's neglect to include the customary pious invocations.

⁶ A marginal note says: "And do not forget in its time the morning draught."

And *Ḥamdān* which belong to the *Mazmūm*. Do not let it wander.

Similarly the *Inqilāb al-Ramal* from the element of the *Māya*. It stirs up the affections of companionship and sublimity."

Finished. Praised be to Allāh."

§ 3

[THE MODES]

This fragment is found on the bottom of the last folio of the preceding treatise. It has no author's name and consists of thirteen lines. It is of modern composition, certainly not earlier than the sixteenth century, and is of little value except that some new spellings occur, and some of the names of the modes of the East are introduced. By this time the term *tubū* ("natures") had become attached to the modes themselves, a practice which survives to-day.

Translation

"And of the modes (*tubū*), which seldom have attention paid to them in this country to-day, except that people publish verses about them, are—the *mazmūm*, *zaurankand*, *hiṣār*, *ḥamdān*, *zaidān*, and *mujannabā'l-dhīl*. Then these are added to what has preceded of what are in use, and they are twenty-four. And the modes (*tubū*) amount with other people to three hundred and sixty-six. Seven of them are measures (*awzān*) and they are the *marāsīt*, *duka*, *sīka*, *jarka*, *banjka*, *ḥusain*, *'irāq*, and *kardāniyya* which is named *māhūr*. And of them are *abūsaliq*, *zīrakghand*, *ṣabā*, *muḥsinī*, *rakīb*, *bayātī*, *nīriz*, *shahnāz*, *rahāwī*, *auj al-sīka*, *auj al-'irāq*, *zankula*, and *'ushhairān al-'ajam*, and many [other] modes too long to mention, for they are not fitting for an epitomized book. And in regard to them, enough has been mentioned. And Allāh is the helper towards the truth of the narration in knowledge, and he is our sufficiency, and good is the agent.

And there is no help nor strength but in Allāh, the Exalted, the Great. And may Allāh bless Our Lord Muḥammad and his Family.”

§ 4

KITĀB AL-JUMŪ‘ FĪ ‘ILM AL-MŪSĪQĪ WA’L-ṬUBŪ‘

By ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī

This manuscript is in the Staatsbibliothek at Berlin, and is catalogued by Ahlwardt as No. 5521 (Lbg. 516, fols. 3–6). It was written in the year 1650, and it appears to be a versified reproduction by the above author of theories contained in an older treatise or treatises on music. It comprises four folios, and is written in a Maghribī hand, the earlier pages of which contain copious marginalia. It is by no means an easy manuscript to read and understand, although the author prides himself that his verses are “without equal”.

It is divided into twenty-three verse sections of varying length as follows :—

1. Introduction.
- 2 to 4. Rhythm (*īqā‘*).
5. Melody (*lahn*).
6. Pitch (*kammīyyāt*).
- 7 to 13. Intervals (*ab‘ād*).
- 14 & 15. Genres (*ajnās*).
- 16 to 23. Notes (*naḡham*), Modes (*tubū‘*), Natures (*tabā‘i‘*).

It is these last verses, as well as certain of the marginalia, that particularly concern us here, and a translation of them is appended.

Translation

16. THE NOTES AND THEIR NATURES

“The modes¹ are related to the elements.² You perceive them on listening.

¹ *Tubū‘*.

² *Tibā‘*.

Then the *Dh̄il* with its branch modes [correspond] to the *Black Bile*.

And *Māya* is the *Air*. It does not pass away.

Like that, *Mazmūm* is the nature of *Fire*, and its opposite *Zaidān* is flowing *Water*.

But *Gharībat al-Muḥarrar* is a principal mode without a branch mode in the disposition of him who perceives it.

17. THE BRANCH MODES OF *DH̄IL*

Create *Marṣad al-Dh̄il*, then *Ramal al-Dh̄il*, each of the branch modes of *Dh̄il*.

And thus its *Istihlāl* and *Mashriqī*, along with the two '*Irāqs*. Like that it is verified.

18. THE BRANCH MODES OF *MĀYA*

Raṣd and *Husain* [and] *Ramal al-Māya*. Next *Inqilāb al-Ramal*; and it is the end.

19. THE BRANCH MODES OF *MAZMŪM*

Mazmūm also. To it are two branch modes—*Gharībat al-Husain* along with *Hamdān*.

20. THE BRANCH MODES OF *ZAIDĀN*

Its branch modes are *Hijāz*, *Hijāzī*, along with *Hiṣār*, learned by experience (by the one who penetrates).

Similarly *Iṣbahān* [and] '*Ushshāq*, for thus the experts have arranged them.

21. ON WHAT ARE NOT RELATED TO ONE ANOTHER

The *Dh̄il*, *Māya*, and *Mazmūm*, and similarly their fourth [*Zaidān*] which is well known.

In a part of them there is an interval which may be joined to some, except that it be high or low.

22. WHAT ARE RELATED TO ONE ANOTHER BY A SOFT [GENRE]

And they are *Ḥijāz* and *Inqilāb al-Ramal*. Similarly *Māya* and *Raṣd al-Dhīl*.

And [then] it is *Iṣbahān*, then *Ḥusain*, and so on. There is not in it a separation.

23. WHAT ARE RELATED TO ONE ANOTHER BY A MEDIUM

And that is like the two *Raṣds* and the two '*Irāqs*, and partly *Dhīl* and '*Ushshāq*."

MARGINALIA ON THE LUTE AND REBEC

The marginalia that have been referred to contain details of the *accordatura* of the lute (*ūd*) and the rebec (*rabāb*) which have considerable interest. Whether these latter refer to contemporary practice is not easy to say. They may have been derived from Al-Fārābī (d. 950).

Translation

"Praise be to Allāh. The four strings of the lute are the *bamm*, *mathlath*, *mathnā*, and *zīr*. And these four strings come together at the nut (*anf*) of the lute, and it is the narrow place. And they [the strings] are wide apart at the bridge-tailpiece (*musht*). . . . And the custom is that they name the lowest of those [notes] in the octave the *sajāḥ*, and the highest the *ṣiyyāḥ*. And they sometimes mean by these two names the ends of what are in the 5th and 4th.

As for the *muṭlaq* (open string) of the *bamm*, its note is named the *thaqīlat al-mafrūdāt*. And its *sabbāba* (first finger note) is the *thaqīlat al-ra'īsāt*. And its *binṣir* (third finger note) is named the *wāsiṭat al-ra'īsāt*. And its *khinṣir* (fourth finger note), which is [identical with] the *muṭlaq* of the *mathlath*, is the *ḥāddat al-ra'īsāt*. And the *sabbāba* of the *mathlath* is the *thaqīlat al-awsāt*. And its *binṣir* is the *wāsiṭat al-awsāt*. And its *khinṣir*, which is [identical with] the *muṭlaq* of the *mathnā*, is the *ḥāddat al-awsāt*. And its *sabbāba*

is the *wuṣṭā*. And its *binṣir* is the *fāṣilat al-wuṣṭā*. And its *khinṣir*, which is [identical with] the *muṭlaq* of the *zīr*, is the *thaqīlat al-munfaṣilāt*.

And the *sabbāba* of the *zīr* is the *wāṣitat al-munfaṣilāt*. And its *binṣir* is the *ḥāddat al-munfaṣilāt*. And its *khinṣir* is the *thaqīlat al-ḥāddāt*.”¹

The names given to the various notes in the above extract are derived from Greek theory, and are to be found in the Disjunct System which the Arabs called the *Jam' al-munfaṣila*. These names are to be found in Al-Fārābī (d. 950),² Al-Khwārizmī (tenth century),³ Ibn Zaila (d. 1048),⁴ Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294),⁵ and others. The finger nomenclature of these theorists is, however, different from that in the Maghribī treatise. The *wuṣṭā* finger not being used in the Maghribī, its place is taken by the *binṣir*. Here is a table of the Arabic names of the notes with the Greek equivalents.

Arabic Name.	[Greek Name.]	Finger Name.	[Note.]
<i>Thaqīlat al-maf-rūqāt</i>	προσλαμβανόμενος	<i>Bamm.</i> Mutlaq	A
<i>Thaqīlat al-ra'isāt</i>	ὑπάτη ὑπατῶν	„ Sabbāba	B
<i>Wāṣitat al-ra'isāt</i>	παρυπάτη ὑπατῶν	„ Binsir	C
<i>Ḥāddat al-ra'isāt</i>	λιχανὸς ὑπατῶν	<i>Mathlath.</i> Mutlaq	D
<i>Thaqīlat al-awsāt</i>	ὑπάτη μέσων	„ Sabbāba	E
<i>Wāṣitat al-awsāt</i>	παρυπάτη μέσων	„ Binsir	F
<i>Ḥāddat al-awsāt</i>	λιχανὸς μέσων	<i>Māṭhnā.</i> Mutlaq	G
<i>Wuṣṭā</i>	μέση	„ Sabbāba	a
<i>Fāṣilat al-wuṣṭā</i>	παράμεσος	„ Binsir	b
<i>Thaqīlat al-mun-faṣilāt</i>	τρίτη διεξευγμένων	<i>Zīr.</i> Mutlaq	c
<i>Wāṣitat al-mun-faṣilāt</i>	παρὰνήτη διεξευγμένων	„ Sabbāba	d
<i>Ḥāddat al-mun-faṣilāt</i>	νήτη διεξευγμένων	„ Binsir	e
<i>Thaqīlat al-ḥāddāt</i>	τρίτη ὑπερβολαίων	„ <i>Khinsir</i>	f

The instrument described here is not the old single octave instrument as seen in the *Ma'rifat al-naghamāt al-thamān*

¹ The text has *thaqīlat al-munfaṣilāt*, which is an error.

² Kosegarten, *Lib. cant.*, 61-2.

³ Van Vloten, *Liber mafatih al-olum*, 244.

⁴ Brit. Museum MS., Or. 2361, fol. 226.

⁵ Carra de Vaux, *Le traité des rapports musicaux*, 48.

treatise tuned C.D.G.a., but the classical two octave lute tuned in fourths, A.D.G.c.

As for the marginal note on the rebec (*rabāb*), it runs as follows :—

“ Praised be to Allāh. To the rebec are two strings, and one of them, and it is the soft (*raqīq*) one, is the *māya*, and the second is the *ramal*, and it is a low note (*shaiikh*). And its octave (*shabāb*) is the *māya* fingered with the *binşir* (third finger).¹ And when it is fingered with the *wustā* (second finger) it agrees with the fingering with the *binşir* in the lute. And the open note (*fāriqh*) is like the open note [in the lute]. And the *binşir* in the *ramal* resembles the *dhīl* in the lute, both low (*shaiikh*) and high (*shabāb*). And the *wustā* in it is like the *sabbāba* of the *husain* in the lute. And the *sabbāba* in the *ramal* also is like the open string of the *husain* in the lute.”

From this we see that the two strings of the Maghribī rebec in the mid-seventeenth century were tuned a fifth apart (G-D : *Ramal-Māya*). They were tuned a fifth apart in the eighteenth century,² and it is the same to-day.³

¹ The correspondences refer to the Maghribī lute described in the *Ma'rifat al-naghamāt al-thamān* treatise.

² Hüst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes* (1781), Tab. xxxi.

³ Salvador-Daniel, *La Musique arabe* (1879), 81. Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, v, 2924.

A Sumerian Hymn to Ishtar (Innini) and the Deified Ishme-Dagan

By S. LANGDON

ISHME-DAGAN, fourth king of the Isin dynasty, reigned twenty years (2237-18), but concerning the history of his reign little is known. He appears in all known references to him as "the god Ishme-Dagan", in accordance with the prevalent custom of emperor-worship in the periods of the third dynasty of Ur and the succeeding dynasties of Isin and Ellasar. Although all the fifteen kings of Isin and the fourteen kings of Ellasar have Semitic names, and both dynasties are certainly Semitic, their religion was Sumerian; the deification and worship of kings are characteristic of Sumerian religion, and fundamentally opposed to Semitic religious conceptions.

This hymn from the Nippur collection in Constantinople, published by Professor Edward Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, Crozer Theological Seminary, *Babylonian Publications*, vol. i, No. 36, contains two sections, A, 1-44; B, 45-60. Section A describes the functions which the gods bestowed upon Ishtar; patroness of government and companion of the divine king, she appears specifically as the planet Venus as in the similar hymn to her and Idin-Dagan, father of Ishme-Dagan, JRAS. 1926, 15-42 = Chiera, *Crozer*, No. 1.¹ The hymn then takes up the praise of the "god Ishme-Dagan". Innini and Ishme-Dagan are placed on the same level as divine beings (l. 40), and their functions are determined by Enlil and Ninlil; Innini is commanded to declare, "Ishme-Dagan thou art" for ever. This declaration in l. 44 seems to refer to the literal meaning of *dingir išme-dagan me-en* "Thou

¹ Also edited by P. Maurus Witzel, *Keilinschriftliche Studien*, Heft 6 (1929), pp. 1-47. His reading *nu-'u-gig* = *ḫadištu* "hierodule" is undoubtedly correct.

art the divine one, Dagan has heard". Ishme-Dagan is called the son of the god Dagan in PBS. v, 66 : v, 6-7 ; and x², 9, i, 19 (p. 143) ; but son of Enlil, PSBA. 1918, 54, 15 ; PBS. x, 181, 29 ; 184, 30 ; Genouillac, *Textes Cunéiforms*, xv, No. 22, 20 ; 18, 25.

Section B is a hymn to Ekur of Nippur, abode of Enlil, Ninlil, and Ninurta ; the shepherd (Ishme-Dagan) is the custodian of Ekur, he who was begotten by Enlil and Ninlil.

Concerning the history of the reign of Ishme-Dagan few texts are available.

(1) Stamped brick from Ur, CT. 21, 20 = Thureau-Dangin, VAB. i, 206, No. 5. Custodian of Nippur, defender of Ur, *uddagub* of Eridu, lord of Erech, king of Isin, king of Sumer and Accad, husband of Innini.

(2) Stone bowl dedicated to him, *lugal* ì-[si-in-(ki)-na], by Mudada ; from Ur. *Ur Excavations*, i, No. 101.

(3) Stone bowl dedicated by him to Nannar ; from Ur. *Ibid.*, No. 102. Same titles as in (1).

(4) Diorite statue dedicated by his son Enannatum to Ningal ; from Ur. *Ibid.*, No. 103. His son was *en* ^d.Nannar, high priest of Nannar in Ur. [An inscription from Ur mentions this same son of Ishme-Dagan and high priest of Nannar, CT. 21, 21, 90166 ; another inscription shows that he was a priest of the wife ¹ of Nannar and also high priest of Nannar under Gungunu, king of the Ellasar dynasty, who was a contemporary of the two successors of Ishme-Dagan. VAB. i, 206, C 6.]

(5) Year dates taken from tablets excavated at Ur, *Ur Excavations*, Nos. 216-20, which contain no historical information.

It is remarkable that the liturgical hymns in the cult of this king are so prolific and extensive, and his historical remains so meagre. Genouillac, RA. 25, 142 (1928) has collected the references to all the published hymns and liturgies of the cult

¹ *zirru*, *zir alti* ^d.Sin, Langdon, SBP. 152, 13.

of Ishme-Dagan.¹ P. Maurus Witzel, *Keilinschriftliche Studien*, Heft 7 (1930), believes that he has been able to unite all of the Ishme-Dagan liturgies published by Chiera and myself into one great liturgy. In doing this he puts together those which have the *kišub* rubrics (PBS. x⁴, No. 1 + Chiera, *Crozer*, 40 and 50; Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 200), the *sasudda* rubrics (PBS. x², No. 14, Chiera, *Crozer*, No. 3; see now Genouillac, No. 18, and No. 22), and the great texts (PBS. x², No. 9, and x⁴, No. 2), which have no rubrics at all. This is clearly impossible, although the four-column tablet with the first six *kišubs*, PBS. x², No. 1, may well be the beginning of a great liturgy of which Zimmern, KL. 4, No. 200, has the twelfth *kišub* on a two-column tablet.

Witzel, in editing these texts, says that he is the first to edit KL. No. 200. But this had been done in 1918, or twelve years before, by the writer, PSBA. 1918, 52-6, and by Ludwig Kinscherf, *Orientalistische Studien*, Fritz Hommel . . . gewidmet, 98-109 (1917), which appeared after my edition. Père Witzel writes with great confidence about his success in editing these difficult texts, and beyond doubt he has made some useful remarks.

He has also edited Chiera, *Crozer*, No. 36, pp. 44-9, with elaborate notes, pp. 101-11. It is not easy to be confident about the interpretations of these texts, and different views are permissible. But Witzel writes with such extreme confidence, and so derogatory of other scholars, that it is clearly obligatory to point out those lines which he demonstrably misunderstood. In editing texts of this kind no Sumerologist can claim finality but one thing he must prove, and that is a complete knowledge of all the Accadian grammatical help available. There is no other way to obtain finality, and it is also necessary to know the literature on the

¹ Genouillac does not note that Chiera, *Crozer*, No. 40, restores my PBS. x², No. 1, Col. I, 13-33, with three more fragmentary lines, end of the first *kišub*. I have not seen Genouillac's second volume of *Textes religieux sumériens*, containing AO. 9075, invocation to Ishme-Dagan.

texts ; for every good scholar is likely to discover the correct interpretation of some lines if not all of them.

L. 2. *nig-nam-e di-di* or *sá-di* is rendered by him "deciding all fates". *nig-nam* never means "all fates", but only *mimma šum-šu*, "anything," nor does *di-di* ever mean *šámu*, "to fix (fates)," or *dánu*, "to give judgment." His translation implies *ša kal šimāti išīmu*, which cannot be the Accadian for the Sumerian text. He does not mention the variant parallel *sa-di*.

L. 6. *gab-ri-ni-šú nu-gub-bu* is rendered "wherein she has no rival". But "to have no rival" in Sumerian is *gab-ri-nu-tuk*, and the compound preposition *gabri . . . šú* occurs in CT. 3, 36, 70, *gab-ri é^a.Ninmar(ki)-ka-šú*, "Before the temple of Ninmar," over against. No meaning for *nu-gub-bu* other than *ša la ikkalú* seems possible here. Cf. CT. 16, 3, 125 ; 16, 11, vi, 1 = *Journal of Victoria Institute*, 1893, p. 34, l. 16 ; ZA. 10, 197, 15-16, to cite only those passages where *DU* = *kalú* certainly has the value *gub*. *NI* is read *zal* and given the meaning "entirely attributed to", and *im-ma* taken for the verbal prefixes. But *zal* never has this meaning, and this hymn uses no finite verbs in ll. 1-14.

L. 8, the sign *UD* is corrected to *ub*. Zimmern, KL. 200, 5, has *ub-da-tab-tab-ba* in a wholly different passage, and *ud-da tab-tab-ba* makes perfectly good sense. The word is constantly used in medicine and was discussed by Ebeling, *Keilschrifttafeln medizinischen Inhalts, Archiv. für Geschichte der Medizin*, xiii, p. 5, and Thompson, RA., 26, 49, n. 4. Ebeling renders "heat of the crisis", Thompson "heat of the day". In no case can this be the sense here ; for Venus is a morning and evening star. *šīti* = *udda* may have the usual sense, "rising", and *himit šīti*, "heat or warmth of the sun rise." K. 9123, 5-6 (RA. 17, 162) enters the word twice, but the Accadian is lost.

L. 9 is read *giš-giš-e-lal-e* and rendered "fighting", probably from *giš-giš-lal* = *tukuntu*, "battle." It is difficult to dis-

tinguish *giš* from *nigin* in these texts, and I do not oppose this reading.

L. 13. *ě-dé*, or *ě-ne*, is rendered "passed through", but *ed*, *ě*, has no such meaning. Rather *ed* = *kunnû*, RA. 12, 84, 55; 11, 152, 45.

L. 23. *nam-balag-la* is impossible, and from the parallelism (ll. 24-5) *nam-KI-EL-la* the most probable reading. Witzel reads *túg-zi-da túg-túg*, and takes *túg* for *tug*, *tuk* = *zamāru*; he supplies "Ishtar" in the translation after *nam-guruš-e*, a violent procedure. I do not understand these lines. *túg* = *zamāru* is possible. See OECT. vi, 3, n. 2.

Ll. 24-5. *e-ne-di* is rendered "support", and defended by the remark *e-ne-di* "they come to them". But the context shows that *enedi* is an infinitive; ll. 19-26 all contain infinitives, objects of the verb in l. 27. All these infinitives are rendered as finite verbs by Witzel.

L. 32. *galu nig-á-zi* means *šēnu*, "wicked." Witzel states, p. 104, that he does not know this word. *galu nig-á-zi* = *ša [ši-e-]nim*, PBS. v, 144, 13. *nig-á-zi* = *šēnu*, CT. 19, 27, K. 2061, 15; *nig-á-zi-ga-ka*, Gudea, St. B 7, 56; *nig-á-zi*, "violence, wickedness"; CT. 4, 3 a 37; *nig-á-zi-šú nu-ag*, Thureau-Dangin, *Nouvelles Fouilles*, p. 214, Col. ii, 6; *nig-á-zi-ga*, PBS. x, 147, Rev. i, 2, translated also by Witzel himself, KS. 7, p. 60. Also RA. 9, 112, i, 13. None the less, the author translates "a man of good fortune", and *inim-gál* is said to mean "to commission", hence "a man of good fortune who was commissioned". *inim-gál*, or *dúg-gál*, always means "to make a complaint".

L. 36. *šú* cannot be used after the adverbial or participial ending *ám*.

L. 37. *ud* is unnoticed, in the transcription.

L. 45. Genouillac, RA. 25, 142, transcribed this almost correctly, 1928, or two years before.

L. 48. LI has value *en* here. See Poebel, ZA. 38, 82. Ninurta is read *Ninib* by Witzel, certainly to be abandoned.

L. 49. *túm-ma* is rendered "poured upon", but this is

impossible. The phrase clearly means *ša ana . . . šúluku*, "who was made fit for," a very common expression; Hrozný, *Ninrag*, 16, 18; Langdon, *Paradis*, 48, 33, et passim.

L. 57. *uru-ul*, not *uru-dú*, as explained by the syllabary. See my note.

Chiera, *Crozer*, i, 36.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. [^d <i>Innini</i> dumu-sal] ^d <i>Sin-na-ka</i> | 1. Ishtar daughter of Sin, |
| 2. <i>me-uku-[e] si-a nig-nam-e sa-di</i> ¹ | 2. Entrusted with the decrees of peoples, directing all things, |
| 3. <i>an-na me-dīb-dīb-bi ki-a me-ūr-ūr-e</i> | 3. Holding the decrees in heaven, on earth executing decrees, |
| 4. <i>il-la-lu</i> ² <i>sag-an-ni è-a</i> | 4. <i>Bearer of exuberance</i> (?), rising above all, |
| 5. <i>me-lám-a-ni izi-sud</i> ³ -e <i>il-la-gim gig-á-na bilgi</i> | 5. Causing her splendour to shine as one that carries a torch during the night. |
| 6. <i>an-na me gab-ri-ni-šú nu gub-bu e-ne-ra im-ma-ni</i> | 6. In heaven decrees before her are unrestrained for her in her rising. ⁴ |
| 7. ^d <i>Innini-ra an bul-bul-e ki sīg-sīg-ge . . . gi</i> | 7. For Ishtar heaven trembles, earth quakes, . . . |
| 8. <i>ud-da tab-tab-ba šu-ni gál-li nam-egi gal-li ag</i> | 8. Holding the morning light in her hand, grandly exercising queenly power, |

¹ *nig-nam-e sa-di*, PBS. v, 66, vi, 11. For *si-di* = *mušteširu*? Or *sá-sá* = *mušaršidu*? *mušakšidu*?

² The same word on a Nippur text in Constantinople, *il-la-lu tūr-ra-ám a-rá maḡ-am*. Witzel reads *il-la-dīb*, "hoch schreitend."

³ *ṭiparu*, BA. v, 708, 4; OECT. vi, 19, K. 5001, 2.

⁴ The root *ed, en* = *ašú*, has a variant *im, imma*, see JRAS. 1926, p. 25, note 11; *UD-DU-me-a, UD-DU-me-a-zu*, RA. 23, 42, No. 12, 4-5. *im-ma* = *šit šamši*, King, *Magic*, 9, 43.

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| 9. <i>mé šen-šen-e ka-dū-e nigin-e
lal-e</i> | 9. Who like a slayer assembles
and joins battle and
conflict (?) |
| 10. <i>nam-ur-sag-bi am-sun-gim
dib-bi¹ á-dú-dú</i> | 10. Her valour like a wild ox
wrathfully gores (?). |
| 11. <i>ùš erim-ma a-gim ki-e-nag-
nag . . . bi gar-gar-e</i> | 11. The blood of the wicked she
causes the earth to drink
like water, . . . their . . . ² |
| 12. <i>erim ? ma- ? -bi nam-ra ? mu
ši . . . bi-bi</i> | 12. . . . |
| 13. <i>kalam ki-ta an-na-šú ě-ne
kalam-kúr ki-šu-bal-e³</i> | 13. The Land from below to
above she cares for ; the
foe of the Land she
overthrows. |
| 14. . . . <i>KU-DŪ gig-gig ud (?)
dib-dib-bi⁴</i> | 14. . . . the darkness dis-
pelling. |
| 15. . . . <i>la-ge-bi kug^a Ininni-ra
mu-na-an-sum-mu-uš</i> | 15. . . . their to holy Ishtar
they gave. |
| 16. . . . <i>a gab-ri nu-mu-ni-in-
tuk-uš</i> | 16. . . . no rival did they cause
her to have. |
| 17. <i>é . . . amá ki-gà-gà⁵ sag-
e-eš mu-ni-PA + KAB-
DU-eš</i> | 17. To found the house . . . ,
the harem, they confided
unto her as her gift. |
| 18. <i>dam . . . sum-mu ur-bi
dug-gi nam-ku mu-ni-in-
tar-ri-eš⁶</i> | 18. To give . . . , all together
they kindly decreed a
great fate for her ; — |

¹ The meaning of the last five signs is difficult. In CT. 11, 3 A 29, *TUM* has the value [di-]ib, restored from 46506, 5. Hence *dib-bi* = *aggiš*. *á-dú-dú* = *nakāpu ša ģarni* ?

² Wholly uncertain.

³ The verb *ki-bal* in the sense *šupēlu*, "to change," overthrow, occurs apparently in Langdon, *Paradis*, 252, 61. Cf. *me-ri-zu ki-da-ba-al-la*, Zimmern, *Kulllieder*, 3, Rev. I, 5 and 8.

⁴ *tu-dib* = *rummā*, "to loosen," Br. 1096 ; *tu-tu-dib-bi* = *urtammu*, *Shurpu*, vii, 33, for which Ebeling, KAR. 371, 15, has *UD-dib-bi* = *irtammi*, i.e., *tū-dib-bi*. Perhaps same word here. A meaning *munammirat* is expected here.

⁵ See Langdon, *Paradis*, 42, 3 = KAR. 4.

⁶ Cf. Haupt, ASKT. 104, 7, and for *ku* = *rabā*, AJSL. 39, 171, n. 9.

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| <p>19. <i>ní-tuk-na ki-tuš ki-gar-ra-na</i>
<i>šag-zalag-ga gâ-gâ</i></p> <p>20. <i>ní-nu-tuk-na é-dū-a-na ġur-</i>
<i>šág-gi nu-gâ-gâ</i></p> <p>21. <i>nitág-nunus-a nunus-nitág-</i>
<i>a-bi tu-tu šu-bal šu-a-ag</i>¹</p> <p>22. <i>kiskil-e-ne nam-guruš-e túg-</i>
<i>zi-da mūd-mūd</i>²</p> <p>23. <i>gurus-e-ne nam-kiskil-la-e-šú</i>
<i>túg ġub-bu</i>³ <i>mūd-mūd</i></p> <p>24. <i>eme-nitag-ga sal-e e-ne-di</i></p> <p>25. <i>eme-sal-e nitag-ga e-ne-di</i></p> <p>26. <i>nig-galam-ma gar-gar-gâ</i>
<i>kúr-ra-dúg-gi ib-[gi ?]</i></p> <p>27. <i>^aEn-lil^a.Nin-lil-bi^a.Innini-</i>
<i>ra šu-ni-šú mu-un-gar-</i>
<i>[gar]</i></p> | <p>19. To create a clean heart in him that fears her, in the abode which he builds ;</p> <p>20. Not to create a happy mind in him that fears her not, in the house which he makes ;</p> <p>21. Male and female, female and male to cause to enter in turn ;</p> <p>22. Maidens like men manliness to . . . ;</p> <p>23. Men like maidens to . . . ;</p> <p>24. To cause women to sing in male voice,</p> <p>25. To cause men to sing in female voice ;⁴</p> <p>26. To institute skilful things, to turn away wickedness ;</p> <p>27. Enlil and Ninlil confided to the hand of Ishtar.⁵</p> |
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¹ Cf. *bal* = *šupilu ša zinništi*, CT. 19, 42, 17.

² For *KU*, REC. 468 = *mu-ud*, v. PBS. v, 102, iii, 6. The only combination possible seems to be *túg-mud-mud* = *šubata labāšu*. Cf. RA. 17, 61, 14, *túg lág-lág mūd-mūd-(aš)*, *šubata ibba iltabaš*; see also CT. 16, 11 A 51; *mašak anšili mūd-mūd-(aš)*, Virolleaud, *Astrol. Sin.*, 17. 36. But what is the meaning here ?

³ The sign is REC. 302, but here apparently for *ġub* = *šumēlu*, REC. 116; for it is contrasted with *zid-da* = *imnu*, l. 22. Cf. the Ishme-Dagan hymns, PSBA. 1918, 56, 35; PBS. x, 180, 15.

⁴ *E-NE-DI melultu*, Sm. 526, 22 and 24, in *ki E-NE-DI-ta* = *ašar melulti*, "place of song." S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Texts*, 24. For which var. Radau, *Miscel.*, 15 ii 1 has *KU-HUL-SIR*, i.e. *ešēmen*, CT. 19, 31 A 19. For *E-NE-DI* (*ešēmin*), see CT. 11, 50, 7. Also a reading *e-ne-di* proved by *e-ne-dúg* = *rāšu*, etc., Delitzsch, *Glossar*, 174, after an Assur text.

⁵ Cf. Chiera, *Crozer*, No. 1, Col. i, 24.

28. *é-gal é-nam-nin-[ka-ni] nu-gig-an-na-ra* 28. A "great house", house of her ladyship, for the heavenly harlot,
29. *mu-na-an-ni-ib-[si(g)-eš su-zi im-da-ri-eš* 29. they founded, in *dazzling splendour* they clothed it.
30. *é (?) lugal kur-kur-ra sag-gig-ga in- . . . eš ní me-lám be-sġ (?)* 30. The *temple* of the lord of the lands the dark headed people . . . with fear of splendour *filled*.
31. *sag-gig šu-ri-ri-e-dé dúg-bi šu-ma . . .* 31. To cause the dark-headed people to dwell,¹ their command they . . .
32. *silim uku-šár-ra ² e-di-e-dé zi-ud me . . .* 32. To bless the hosts of the people, days of life . . .
33. *galu nig-á-zi-ka dúg-mi-ni-in-gál-la ù ? gar-[ra-dé]* 33. To turn aside the violent ones, who speak words (untruthful),
34. *kili-ba-bi kug ^a Innini-ra šu-ni-im-mi-in-si-[si-eš]* 34. All these to holy Ishtar they entrusted.
35. *^a Iš-me-^a Da-gan sag-uš muš-nu-túm ³ mu mu-á é sú ? sum ?* 35. Ishme-Dagan, the faithful, the tireless, with . . . endowed,
36. *^a En-lil ^a Nin-lil-bi nu-pad-dam ⁴ túg-mu-na-an-sum-mu-uš* 36. Enlil and Ninlil with unknown *might* have clothed (?)
37. *é dingir-ri-e-ne dū-dū-ù-dé šukum-ud-bi šub-šub-bu-dé ⁵* 37. To build the temples of the gods, to apportion unto them their daily food,

¹ Same sense in CT. 36, 28, 23 = JRAS. 1925, 489. *kalam-ma . . . šu-je-im-ri-ri-e* "May he establish the Land", cause it to occupy as an abode (*šurmá*).

² Cf. *Haupt Anniversary Volume*, 176, 20; JRAS. 1925, 488, l. 9.

³ Var. of Br. 3035. See JRAS. 1929, 372. At end *mu-da-eri sud ?*

⁴ *nu-pad*, "unseen, unfound," not hitherto known. The sign after *dam* is *túg* not *šú*. Moreover the instrumental or adverbial ending *am* (*nu pad-am* = *nu paddam*) cannot be construed with post-fixed *sú*, as Witzel reads.

⁵ See JRAS. 1929, 368, and PBS. x, 248, 6.

38. *gi-gūn-na-bi šen ?-šen ?-e-dé* 38. To adorn their "dark
bara-bi kug-gi-dé chambers", to beautify
 their sanctuaries,
39. *unù-ba tin lál kaš kaš-tin-bi* 39. To maintain their tables
ud-šù-uš gi-ni-dé daily with beer, honey,
 ale, and wine,
40. *^a.Innini ^a.Iš-me-^a.Da-gan-bi* 40. To Innini and Ishme-Dagan
41. *^a.En-lil ^a.Nin-lil-bi sag-e-* 41. Enlil and Ninlil conferred
eš mu-ne-in-PA + KAB- the warrant as (their)
DU-eš gift.
42. *Nibru-(ki) mağ en-nin ba-* 42. In Nippur, the far-famed
dim an-na¹ me-nu-lu² Innini, heavenly builder,
Menulu ;
43. *šag-ba-a kiskil ^a.Innini-ra* 43. therein to the maiden Innini
me mu-na-ni-in-sum-mu- they granted the decrees.
uš
44. *^a.Iš-me-^a.Da-gan me-en da-* 44. "Thou art Ishme-Dagan,"
eri-šu inim-inim-mu-ni- for ever declare.³
gar

¹ Cf. *Babyloniaca*, ii, 244, 33, *be-de-ma an-na*. Cf. Hilprecht, OBI. 2, 9.

² Cf. titles of Ishtar, *me-nu-a-ni*, CT. 25, 44, Sm. 1558, 9 = 17 ii 16, *me-a-ni ! me-nu-a-zu, me-nu-a-ru, me-nu-am-nu-u me-nu-i-li*, *ibid.*, 17-18, 26-7. These are, however, clearly Semitic names. *me-nu-a-ni* = *me-nu-an-nim*, CT. 24, 41, 80. "Fate of yes," Ishtar as goddess of fate. See *mi-nu-ú-an-ni, mi-nu-ú-ul-la*, "Fate of yes," "Fate of no," JRAS. 1930, 26, n. 1. *me-nu-amnū*, "I have decreed fate," verbal phrase inflected as a noun. For *me-nu-a-zu*, the Var. Sm. 1558, 10, has *me-nu-a-du*, which gives the impression that the scribe wished to use *idū*, "to know," for *zu* ! *me-nu-a-ru* = *šārikat meni* ? Cf. *me-nu-ġen*, RA. 16, 75, No. 14, l. 9. [In my discussion of *manītu*, "fate," JRAS. 1930, 25, it was expressly stated that *ṭābu* is construed with *šāru*, masculine, and not with *manītu*. Meissner, AOF. vi, 108, does not state my argument correctly, and unjustly charges me with construing *ṭābu* with *manītu*. I think he did not intend to do this, but it is, as it stands, a serious misrepresentation. Moreover, the syllabary cited by him which gives *manītu* = *šāru* in no way proves his argument, for "wind" came to mean "omen", by its function in divination. Meissner, however, himself states, MAOG. i, 2, p. 39, "*manītu* ist übrigens kein Feminin, sondern Masculin." What then does he mean in AOF. vi, 108 ?] See *Addenda*.

³ A similar meaning for *inim-gar* in Langdon, OECT. i, 56, 28.

45. *éš Nibru(ki) éš-zu éš a-ab-si-a é-kur zagin-ám* 45. O abode of Nippur thy abode is an abode full of . . ., Ekur the beautiful.
46. *nun-zu nun a-ab-si-a kur-gal a-a ^a.En-lil* 46. Thy prince is a prince full of . . ., the great mountain, father Enlil.
47. *nin-gal ¹-zu nunus-zi(d) ama ^a.Nin-lil nam-egir-e dib-ba-ám* 47. Thy queen, the faithful woman, is mother Ninlil, who has "taken hold" of queenly power.
48. *sag-én-tar-zu nam-šul-la si-a ur-sag ^a.Nin-urta* 48. Thy minister is the valiant Ninurta, he that is full of valour,
49. *sukkal-maġ zabar-zi-za túm-ma á-zi-nad-zu dug-dug* 49. Thy far-famed messenger, worthy of thy glory (?), making glad thy bridal couch,²
50. *sag-sir ³ me-zi-za en-nu-kar-kar-dam* 50. Director of thy faithful decrees, keeping watch over them.⁴

¹ *nin-gal* = *šarratu*, "queen," is the only possibility if the text is right. Aruru is called *nin-gal* ^a*Mullil-lá*, JSOR. iii, 15, Rev. 16.

² *á-ki-nad*, probably identical with *á-nad*, Gud. Cyl. B, 5, 12; JSOR. iii, 15, 18; the *é-nun-kug* of Ningal is called the *á-nad-da* of Sin, *Ur Excavations*, 111, 35. *dug* is taken for *ṭábu*. Also *šar* = *naḥāšu*, possible. He that makes luxurious. Perhaps also *dug* = *riḥú* "Begotten on thy bridal couch".

³ See PBS. x, 260, n. 3.

⁴ Some similar meaning must be assigned to this new phrase. From *kar-kar* = *mutirru*, iv, R. 40, i, 9, and *ennun-mal-ni in-na-an-gur* = *mašarta-šu uterri*, "He restored what was in his keeping," II Raw. 9, 2-4, a sense "to restore the safety of", may be possible. If so, the passage may refer to Ninurta as the avenger of his father Enlil in the old Sumerian myth of creation. Marduk is the *mutir salime ša ilāni rabūti*, "Restorer of the peace of the great gods," iv, R. 40, i, 9, obviously referring to the Epic of Creation. On Ninurta the *mutirru* of Enlil, see also CT. 36, 29, Rev. 14, in JRS. 1925, 493, and Ebeling, KAR. 307, Rev. 22, Ninurta *ša gimilli abi-šu utirru*. Hence perhaps here Ninurta "who restored the safety of thy faithful decrees", restored the authority of Enlil after his battle with the dragons.

51. *sipa me-zi-za en-nu-kar-kar-bi-im* 51. The shepherd, is the guardian (?) of thy faithful decrees,
52. *ú-a-zu a-ru-a¹ kur-gal ù-tu-da^a Nin-lil-lá* 52. Thy custodian, begotten by the great Mountain, born of Ninlil, (that is)
53. *^aIš-me-^aDa-gan a-ru-a kur-gal ù-tu-da^a Nin-lil-lá* 53. Ishme-Dagan, begotten by the great Mountain, born of Ninlil,
54. *kalam-šár-šár-ra² ba-na mu-mağ-gir³ za kug-ga-ám* 54. He who has made wide the Land; glorious is thy far-famed and mighty name.
55. *Nibru (ki) zag-sal-zu šá-dúg-gi⁴ dú-ám KA-BIL⁵ ġe-en-ğál* 55. In Nippur to praise thee in season is fitting; daily (?) may it be.
56. *dúg-ga-zi-zu ad dingir-dingir A-nun-na⁶ ġe-im-ma-lág-lág-gi-eš* 56. Thy sure commands the Anunnaki have established . . .
57. *éš Nibru(ki) uru-ul⁷ me ġal-ğá⁸ zag-sal-zu dúg-ga-ám* 57. O abode of Nippur, the eternal city of decrees and mysteries (?) it is good to sing thy praise.
58. *ezen-gal-gal m í-dúg-ga Nibru(ki)* 58. The well-ordered great festivals of Nippur,

¹ Cf. *a-ri-a-bi an-na-ge tu-ud-da-meš = ina riġūt^a Anim ibbanū šunu*, CT. 16, 15, v, 1. Also *^aa-rù-ù-a = ^ae-ru-ù-a*, v Raw. 62, No. 2 A 7 = B 8. The augmented forms *aria*, *arua*, are from the root *ru = banū*.

² *šuddulu*.

³ *ğir = gašru* is usually employed with persons, gods, but *á-kalag ġir-ra*, year date 23 of Samsuiluna, and RA. 9, 122, i, 2.

⁴ The only known meanings of *šadugga* are *amšala*, "yesterday," and *adannu*, "fixed time."

⁵ *ġig KA-BIL*, Reisner, 102, 42, seems to mean "night and day".

⁶ *A-nun-na* preceded by double *AN*, also *Ur Excavations*, 293, 2; 294, 2.

⁷ *ál šiatim*, Poebel, PBS. v, 101, i, 5.

⁸ *ğal-ga — pirištu*, Ebeling, KAR. 50, 9. Read *buluğ-ğá*, *bulug-ga*? Cf. *buluğ-ğá-dam*, Thureau-Dangin, RTC. 58, Rev. ii, 2; Allotte de la Fuÿe, DP. 222, Rev. iv, 2.

59. *nam-maġ* ^a.*En-lil* ^a.*Nin-lil*- 59. the fame of Enlil and
lá Ninlil,
 60. *silim dingir-gal-gal-e-ne* . . . 60. the satisfaction of the great
-la-e-éš-ám gods . . . are.
 61. *sa* ¹-*súd-da-ám* 61. It is a long (?) song.

ADDENDA

Meissner, AOF. vi, 108, is certain that *manîtu*, *minîtu* "fate" must be wrong. In addition to my note on line 42, which invalidates his argument, Sm. 28, Rev. I 25-28 (unpublished), has *nam-erim* = *ma-nu*, twice. *Namerim* is the ordinary Sumerian word for *mamîtu*, fate, *šiptu*, curse. Hence *manu* means "fate", and so does the feminine abstract *manîtu*.

Ni. 4563 = PBS. x². No. 9, does join Ni. 11005, as Witzel, KS. 7, p. 3, conjectured. Professor Legrain has confirmed this join in the University Museum, Philadelphia.

¹ Text *giš*, error for *sa*? *BU* has the value *su*, *sud*, as is proved by the variant writing *sa-SUD-da-ám*, PBS. x, 182, 31; AJSL. 39, 176, 31 et p. The full form is *sa-bar-sud-da-ám*, PSBA. 1918, 71, 29. *sa* = *pidnu* "choral music"; *sa-bar* = *zamāru* "song", in *ši-ù-dé sa-bar* = *ebir zamāram*, "chant a song," Myhrman, PBS. i, No. 11, 78, and for *ebēru*, "shout, chant," see *Voc. Scheil*, 145-6, *SIM* (*a-si-il-la*) = *rišatum*, *e-be-rum*, *kūlu*, and Scheil's note, p. 25. [For reading *a-si-il-la*, see Thureau-Dangin's copy, *Uruk*, pl. lxxi, B, 34, and *asilal*, Delitzsch, *Glossar*, 16.] For *GID*, "value", *su*, cf. *im-GID-[dé]-en*, Langdon, *Sum. Bab. Psalms*, 200, 16, with var. Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, No. 2, Rev. l. 37, *be-ib-su-de*; *GID-ág* = *sú-ud-ág*, Scheil, RA. 18, 52, 19. But *abarsudda*, *sasudda*, never occur at the end of a hymn as here; PSBA. 1918, 71, 29; 77, 34; BE. 29, 1, i, 27; ii, 31; iii, 22; iv, 10; PBS. x, 182, 31; AJSL. 39, 176, 31. It is probable, therefore, that the scribe meant to write *sir-gid-da* (better *sir-súd-da*), which always occurs (as a rubric) at the end, *sir-súd-da* ^a *Ninsian-na-kam*, Chiera, *Crozer*, i, Nos. 6, 7; *sir-súd-da* ^a *Amurru-kam*, No. 8; *sir-súd-da* ^a *Ninurta*, Genouillac, *Textes Cunéiformes*, xv, No. 7. But never *sir-súd-da-ám*, and always followed by the name of a deity.

Notes on the Nyāya-praveśa by Śāṅkarasvāmin

By GIUSEPPE TUCCI

I

THE COMMENTARY BY K'UEI-CHI ON THE NYĀYA-PRAVEŚA

THE Nyāya-praveśa by Śāṅkarasvāmin, recently printed in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series of Baroda, is a text of great interest for the study of Indian logic ; in fact, in spite of its conciseness it contains an extremely clear exposition of the Buddhist logic as it was taught in India, at least among some particular schools, as those of the Yogācāras and the Sautrāntikas¹ in that lapse of time which separates Dinnāga from Dharmakīrti. That the book was written after Dinnāga, but before Dharmakīrti, is proved by its peculiarities, which in many a point differentiate the theories held by the author from those maintained by the other two great logicians already quoted.²

The fact that the fallacies of the proposition *pakṣa-ābhāsas* are here nine, and not five as in the *Nyāya-mukha* or in the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, and that no mention of the *jātis*, mere appearance of refutation, can be found under the item of the *dūṣaṇa-ābhāsas*, erroneous refutations, betrays *mata-bheda* in connection with the system of Dinnāga,³ while, on the other hand, there is in the book no trace of the criticism raised

¹ The relation between the two schools is very close, and this explains why Buddhist doctors belonging to these sects are called by either name. The school which claims to have been founded by Asaṅga and after him by Vasubandhu, has very strict similarities in its dogmatics with the doctrine of the Sautrāntikas. Books like the *Yogacaryābhūmi-śāstra*, the *Mahāyāna-samparigraha-śāstra*, etc., follow very often the ancient scheme of the Sautrāntikas. On the other hand works like the *Laṅkāvatāra* and the *Śraddhotpāda-śāstra* belong to a quite different tendency in which the *viññāna* is elaborated according to mystic lines. I hope to publish very soon a note establishing these facts.

² See my article "Bhāmaha and Dinnāga", *Indian Antiquary*, 1930, p. 142.

³ See my translation of the *Nyāyamukha*, Heidelberg, 1930. I must add that Uddyotakara also, refuting Dinnāga, knows only five *pakṣābhāsas* : *Nyāya-vārttika* (ed. by Lakṣmaṇa-sāstrī, Benares, 1915), p. 113.

by Dharmakīrti against some particular points of *Diñnāga's*¹ doctrine. But if the *NP.* was not written by *Diñnāga*, as has been wrongly assumed, it is quite certain that it expounds theories that must have had, at least for some time, a wide circulation. This is proved by the fact that *Yuang Chuang* translated it into Chinese, while another great Chinese scholar, to whom we owe some fundamental works of exegesis upon the most important *śāstras* of the *Mahāyāna*, viz. *K'uei-chi* (632-82), commented on it. Moreover, we have some evidence that the theories expounded in the *NP.* were accepted even by the non-Buddhist philosophical schools. If we take, for instance, the *Māṭhara-vṛtti*, we see that in the commentary on *kārikā* 5 the list of the *ābhāsas* corresponds to that given in the *Nyāya-praveśa* (nine *pakṣa-ābhāsas*, fourteen *hetv-ābhāsas*, ten *dr̥ṣṭānta-ābhāsas*), which is strictly peculiar to this book, while it does not occur either in *Diñnāga* or in *Dharmakīrti*. This is a rather important argument in settling the question of the age of the *Māṭhara-vṛtti*, which is certainly quite different from the original book attributed to *Māṭhara* himself.

K'uei-chi was a disciple of *Yuan Chuang*, and he acquired from his master his wide knowledge of the Indian Philosophy. But as *Yuan Chuang* himself spent many years in India, taking part in many philosophical discussions, and had therefore a direct knowledge of the traditional exegesis of the *śāstras* as was current in the Indian monasteries, it is quite evident that it will be of interest to have an idea of the exact content of the commentary written by *K'uei-chi* on the *Nyāya-praveśa* and called in Chinese 因明入正理論疏 or simply 因明大疏. Some portions of it, it is true, have been translated or rather used by *Sugiura* in his study: *Hindu logic as preserved in China and Japan*. But, as I have already had the opportunity to point out elsewhere, this book

¹ The chief points in which *Dharmakīrti* differs from *Diñnāga* are the two fallacies, "*iṣṭa-vighāta-kṛt*" and "*viruddhāryabhicārin*" and the theory of the example.

cannot be fully relied upon, as the author was very imperfectly acquainted with the Indian logic in general, while it is quite evident that, without a very sound knowledge of the traditional Nyāya it is almost impossible to understand the difficult discussion of K'uei-chi.

The following notes are not a translation. Wherever the text of the *Nyāya-praveśa* is easily intelligible, or when the commentary by the Chinese logician does not seem to add very much to our knowledge of the subject, I do not even refer to K'uei-chi's notes. On the other hand, when his discussions seemed to me of some importance, I gave an, I hope, intelligible summary of them, trying to reproduce, in the clearest way, the ideas expounded by the Chinese author.

Tatra pakṣādivacanāni sādhanam

It is known that according to Dinnāga the *sādhana* is in fact represented only by the *trairūpya* (threefold characteristic) of the *hetu* "reason", and the *sādharmya* and the *vaidharmya* of the example. After Vasubandhu (天親) the *pakṣa* "proposition" is only *sādhyaḥbhidhāna*, that is to say, the expression of the conclusion, but it is not the *sādhana*. In this way Vasubandhu and Dinnāga held an opinion different from that maintained by the ancient masters, viz. the Yogācāras, who believed that the *pakṣa* or the *pratijñā* is a member of the syllogism. Now the question may be asked, why did Saṅkarasvāmin say that the *pakṣa* and the other members are the *sādhana*? Two replies are possible: (a) he meant to insist on the fact that the *pakṣa* (in its totality) is the *sādhya*—that which is to be proved—and that the *hetu* and the *dṛṣṭānta* are the *sādhana*s "proof" of the *sādhya*. This he did in order to avoid the danger of being suspected of being a follower of the ancient masters, who maintained about the *sādhya* a particular theory which we are going to explain; (b) according to the ancient masters the proposition to be proved is in fact double, as the *sādhya*, is represented by the subject (自性) as well as by the predicate (差別). But for Dinnāga the subject and the predicate are only the

basis, as it were, (依 *āśraya*) of the *pakṣa* “proposition”, and, being separately no object of discussion, cannot be taken as *sādhya*. This, therefore, is represented by the *pakṣa* in its entirety.

Let us take, for instance, the example: “sound is non-eternal.”

According to the ancient logicians the *sādhya* is twofold: we have to prove not only the subject “sound”, but also the predicate “non-eternal”, and the entire proposition is considered as the first member of the *sādhana*. For Dinnāga there is only one *sādhya* and this is represented by the entire *pakṣa*: “sound is non-eternal.”

Ancient masters :	<i>sādhya</i> is	{ subject predicate
	<i>sādhana</i> is	{ <i>pakṣa</i> <i>hetu</i> <i>drṣṭānta</i>
Dinnāga :	<i>Sādhya</i> is	<i>pakṣa</i>
	<i>Sādhana</i> is	{ <i>hetu</i> <i>drṣṭānta</i>

Prasiddho dharmī prasiddhaviśeṣeṇa

In order to explain what is *dharmīn* and what is *viśeṣa* K’uei-chi begins by saying that every notion (*dharma* 法) can be considered under two different aspects: essence 體 *bhava*, and attribute 義 *artha*. If we take, for instance, the five *skandhas*, *rūpa*, etc., represent the *bhava*, while the condition of being infected or not (*sāśrava*, *anāśrava*), which may be predicated of them, is the *artha*. In logic (因明 *hetu-vidyā*) *bhava* and *artha* have respectively three names:

<i>bhava</i>	{	a. <i>svabhāva</i>	自性
	{	b. <i>dharmīn</i>	有法
	{	c. <i>viśeṣya</i>	所別
<i>artha</i>	{	a. <i>viśeṣaṇa</i>	差別
	{	b. <i>dharma</i>	法
	{	c. <i>viśeṣa</i>	能別

Svabhāva is that *quid* which is not common to other *dharma*s, while the *viśeṣaṇa* is common to others. The *svabhāva* corresponds to the *svalakṣaṇa*, and it is realized by an immediate perception, like that which characterizes the *ārya-jñāna*. All that is beyond this immediate perception is mere *parikalpita* (假); that nature or aspect which is expressed by words is in fact *parikalpita*, but it is not the real essence of the *dharma*s. All this from the ontological point of view (of the *Yogācāras*). According to logic three explanations are possible : *svabhāva* is (a) the mere fact of existence, it has a narrow extension ; the *viśeṣaṇa* permeates other notions and has a wider extension ; (b) the relation between *svabhāva* and *viśeṣaṇa* is a relation of before and after ; that which is stated first is the *svabhāva*, as there is not yet previously a *dharmin* to be specified. The *viśeṣaṇa* comes afterwards, as there must be a *dharmin* to be specified ; (c) a relation between the subject (所陳) and the predicate which we suppose can be applied to it. Thus *svabhāva* (= *bhava* (a)) and *viśeṣaṇa* (= *artha* (a)) have been explained.

Now we must pass to *dharmin* (*bhava* (b)) and *dharma* (*artha* (b)). The *svabhāva*, expressing the notion in itself is neither right nor wrong until it is specified ; the specifying element is the *dharma*, and therefore, as the subject can receive it, it is called *dharmin* ; but the *dharma* itself cannot be called a *dharma* until it specifies something ; we can speak of “ wrong ” and “ right ” so far as the attribution of the *dharma* to the *dharmin* is concerned.

Let us consider the third aspect of *bhava* and *artha*, that is to say, of *viśeṣya* and *viśeṣa* respectively. A discussion does not depend on the subject alone, but on that attribute which is predicated of it, since this attribute specifies the subject and not vice versa ; therefore the *svabhāva*, or subject, is the *viśeṣya* and the predicate the *viśeṣa*.

Now three objections are possible :—

(a) That the *bhava* is the *svabhāva* and the *artha* is the *viśeṣaṇa* is contradicted by the *pratijñā* of the Sāṅkhyas : “ the

ātman is intelligence (思),” quoted down below in the *NP.*, because expressions like “it is the *ātman*” or “it is not the *ātman*” specify the intelligence and not vice versa. The reply is that according to Dinnāga’s logic the subject of a syllogism is considered in itself without relation to other things, while the predicate expresses some quality common to others (the predicate “non-eternal” is applicable not only to sound but also to its *sādharmya dr̥ṣṭānta* “the pot”). The second *dharma* specifies the first, and therefore the subject of a proposition is called the *svabhāva* and the predicate is called the *viśeṣaṇa*.

(b) The *dharmin* is what it is, *ekārtha* (一義), while the *dharma* is applicable to many, *anekārtha* (二義); then, in the *pratiññā* of the Sāṅkhyas already referred to, how could the intelligence be the *dharma*, since it is the *ekārtha*, and how could the *ātman*, being *anekārtha*, be the *dharmin*? The reply is that the *dharmin* is not in itself the object of the discussion between the *vādin* and the *prativādin*, but, since the discussion concerns the various *dharma*s which are applicable to it, that which is the object of discussion is the *dharma*. Therefore the subject is the *dharmin* and the predicate is the *dharma*; the relation between the two is not so fixed as that which, according to the Vaiśeṣikas, exists between *dravyas* and *guṇas*, and, therefore, must be established by syllogism.

(c) You say that the subject is specified by the predicate which comes after it. But, if we take the common expression “*nīlotpala*” “blue lotus”, it is evident that, if we say only *nīla*, it is impossible to understand what kind of blue object we are to mean. Is it a cloth, a tree, a flower? If, on the other hand, we say *utpala* only, then would it be possible to know what kind of lotus we have in our mind, blue or white or red? Therefore, when we say “*nīla*” we exclude any other colour, while when we say “*utpala*” we exclude any other blue object; so that it is evident that the subject and the predicate specify each other reciprocally, and that the specifying attribute

precedes the specified subject. The reply is that the subject in itself is not the object of any discussion, but variety of opinion is possible so far as concerns the attribute that may be predicated of it; therefore, the first is the notion to be specified, *viśeṣya*, and the second the characteristic which specifies.

Why is the word “*prasiddha*” used? The *dharmin* as well as the *viśeṣaṇa* are the basis of the *pakṣa*; but the two are not in themselves the *pakṣa* and they must be *prasiddha* for both, for the *vādin*, as well as for the *prativādin*; were they not admitted by either of them, the *pakṣa* would be an erroneous one. We may give two examples: (a) if a Sāṅkhya, discussing with a Bauddha, argues that the *ātman* is the perceiver, in this case the *ātman* is *aprasiddha* for the Buddhist, that is to say, the *dharmin* is *aprasiddha* (*aprasiddha-viśeṣya-pakṣābhāsa*, NP., p. 3). But, if the Buddhist, discussing with a Sāṅkhya, maintains that sound is “*vināśin*”¹ “perishable”, in this case the *dharma* “*vināśin*” cannot be admitted by the opponent (*aprasiddha-viśeṣaṇa-pakṣābhāsa*, NP., p. 2). But what we have in fact to prove is the absolute connection (*avinābhava* 不相離性) of the *dharmin* and the *dharma*, which is expressed in the *pakṣa* as a whole; our aim is not that of proving the *āśrayas* of the *pakṣa*. Were this the case, we should prove these *āśrayas* of the *pakṣa* and so the *sādhana* would prove another proposition. Therefore the *āśraya* of the *pakṣa* must be accepted, *anujñāta* (共許) or *prasiddha*; but of course the *pakṣa*, which expresses their relation, must not be *prasiddha*; otherwise its result would be nil.

viśiṣṭatayā

The *dharmin* and the *dharma* are reciprocally distinct; as, for instance, when I say “*rūpa-skandha* is not the *ātman*”, I do not say that the *vedanā-skandha* is not the *ātman*, nor do I say that the *ātman* is *rūpa-skandha*. But, as *dharmin* and *dharma*

¹ It is known that Sāṅkhya is a *sat-kārya-vāda* and that it admits only change but not destruction.

are combined together, they are not such as to exclude each other. This relation is expressed by the law of their being *viśiṣṭāvyaṁvṛta* (差別不相離性).

Svayaṁ sādhyatvenepsita

There are four kinds of *pakṣa* : (a) that which is universally accepted, as, for instance, "the eyes see material objects." It is evident that it cannot be matter of discussion.

(b) That which expresses a principle already accepted by the school to which the speakers belong, as, for instance, if two Vaiśeṣikas discuss on the existence of the *ātman*.

(c) When we establish a thesis in order to demonstrate another, as, for instance, if we say that sound is non-eternal in order to prove that it is *anātman*.

(d) A thesis which is not entailed by some a priori theory, *śāstra-nirūpekṣa* (不顧論宗), but which is freely chosen, for the purpose of proving it. The sentence : *sādhyatvenepsita* is meant to exclude the *sādhana*, that is to say the reason and the example. The proposition is to be proved by the reason and the example while these, in order to prove it, must be already proved (in order to avoid *regressus in infinitum*).

Hetus trirūpaḥ

The first distinction that we must make concerning a reason, *hetu*, is that between *utpatti-hetu* (生因) and *upalabdhi-hetu* (or *vyañjaka-hetu* 了因).

The *utpatti-hetu* is threefold : *vacana-utp.-h.*, *jñāna-utp.-h.*, *artha-utp.-h.*

(a) *vacana-utpatti-hetu*. The words of the *vādin*, as the reason, etc., produce a right knowledge in the *prativādin*.

(b) *jñāna-utpatti-hetu*. These words are nothing else but the effect of the knowledge of the *vādin*, and therefore this is the cause of the convincing power of those words.

(c) *artha-utpatti-hetu*. "*Artha*" is twofold : it corresponds either to "logical meaning" (道理) or to "object" (境界).

In the first sense it is represented by the meaning inherent

in the words which are expressed ; in the second sense it indicates those objects which may produce a corresponding knowledge in the *prativādin*.

Upalabdhi-hetu is also threefold :—

(a) *jñāna-upalabdhi-hetu* is that intelligence which allows the *prativādin* or those who are present at a discussion to understand the words of the *vādin*.

(b) *vacana-upalabdhi-hetu* are those words through which the *prativādin* can understand what is the proposition that the *vādin* wants to establish.

(c) *artha-upalabdhi-hetu*, that is to say, the understanding of the meaning expressed in the words of the *vādin*.

We have therefore altogether six *hetus*, of which the first three are enunciated in regard to the *vādin* and the last three in regard to the *prativādin*.

pakṣadharmatvaṃ sapakṣe sattvaṃ vipakṣe cāsattvaṃ

Pakṣa-dharmatva. In this sentence the word *pakṣa* means *dharmin* only and not the relation between a subject and a predicate as in the definition already given. That particular predicate which is attributed to the *dharmin* is called, as we saw, *dharma*. This *dharma* can be of two kinds : (a) *asādhāraṇa* (不共有), which is attributed to the *dharmin*, by the *vādin* only, but not by the *prativādin*, and (b) *sādhāraṇa* (共有), that is to say, accepted by both and representing the reason. This *dharma*, which is equally accepted and which is taken as the reason, proves that other *dharma*, which is not equally recognized, to be the predicate of the subject.

These two *dharms* are therefore the predicable of the subject. So in the example “ sound is non-eternal because it is a product ” the *dharmin* “ sound ” as well as the reason are accepted by both the disputants ; but the predicate “ non-eternal ”, which was not accepted by the *prativādin* at the beginning of the discussion, is accepted by him as a predicate of the *dharmin* in consequence of the reason, which

he recognizes as predicable of the subject. It is evident that this *hetu* is only a *dharma* of the *dharmin* and not of the predicate.

In Chinese the sentence *pakṣa-dharmatva* is translated 徧是宗法性. In Skt. there is no equivalent for 徧, which usually corresponds to *vyāp*, or *sarvataḥ*. This word, according to K'uei-chi, is used in order to express that the *hetu* must cover completely the whole extension of the subject. Were this not the case, some part of it could remain unproved. *Sapakṣe sattva* (同品定有性). Here the word *sapakṣa* is explained as meaning: of the same class or genus (相似體類). Now, they may ask, why in this case is there not the word: completely (徧) as before? In order to give a reply to this objection K'uei-chi quotes the table of the *hetus* (*hetu-cakra*), as it is expounded in the *Nyāya-mukha*. As I have already dealt with it in my translation of this text I do not here repeat the long discussion. We must only remember that according to Dinnāga a *hetu*, which is totally absent in the *vipakṣa*, but is partly present and partly absent in the *sapakṣa*, is valid.

Vipakṣa designates those objects or notions in which the *sādhya* cannot be found. In this way Dinnāga differs from the ancient masters, according to whom *vipakṣa* is either the same thing as "contradictory to the *sapakṣa*" (同品相違), as non-eternal is contradictory to eternal, and so on, or is meant to express a notion different from the proposition, as, for instance, "*anātmīn, duḥkha*," etc., after having established non-eternity. But according to Dinnāga the *vipakṣa* of the non-eternal, for instance, is all that to which the predicate "non-eternal" cannot be attributed.

sādhya-dharmasāmānyena samāno 'rthaḥ sapakṣaḥ

It is necessary to say *sādhya-dharma* in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding. If one understands it as similarity with the proposition to be proved, then everything would be *sapakṣa* because even in the *vipakṣa* there are qualities such as

anātmātā and so on, which can be attributed to sound. If one understands similarity to the *dharmin* of the proposition to be proved, then many propositions would be without *sapakṣa*. In the example "sound is non-eternal, like a pot", pot is not similar to sound. The pot, in fact, can be broken, burnt, etc., while the same cannot happen to sound.

Vipakṣo yatra so nāsti

We have already seen that the *vipakṣa* is represented by those objects in which the characteristics of the *sādhya* cannot be found.

*Tatra kṛtakatvaṃ prayatnānantarīyakatvaṃ vā sapakṣa evāsti
vipakṣe nāsty eva*

These two reasons are not synonymous. But when somebody argues that sound is non-eternal, they must be used in relation to the particular thesis of the eternity of sound held by the different schools of the *Śābdikas*. Among these there were two main currents; the one maintained that sound is originated when certain conditions are given, but after being originated it lasts eternally. Others held that sound is existent *ab aeterno*, and therefore we cannot speak of a creation of sound, but of a manifestation of sound under special conditions. We have therefore the thesis of the *śabda-utpatti* and the thesis of the *śabda-abhivṛtyakti*. If the Buddhist, refuting the theory of the *śabda-utpatti*, asserts that sound is non-eternal, because it is a product (*kṛtakatvāt*), this reason is valid. But if he uses the same reason against the theory of the *śabda-abhivṛtyakti*, the reason is *anyatarāśiddha* (隨一不成), because, as we saw, that school of the *Śābdikas* held that sound eternally exists. Therefore the right reason in this case will be the other one, as the opponent also maintains that sound may manifest itself in consequence of some exertion. If again he refutes the *śabda-utpatti-vāda* saying that sound is non-eternal, because it is the consequence of some exertion, then the *pakṣa-dharma* is *avyāpiaka* (非) (偏), because the opponent

believes that only the internal sound arises from some exertion, but not the external one.

The word *ādi* (not in Tib.) is explained as including : void, *anātman*, etc.

Drṣtānto dvivīdhah, sādharmyeṇa vaidharmyeṇa ca, etc.

Sādharmyeṇa means that both the predicate of the subject of the syllogism and the reason are applicable to the example. In the proposition already referred to, "sound" is the subject and "non-eternal" and "product" are respectively the predicate and the reason. Now these two attributes can be equally well ascribed to the example "pot". In fact "pot" is that object in which the *vādin*, the *prativādin* and the *pariśat* agree that the condition of being a product and of being subject to destruction are coexistent.

But the ancient masters believed that the example is not included in the reason. When a proposition is given there must be the reason and separately the example, which is *sādharmyeṇa* (like a pot in our example) and *vaidharmyeṇa* (like the ether). According to Dinnāga the threefold characteristic of the reason includes the two examples ; the two examples are therefore the reason.

The followers of the ancient school object : " If it be so, the example is not distinct from the reason, but elucidates the meaning of the reason. Then the syllogism is in fact reduced to two members ¹ ; why do you enunciate the twofold example ?

Dinnāga replies that the example, it is true, belongs to the reason, but it is also true that the reason by itself indicates only the *pakṣa-dharmatā*, but it cannot indicate the *sapakṣa astitvam* and the *vipakṣe nāstitvam* ; therefore the separate enunciation of the two examples is necessary, in order to show that where there is the reason there is the *pakṣa*.

The opponent objects again : " As the reason only expresses the *abhidheyārtha* (所詮表義, viz. product), why should

¹ This will be maintained in fact by Dharmakīrti.

it be wrong to call only that the reason and to call the pot or the ether the examples and not the *hetu*? If you ask, what shall we obtain in this way, the reply is that, if it be so, the example must be enunciated as a different member of the syllogism."

Dinnāga replies: "Then you accept the theory of the non-Buddhist logicians according to whom the example is only a means or instrument (方便 *upāya*). If it be so, it is distinct from the reason, but not connected with it. In this way it would assert that there are some objects having the same qualities as that which is to be proved, but it could not have any probative force.

Moreover, if you think that the pot constitutes the essence of the *dṛṣṭānta* then you must admit that pot and sound cannot be compared, as the one can be seen, burnt, and so on, while the other has none of these qualities. But when I say: "if something is a product it is manifestly non-eternal, as a pot", in this way there is a similarity of meaning between the two proprieties, i.e. "being a product" and "non-eternal", and they rest upon objects such as a pot, etc. And again, if reason and example are distinct, the *sādharmya* and the *vaidharmya* with the proposition to be proved cannot demonstrate in any way the indissoluble connection (不相離性) of the *hetu* with the *pakṣa*. And therefore they cannot prove anything. In fact, as you do not formulate the syllogism as we do ("that which is a product is non-eternal," etc.), therefore the *pakṣa-dharma* (product) and the predicate (non-eternal) are not connected through the *sādharmya-dṛṣṭānta* (pot). So that, as the example is defective, when you say "like the pot", your opponent will ask "But how is the pot non-eternal?" Then you are obliged to have recourse to another example, and, in this way, there is *regressus in infinitum* (*anavasthā*, 無窮).

In this way it is evident that the syllogism in three members is valid and that there is no necessity of admitting the *upanaya* and *nigamana* of the ancient masters. Therefore

according to Diñnāga this is the real formulation of a syllogism :—

pakṣa sound is non-eternal.

hetu because it is a product,

sādharmya-dṛṣṭānta. Whatever is a product is non-eternal, as a pot.

vaidharmya-dṛṣṭānta. Whatever is eternal is not a product as the ether.

yan nityam tad akṛtakam dṛṣṭam yathākāṣam

The *vaidharmya-dṛṣṭānta* is represented by the exclusion of the predicate (non-eternal). Therefore in its enunciation the negation of the predicate must come before and the negation of the reason will come afterwards; otherwise it would be nothing else but a re-endorsement of a thesis which represents no object for discussion as both the *vādin* and the *prativādin* will acknowledge that whatever is not a product is eternal. On the other hand, if the predicate is denied (non non-eternal), as it is excluded by the *vaidharmya-dṛṣṭānta*, it is evident that the *hetu* also does not exist (non non-product).

nityaśabdenātrānityatvasyābhāva ucyate, akṛtaśabdenāpi kṛtakatvasyābhāva

We may have many cases.

If the proposition is negative of existence, the *sādhana* (reason and example) must be negative.

- (a) *ātman* (not accepted by Buddhists) is non-existent.
- (b) Because it is not perceived,
- (c) As the horns of a hare.

If the proposition is affirmative of existence, the *sādhana* must be affirmative.

- (a) Sound is non-eternal (the negation is only of a quality, not of the existence of sound).
- (b) Because it is a product.
- (c) Like a pot.

If the proposition is negative, the existence cannot be taken as a *sādhana*, because the reason cannot rest on the non-existent and the example in that case could not have any object to establish. Then in this case the existence must be taken only as *vaidharmya*. As, for instance :—

“ The *ātman* is non-existent ” because “ it is not perceived ”

“ Whatever is not perceived is non-existent, as the horns of the hare ” ;

“ Whatever is existent is perceived, as a pot.”

On the contrary, if a proposition is affirmative of existence, existence only can be employed as *sādhana*.

Therefore negation and affirmation of existence must be considered as the *vaidharmya* of each other. Moreover, the *vaidharmya-dṛṣṭānta* is only exclusive (遮詮) (eternal is exclusive of non-eternity), while the *sādharmya-dṛṣṭānta* is affirmative as well as exclusive.

Pakṣābhāsah|tadyathā : pratyakṣaviruddha, anumānaviruddha, āgamaviruddha, lokaviruddha, svavacanaviruddha, aprasiddhaviśeṣaṇa, aprasiddha-viśeṣya, aprasiddhobhaya, prasiddhasambandha

The first five only were formulated by Dinnāga ; the others were added by Śaṅkarasvāmin.

The *pratyakṣa-viruddha* can be of four kinds, (a) contradictory to one's own evidence, but not to that of another, as, for instance, if a Vaiśeṣika discussing with a Mahāyānist says that *sāmānya-viśeṣa* and *mahā-bhūtas* are non-perceptible by the five organs of sense. This thesis is not only (*sva*)-*pratyakṣa-viruddha*, but also *āgama-viruddha* and (*prasiddha*)-*sambandha*, as the Buddhist does admit the same theory.

(b) Contradictory to others' evidence, but not to one's one. For instance, if Buddhist discussing with a *Vaiśeṣika* argues that intelligence, desire, joy, etc., are not the object of the perception of the *ātman* ; this is also *viśeṣaṇāprasiddha*.

(c) Contradictory to the perception of both the *vādīn* and the *pratīvādīn*, as the example given in the *śāstra*.

(d) The consequence is that the proposition which is not contradictory either to the *vādin* or to the *prativādin* is the right one, as “sound is non-eternal”.

Other cases are possible :—

(a) Partially contradictory to one's own evidence, not contradictory to the other's evidence. For instance, if a *Vaiśeṣika* says “all the four material elements can be perceived by the eye”. His thesis is that *vāyu*, “wind” is atomic and cannot be perceived by the eyes. Now he says “all the four material elements”, and this is a partial contradiction of his theory. It is also *āgama-viruddha*.

(b) Partially contradictory to the other's evidence, not to one's own. For instance, if the Buddhist discussing with a *Vaiśeṣika*, maintains that “earth, water, fire cannot be perceived by the eye”. The other, on the contrary, affirms that they can be seen in the coarse state, but not in the atomic condition.

(c) Partially contradictory to the theories of both. For instance, if a *Vaiśeṣika* discussing with a Buddhist says that *rūpa*, *gandha*, *rasa*, cannot be perceived by the eyes. On the contrary both schools admit that *rūpa* can be perceived.

(d) Both theories are partially non-contradictory. For instance, if a Buddhist discussing with a *Sāṅkhya*, says : The *prakṛti* (自性) and the *ātman*, maintained by you, are subject to change, cannot be perceived, and are non-eternal. They disagree so far as the eternity and non-eternity are concerned, but they agree so far as the non-perceptibility of both principles is concerned.

Therefore among all these various possibilities the proposition which is contradictory to the thesis of the opponent, or the thesis which is contradictory to neither is correct.

Lokaviruddho yathā [śaśī na candro bhavāt], yathā ca śuci naraśiraḥkapālaṃ prāṇyaṅgatvāc chaṅkhaśuktivad iti

(The first sentence is not in the Sanscrit text, but it is in the Chinese translation and in T². It is to be found also in the *Nyāya-mukha*.)

Suppose that somebody without any further determination (we shall see later on the meaning of this determination) says, “*śaśī na candra*, because it exists, as the sun, the stars and so on”; in this case the reason and the example may be exact, but the proposition is contradictory to the general and common opinion. The same is to be said concerning the other thesis, which is attributed to the Kāpālinś (結 鬘).

If the proposition to be proved and the *sādhana* are determinate or specified, then there is no mistake. So in the *svato 'numāna* one will introduce his thesis saying, “according to me,” etc. In this way the error “*anyatarāsiddha*” is avoided. In the *anumāna* for another's sake one must so specify: “according to your theory.” (E.g. the Buddhist will say to a Sāṅkhya: “The *ātman* which is maintained by you is non-existent”). In this way the *viruddha-pakṣa* and other errors are avoided. In the *anumāna* for one's own and another's sake the specification will be reciprocal as regards the special meaning in which the various notions are used. In this way errors such as “*loka-viruddha*”, *āgama-viruddha*, etc., will be avoided.

*Aprasiddhaviśeṣo yathā Bauddhasya Sāṅkhyam prati vināśī
śabda iti*

For the Sāṅkhya the notion of indestructibility is well established. Eight cases are possible.

(a) *Viśeṣaṇa aprasiddha* for the *vādin* himself, not for the opponent; e.g. if a Sāṅkhya says “Sound, etc., are modifications of the *ālayavijñāna* (藏 識).” The *āl. vij.* is admitted by some Buddhist only, but not by the Sāṅkhya.

(b) The opponent's *viśeṣaṇa* is *aprasiddha* for the opponent, not for the *vādin*; example given in the *NP*.

(c) *Aprasiddha* for both: if a Sāṅkhya discussing with a Buddhist says “*rūpa* and so on are included among the *padārthas*”. The theory of the *padārthas* is accepted neither by the Sāṅ. nor by the Buddh.

(d) The *viśeṣaṇa* is partly *aprasiddha* for the *vādin*, but not

for the opponent ; e.g. if a Sarvāstivādin (薩婆多) discussing with a Mahāyānist says that the *bhautikas* (所造色) are derived from the *mahā-bhūtas* and the *ālaya-vijñāna*. His school does not admit the existence of the *ālaya*.

(e) The *viśeṣaṇa* is partly *aprasiddha* for the opponent, not for the *vādin* ; e.g. a Buddh. discussing with a Sāṅkhya says that organs of the sense, such as the ear, etc., are subject to destruction and to change. The Sāṅkhya cannot accept that they are subject to destruction.

(f) The *viśeṣaṇa* is partly *aprasiddha* for both, e.g. a Vaiśeṣika discussing with a Buddh. says that *rūpa* and so on are derived from *sāmānya-viśeṣa* and from *svabhāva* (自性). Neither the Vaiś. nor the Buddh. accept the *svabhāva* theory.

The two remaining cases are not quoted by K'uei-chi because it is evident that they have no error : (g) Non-*aprasiddha* for both ; (h) non-partly-*aprasiddha* for both.

*Aprasiddhaviśeṣyo yatha Sāṅkhyasya Bauddhaṃ prati cetanā
ātmeti*

Here also we have eight cases :—

(a) The *viśeṣya* is *aprasiddha* for the *vādin*, but not for the opponent, e.g. a Bauddha, discussing with a Sāṅkhya, says “the *ātman* is non-eternal”. It is known that no Buddhist believes in an *ātman* ; the theory of the specification already referred to must be remembered.

(b) *viśeṣya* *aprasiddha* for the opponent, not for the *vādin*. Example as in the *NP*.

(c) *viśeṣya* *aprasiddha* for both ; e.g. a Sarvāstivādin discussing with a Mahāyānist and arguing that the *ātman* exists as a substance.

(d) *viśeṣya* partly *aprasiddha* for the *vādin*, but not for the opponent ; e.g. if the Buddh., discussing with the Sāṅkhya, says that the *ātman* and *rūpa* are void, without any further specification.

(e) *viśeṣya* partly *aprasiddha* for the opponent, but not for the *vādin* ; e.g. when a Sāṅkhya, discussing with a Buddh.,

maintains that the *ātman*, *rūpa*, etc., exist as substance. No Buddhist school will admit that, so far as the *ātman* is concerned.

(f) *viśeṣya* partly *aprasiddha* for both ; e.g. if a Sarvāstivādin, discussing with a Mahīśāsaka (化地部), says that the past (去來) and the *ātman* exist. The existence of time is accepted by both, but not that of the *ātman*.¹

K'uei-chi expounds here under the item *aprasiddho-bhaya* the main principles of the Vaiśeṣika system, quoting also from the Daśa-padārthī. See Ui, *Vaiśeṣika System*, p. 181.

Prasiddhasambandho yathā śrāvaṇaḥ śabda iti

Here also we have eight cases :—

(a) *sambandha* existent for the opponent, but not for the *vādin* ; e.g. if a Sāṅkhya, discussing with a *Vaiśeṣika*, says that *karman* is destructible (*vināśin*).

(b) *sambandha* existent for the *vādin*, but not for the *prativādin* ; the reverse of the preceding example.

(c) *sambandha* for both, as in the example of the *NP*.

(d) *sambandha* non-existent for both, as if a Sāṅkhya, discussing with a Buddhist, maintains that *karman* is *vināśin*.

(e) *sambandha* partly existent for the opponent, but not for the *vādin* ; e.g. if a Sarvāstivādin, discussing with a Sāṅkhya, maintains that the *ātman* and the *manas* exist as a reality (*dravyataḥ*). Neither of them thinks that *manas* exists as a real substance ; but the Sāṅkhya holds the reality of *ātman*.

(f) *Sambandha* partly existent for the *vādin*, but not for the opponent ; e.g. if a Sarvāstivādin, discussing with a Mahāyānist, argues that *ātman* and *paramāṇus* exist as realities. The existence of the *ātman* as a reality is accepted by neither of them, but the Sarv. accepts the reality of the *paramāṇus*.

¹ So the text, but it is known that according to the Mahīśāsakas, the past as well as the future, do not exist. Cf. Vasumitra's treatise on the sects (transl. by Masuda, p. 59 ; Walleser, *Die sekten des alten Buddhismus*, p. 45) ; cf. *Abhidharma-kośa* (transl. by La Vallée Poussin, v, 24 ff.).

(g) *Sambandha* partly existent for both the *vādin* and the opponent ; e.g. if a Sarvāstivādin, discussing with a Vaiśeṣika, argues that *svabhāva* and sound are both non-eternal. *Svabhāva* is accepted by neither of them ; but the non-eternity of sound is maintained by both.

(h) *Sambandha* partly non-existent for both ; e.g. if the Sarvāstivādin, discussing with a Mahāyānist, says that the *ātma-bhava* exists *dravyataḥ*.

Eṣāṃ vacanāni dharmasvarūpanirākaraṇamukhena pratipādanā-sambhavataḥ sādhanavaiphalyaś ceti pratijñādoṣaḥ

The sentence *dharma . . . mukhena* is to be referred to the five *viruddha-pakṣadoṣa* ; *svarūpa* is the *dharmin* of the proposition. This sentence means that mistakes of such a kind prevent the right knowledge from being produced in the mind of the opponent and the *pariṣat*. *Pratipādanā-sambhavataḥ* is to be referred to the three *aprasiddha* ; *sādhana-vaiphalyataḥ* to the *prasiddhasambandha*.

Asiddhānaikāntikaviruddhā hetvābhāsāḥ

Asiddha-hetu may be understood as reason not proved in itself (*asiddha eva hetu*) or as a reason which cannot prove (*na sādhayati iti asiddha-hetu*). A reason is *anaikāntika* when it is in the *sapakṣa* as well as in the *vipakṣa* ; it is called *viruddha* when it is contradictory to the proposition, but proves the *vipakṣa*.

Tatra śabdānityatve sādhye cākṣutvādīty ubhayāsiddha

Four cases :—

(a) Reason absolutely existent, but *aprasiddha* for both (example given in the *NP*.).

(b) Reason absolutely non-existent and *aprasiddha* for both ; e.g. if a *Śābdika*, discussing with a Buddh. says that sound is eternal, because it is included in the eternal categories *padhārthas*. The *hetu* is unreal, since neither of them believe in the existence of the *padārthas*.

(c) Reason partly existent, but *aprasiddha* for both ; e.g. when the *Śābdika* asserts that every sound is eternal, because it is produced by some effort. Both the *vādin* and the opponent know that this reason is not valid so far as the eternity of external sound is concerned (see before).

(d) Reason partly non-existent and *aprasiddha* for both ; e.g. if a *Śābdika*, discussing with a Buddhist, says that sound is eternal because it is included in the *padārthas* and can be perceived by the ear. The first part of the reason in *asiddha* for both.

kṛtakatvād iti śabdābhivṛtyādinam praty anyatarāsiddhaḥ

Eight cases :—

(a) Existent, *anyatarāsiddha* for the opponent ; example as that of the *NP*.

(b) Existent, *anyatarāsiddha* for the *vādin* ; e.g. if one who believes in the manifestation of sound (*śabdābhivṛtyakti*), discussing with a Buddhist, argues that sound is eternal because it is a product.

(c) Non-existent, *anyatarāsiddha* for the opponent ; e.g. if a *Vaiśeṣika*, discussing with a *Śābdika*, says that sound is non-eternal, because it is included in the *guṇa-padārtha*. The *Śābdika* does not believe in the *padārthas*.

(d) Non-existent, *anyatarāsiddha* for the *vādin* ; e.g. if a *Śābdika*, discussing with a *Vaiśeṣika*, says that sound is eternal because it is included in the *guṇa-padārtha*.

(e) Existent, partly *anyatarāsiddha* for the opponent ; e.g. if a *Mahāyānist*, discussing with a *Śābdika*, argues that sound is non-eternal because it is perceived by the five senses of the Buddha, which, according to him, possess each the totality of sense perception. The opponent will admit only that sound is perceived by the ear.

(f) Existent, partly *anyatarāsiddha* for the *vādin* ; e.g. if a *Śābdika*, discussing with a *Mahāyānist*, says that sound is eternal, for the reason already referred to.

(g) Non-existent, partly *anyatarāsiddha* for the opponent ;

e.g. if a Vaiśeṣika, discussing with a Śābdika, maintains that sound is non-eternal, as it is included in the *guṇa-padārtha*, and is perceived by the ear. Perceptibility by the ear is accepted by both. The *guṇa-padārtha* is a tenet peculiar to the Vaiśeṣika.

(h) Non-existent, partly *anyatarāsiddha* for the *vādin* ; e.g. if a Śābdika, discussing with a Vaiśeṣika, argues that sound is eternal for the reason already referred to.

In the *anumāna* for the sake of another, the absolute *anyatarāsiddha* is not an error, if there is the specification already referred to. Here K'uei-chi gives some examples of *anyatarāsiddha* which may be found in some Buddhist texts, specially because in this connection he has the opportunity to extoll the rare ability of his master Yuan Chuang as a dialectician. One example of *anyatarāsiddha* is that which may be found in the third chapter of the *Mahāyāna-sampari-graha-Śāstra*, where it is stated that all Mahāyāna *sūtras* are the word of Buddha (proposition), because the whole of them do not contradict the principle that the individuum *pudgala* (補特伽羅) is not the *ātman* (reason), as the *Ekottarā-gama*, etc. (增 —) also state (example).

This proposition, if confronted with another's *pratiññā*, is *anyatarāsiddha*, because other schools, as the Hīnayānists, do not admit that the Mahāyāna is non-contradictory to the theory that the *pudgala* is not the *ātman*, as they think that according to Mahāyāna there is an eternally existent substance *ātman*-like. Even if we suppose that Mahāyāna is not contradictory, anyhow the reason is *anaikāntika*, because there are books of other schools as the *Jñāna-prasthāna*, etc.,¹ which do not contradict that theory, though it is known that they are not the word of Buddha. Therefore, in order to avoid these errors, the great Buddhist doctor *Jayasena* (勝軍), when he was about forty years old, propounded the following inference : All the Mahāyāna books are the word of Buddha

¹ The *Jñāna-prasthāna* is the fundamental work on the Abhidharma for the Sarvāsti-vādins.

(proposition); because they are not included among those books which both the disputants equally do not recognize as the words of Buddha (*ubhayasiddha-abuddhavadana-anantarbhāvāt*) (reason), as the *Ekottarāgama* (example).

By "*ubhayasiddhābuddhavadana*" he meant the teaching of the heretics and of the Sarvāstivādins (*Jñāna-prasthāna* and six *pādas*).

Nobody could succeed in refuting this syllogism.

But when Yuan Chuang met him, he raised the following objection :—

The *Jñāna-prasthāna*, according to a school of the Hīnayāna, viz. the Sarvāstivādins, represents the words of the Buddha, therefore it is impossible to say the *hetu* : *ubhayasiddha*, etc. In fact this would mean that you accept the theory of the Sarvāstivādins that the *Jñāna-prasthāna* is "*Buddhavadana*". But this is against the tenets of the Mahāyāna.

Moreover the Hīnayānist will argue that the syllogism expounded in that way is *anaikāntika*, as it is a mere supposition of the Mahāyānist that the *Jñāna-prasthāna* is not included among the words pronounced by the Buddha. Therefore Yuan Chuang corrected the syllogism, expounded by Jayasena, substituting the specification "accepted by our own system" *svānujñātaprasiddha-abuddhavadana*).

Tatra sādharmaṇaḥ śabdaḥ prameyātvaṁ nitya iti. Tad dhi nityānityapakṣayoḥ sādharmaṇatvād anaikāntikam kiṁ ghaṭavat prameyātvaṁ anityaḥ śabda āhosvid ākāśavat prameyātvaṁ nitya iti.

This principle is based upon the rule that a wide reason only can prove a wide proposition, but not a narrow or limited one, lest it shall be *anaikāntika*. In fact we may have two propositions, a wider one and a narrower. Example of the first : "sound is *anātman*" because even beside sound, everything, according to the Buddhist, is *anātman*. Example of the second : "sound is non-eternal, because there are things that are eternal." A reason also can be wide, e.g. "because it is known" or "because it can be perceived", etc. It is

evident, in fact, that there is no *dharma* which is not knowable, etc. Or it can be narrow ; e.g. “ because it is a product, etc. ”, because there are things which are not products. If I establish a narrow *pakṣa* (e.g. “ sound is non-eternal ” or “ it is eternal ”) and I employ a wide reason (e.g. “ because it is known, etc. ”) then my reason is common both to the *sapakṣa* and to the *vipakṣa*, and therefore it is called *anaikāntika* (不定). A wide reason is valid only for a wide proposition (e.g. the *prameyatva* for the *anātmātā*). A narrow reason can prove a wide as well as a narrow proposition (e.g. the condition of being the consequence of an effort can prove a wide proposition such as *anātmātā*, because, as everything is *anātman*, there is no existence of a *vipakṣa* and it can also prove a narrow proposition, e.g. the non-eternity of sound).

sapakṣaikadeśavṛttir vipakṣavyāpī yathā, etc.

In order to understand this example we must remember what we already said concerning the two theories about the *utpatti-vāda* and the *abhivyakti-vāda* of sound. For the first school, sound comes into existence from a previous non-existence ; it is therefore produced, although after its production it lasts eternally ; but it is not manifested as the consequence of some effort. On the contrary, the second school maintains that it exists *ab aeterno*, but it is actually manifested as the consequence of some effort. Now if a *śabda-utpatti-vādin*, discussing with a *śabda-abhivyakti-vādin*, employs the argument referred to in the book, his reason is not only *aprasiddha* for both, but also *anaikāntika*. The reason is explained in the text.

Anityaḥ śabdaḥ kṛtakatvāt (Vaiśeṣika against *śabda-abhivyakti-vādin* ; see before).

Nityaḥ śabdaḥ śrāvaṇatvāt śabdatvavat (*śabda-utpatti-vādin* against Vaiśeṣika only). In fact, if this argument is used against any other school, the reason *śrāvaṇatvāt* would be *asādhāraṇa-anaikāntika*, because the other sects do not accept that sound has a nature of its own. But according to the

Vaiśeṣikas, sound, although a *guṇa*, has a nature of its own, and this nature is the *sāmānya-viśeṣa* (sound-ness). According to the *śabda-utpatti* school sound is threefold: (a) echo, it can be perceived by the ears but it cannot express anything; (b) *śabdatva*, each word has an essence of its own, which exists even beyond the verbal expression. When some conditions are given, it is perceived. Therefore it is not like the *śabdatva* of the *Vaiśeṣikas*, which is the *sāmānya-viśeṣatva*; (c) verbal expression.

Both theses, although different in many points, agree in so far as they admit that the *śabdatva* is eternal and can be perceived by the ear.

*Ubhayoḥ saṃśayahetutvād dvāv apy etāv eko 'naikāntikaḥ
samuditāv eva*

The proposition of the *Vaiśeṣika*, as well as the proposition of the *Śābdika*, is unable to produce an absolute knowledge in the mind of the opponent; and therefore, like the first five errors already referred to, they are *anaikāntika*. In either case the reason is possessed of the three characteristics that any *hetu* must have; but it is *anaikāntika*, even in the case of the *Vaiśeṣika*, who is supposed to employ this argument ("it is a product"), when discussing with a *śabda-utpatti-vādin* (cf. above).

As therefore both reasons are *anaikāntika*, it is out of place to recall the rule that the thesis which is wrong or to be refuted must be expounded before, and the thesis supposed to be right afterwards (in this case the right one is that of the *Vaiśeṣika*, who holds a theory similar to that accepted by the Buddhists, for whom also sound is non-eternal); so the objection raised by some critics against the order followed in the *NP.*: (a) *Vaiśeṣika*, (b) *Śābdika*, instead of the other: (a) *Śābdika*,¹ (b) *Vaiśeṣika*, followed in the *Nyāya-mukha* is invalid.

Moreover the thesis of the *Vaiśeṣika* is supported by the

¹ Cf. my article *Buddhist logic before Rimāga*, J.R.A.S., 1929, p. 451 ff.

force of the evidence and that of the *āgama* and therefore it is manifestly the right one. Nor do we need to establish the non-eternity of sound following the tenets of an heretical school such as the Vaiśeṣika. The Buddha, as soon as he had the intuition of the real essence of all *dharma*s, saw that sound is non-eternal and expounded this intuition in his teachings; therefore, just in order to show the independence of the Buddhist tenets from those of the other schools, the Vaiśeṣikas are quoted here before. And again those who do not accept Buddhism accept at least those notions which are considered as true by common belief. Now it is evident that sound is produced as soon as some circumstances are given, and after a little while it disappears; so it is clear that the theory of the Śābdikas is untenable.

*Tatra dharmasvarūpaviparītasādhano, yathā nityaḥ śabdaḥ
kṛtakatvāt prayatnānantarīyakatvād vety ayaṃ hetur
vipakṣa eva bhāvād viruddhaḥ.*

The reasons given here are two, because the schools of the Śābdikas are two :—

Śabda-utpatti-vādin :

Sound is eternal;
because it is a product.

The *sapakṣa* is the ether.

The *vipakṣa* is the pot. The characteristic of being a product is only in the *vipakṣa* but absolutely absent in the *sapakṣa* (= fourth *hetu* of the *hetucakra*).

Śabda-abhivṛtyakti-vādin :

Sound is eternal;
because it is the consequence of some effort.

The *sapakṣa* is the ether.

The *vipakṣa* is the lightning and the pot, etc.; the reason is completely absent in the *sapakṣa*, existent in some of the *vipakṣas*, as “pot” non-existent in some other *vipakṣas* as the lightning (sixth *hetu* of the *hetu-cakra*).

*Dharmaviśeṣaviparītasādhano yathā parārthās cakṣurādayaḥ
saṅghātātvaṁ chayāsanādyāṅgaviśeṣavad iti ayaṃ hetur
yathā pārārthyam cakṣurādīnām sādhayati tathā saṃha-
tatvam api parasyātmanaḥ sādhayaty ubhayatrāvya-
bhicārāt.*

If a Sāṅkhya wishes to establish that the *ātman* is the perceptible, he cannot formulate the proposition; “the *ātman*

perceives and employs the organs of sense as the eye, etc.,” because the *viśeṣya* (*ātman*) is *anyatarāśiddha*; the *hetu* “*saṅghātāt*” then would be *ubhayāśiddha*, because for the Buddhist the *ātman* is non-existent, and therefore the reason is out of place, while for the Sāṅkhya the *ātman* is not *saṃhata*. The example, on the other hand, cannot prove the *sādhya*. Nor would the proposition, “eyes, etc., are necessarily for the sake of the *ātman*,” be right. In fact, the *viśeṣaṇa*, “for the sake of the *ātman*”, is *asiddha*, and the *hetu*, “*saṅghātāt*,” is contradictory to the *dharma*’s *svalakṣaṇa*. Therefore as a mere expedient they try to formulate the syllogism in another way, “eyes, etc., must be for the sake of something else, *para*.” This “*para*” is to be referred in their mind to the real *ātman*, not to the empirical ego, which is represented by the combination of the various senses and sense-perceptions; but they cannot clearly express this idea lest they fall into the errors already referred to; so they use the undefined “*para*” which may equally be referred to the *saṅghāta-ātman* (empirical ego) and to the *asaṅghāta-ātman* (real *ātman*).

Now the real *ātman* perceives the various objects through the eyes, while the empirical ego does not use them, as it is, in fact, nothing else but the sum as it were of the various senses and senses’ experiences. On the contrary, bed, seats, etc., referred to in the example are of some use to the empirical ego, but not so much to the real *ātman*. Therefore the reason *saṅghātāt* can prove quite well the *svalakṣaṇa* of the *dharma* (*parārtha*); but it is contradictory to the *dharma-viśeṣa* (viz. the *asaṅghāta-para* that the Sāṅkhya has in his own mind).

*dharmisvarūpaviparītasādhano yathā na dravyaṃ na karma
na guṇo bhāvaḥ, etc.*

For the passage see Ui, *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, pp. 6, 68, and 181.

ubhayāsiddho dvividhaḥ sann asaṃs ca

As to the theory asserted in the *NP.*, that incorporeity cannot be attributed to the ether, as it is non-existent, the objection may be raised; "ether is eternally non-existent, therefore its essence is *abhāva*, so that it is *amūrta*". This objection is not right, because when I say "*nityaḥ śabda 'mūrtatvāt*", both the proposition and the reason are affirmative; the proposition affirms the eternity and the reason affirms the property of being *amūrta*. Now ether is only non-existence, and therefore it cannot be *amūrta*.

Another objection is possible. The *tathatā* held by Mahāyānist eternally exists and therefore is called eternal. In the same way the ether is eternally non-existent; so that you must admit that it is eternal. Moreover, if it is non-existent, certainly it is *amūrta*. We reply that the *pakṣa-dharma* is of two kinds: (a) it excludes only (但遮), but it does not affirm (非表). If I say "the *ātman* is non-existent", I mean to exclude the existence of the *ātman*, not to assert its non-existence. In this case the example also must be exclusive, not affirmative. (b) Exclusive and affirmative. When I say, "the *ātman* is eternal," not only do I exclude non-eternity, but I affirm also that it has an eternal nature. The example also then can be exclusive as well as affirmative. So, if in the first case I say "the *ātman* is non-existent, as the horn of a hare", the example, based on the simple exclusion, is right; but if I say, "sound is eternal, like the ether" when I discuss with somebody who does not accept the existence of the ether, then the example would be only exclusive and therefore invalid.

ananvayo yatra vinānvayena, etc.

The passage refers to the ancient masters, who accepted other members of the syllogism, beside the reason and the *dṛṣṭānta*.

*pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpodhaṃ yaj jñānam artharūpādaṃ
nāmajātyādīkalpanārahitaṃ tad akṣaṃ akṣaṃ prati
vartate iti pratyakṣaṃ.*

jñānam is used here in order to exclude false knowledge, as, for instance, that of a *taimirika*; in fact, this also is *nāma-jātyādikalpanā-rahitam*, but cannot be called *pratyakṣa*.

The “*jñāna*” (正智) of the *NP.* corresponds to *abhrānta* (無迷亂) of the *Mahāyānā-bhidharma-saṃyukta-saṅgīti*.¹

The sentence *nāma-jāty*, etc., is explained on the basis of the passage of the *Nyāya-mukha* quoted in the *Tattva-saṅgraha*.

The *pratyakṣa* is of four kinds, viz. (a) *pañca-vijñāna-kāya* (五識身); (b) *mano-vijñāna* (五俱意); (c) *ātma-saṃvedana* (自證); (d) *yogi-jñāna* (修定). The theory is already referred to in the *Nyāya-mukha*.

Tasmād yad anumeye 'rthe jñānam utpadyate 'gnir atra, anityaḥ śabda iti vā tad anumānam

The knowledge is the *upalabdhi-hetu*, while the notions “here there is fire”, “sound is non-eternal”, are the result which is known. As the cause may be different, viz. either a direct perception or an inference, therefore the result also is twofold. In fact the notions “here there is fire” and “sound is eternal” are different. I may infer the existence of fire from smoke, and therefore in this case the perception is the cause. But when I assert that sound is non-eternal, this notion is the consequence of my being aware of the fact that it is a product; therefore it is derived from an inference. Now the fact of being a product or the smoke are the remote cause, while the memory or the activity of mind is the near

¹ The definition of the *pratyakṣa* alluded to is 自正明了無迷亂義 which corresponds to an original *svayam pratīto 'bhrānto 'rthaḥ*; but cf. *Mahāvīyutpatti* 7621. K'uei-chi takes this definition from the 雜集 *Saṃyukta-saṅgīti-śāstra*, that is to say, from the 大乘阿毗達磨 雜集論 (ch. xvi) by Sthiramati 安慧. But this definition is to be found already in the 大乘阿毗達磨集 *Saṅgīti-śāstra* by Asaṅga. This fact is worth noting as it proves that Dharmakīrti when completing the definition of *pratyakṣa* as given by Dinnāga followed some traditions current before him among the ancient Yogācāras.

cause. Through it I remember that, wherever there is smoke, there is fire, and that objects like a pot, etc., are a product and non-eternal. It produces therefore those two particular notions as a result. These three elements together represent the essence of the *anumāna*.

Ubhayatra tad eva jñānam phalam adhigamarūpatvāt

Some objections are raised against the definition on the *pramāṇa*. First of all, they say, we know that a foot and so on are the measure, cloth is the object to be measured, the knowledge of the quantity is the result. Now, in the example already quoted, the sentences "fire is non-eternal", etc., represent the notion to be known, the *patyakṣa* and the *anumāna* are the instruments, through which we know. Which is the result? The Sarvāstivādins on the other hand say: the objects (*viśayas*) are to be known, the organs of sense are the instrument that know, the *citta* and *caitasika-dharmas* represent the result of the *pramāṇas*. But according to the Mahāyāna, they add, the knowledge is the instrument. Which is then the result?

The heretics maintain that the objects are to be known, the *viññānas* know, the *ātman* is the result of the knowledge. But you, they say, do not believe in the *ātman*; which therefore will be the result of the *pramāṇas*?

The reply is that the very knowledge is the result.¹ The *pramāṇas* know both the *svalakṣaṇa* (object of the direct perception) and the *sāmānya-lakṣaṇa* (object of the inference). As the knowledge derived from the *pramāṇas* is in fact nothing else but a full realization of the form of their respective objects, in mind itself it is called a result. The form of the external objects (相) is only an appearance in the mind. Owing to the difference of the function in one and the same *citta*, we distinguish a moment or part which is active or knows and a part that is passive or it is known.

Or we may say that the *prameya* (that which is to be known) is an image of the mind and therefore not being distinct from

¹ For this question cf. *Bhāmatī ad Śāṅkara*, on *Brahma-sūtras*, II, ii, 28.

the mind, is called the *pramāṇa*. It is object and mind at the same moment. Or also we may say that the knowledge is composed by three elements : (a) the vision that represents the active moment (能量見分). (b) The consciousness, *sva-samvit* (自證分) which represents the result of the apprehension ; as any essence is not distinct from its function (體不離用) therefore knowledge is called the result. It realizes the (c) form (相) under which the first moment, viz. the vision manifests itself. These three moments are in fact a totality. The *svasamvit* as well as the moment of the vision are the *pramāṇa*. But the form also is called “*pramāṇa*”, because it cannot be conceived as separated from the active moment. According to Mahāyāna from the *svasamvit* the vision-faculty arises which grasps the objects while the *ākāra* is the *viññāna* derived from an object. Knowledge is therefore a synthesis of three movements.

sādhana-doṣo nyūnatvaṃ

Seven cases are possible, when we have recourse to the *trairūpya* of the reason as it is established by Dinnāga. (a) Deficiency of one *lakṣaṇa* ; three possibilities. (b) Deficiency of two *lakṣaṇas* ; three possibilities. (c) Deficiency of three *lakṣaṇas* ; one possibility.

I. (1) Sāṅkhya against Śābdika : “ sound is non-eternal, because it is seen by the eyes,” deficiency concerning the *pakṣa*.

(2) Śābdika against Sarvāsti-vādin : “ sound is eternal, because it is audible,” deficiency concerns the second *lakṣaṇa*.

(3) id. “ because it can be inferred (*prameyatvāt*),” deficiency of the third *lakṣaṇa*.

II. (1) Śābdika against Buddhist, “ Sound is not the consequence of some effort, because it is seen by the eyes ” ; deficiency of the first two *lakṣaṇas*.

(2) Deficiency of the first and third *lakṣaṇa*. “ The *ātman* is eternal, because it is not the consequence of some effort ” (against a Buddhist).

(3) Deficiency of the second and third *lakṣaṇa*, as the four *viruddha hetus*.

III. Śābdika against the Vaiśeṣika, “sound is eternal, because it is perceived by the eyes.”

II

THE EDITION OF THE TIBETAN TEXT OF THE NYĀYAPRAVEŚA

Professor Vidhuśekhara Shāstrin of Viśvabharatī has edited in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (vol. xxxix) the Tibetan text of the *Nyāya-praveśa* comparing both translations with the Sanscrit original and the Chinese translation made by Yuan Chuang.¹

In this comparative study—the first of this kind attempted by an Indian scholar—the various readings have been carefully noted and discussed, and useful indexes have been added at the end of the volume, which will facilitate the reading of the Tibetan text. The book testifies to the diligence and accuracy of the author. It is only to be hoped that its example will have many followers among the young Indian scholars. I add here some further notes to the text.

Comparative notes *ad* I, 9 : *vipakṣa iti* ; Chinese seems to follow Skt. *Iti* is = Ch. 名 爲 ; *wei* 謂 must be taken as introducing the next sentence. It corresponds usually to Skt. *yad uta*.

2, 13 ; Ch. 似 立 宗 corresponds quite well to Skt. *pakṣa* or *pratijñā-ābhāsa*.

Ad 3, 3-4, Ch. corresponds to Skt. 和 合 因 緣 *samavāyī-kāraṇam* (*ātmā*).

T. 2 looks like a literal translation from the Chinese.

Ad 2, 4-5, the example shows that T. 1 is wrong when it reads, in 2, 16-17, *prasiddhi-viruddha* instead of *prasiddha-sambandha*. In fact, *prasiddhi-viruddha* is the same as *loka-viruddha*. That a *prasiddha-sambandha* is a *pakṣābhāsa*

¹ The text is based only on the editions of the *bs'Tan aggur* available in India, that is to say the Narthang redaction.

is quite evident, because a thesis like this : “ sound can be heard ” cannot be the object of any discussion, as the relation between sound and audibility is already proved.

Ad 3, 5-7, Chin. corresponds to Skt., *pratipādana* (成) *asambhavāt* (不容). The difference in T.*2 is more apparent than real ; in fact, it is evident that the translator, being unable to guess the exact equivalent of the Chinese characters, rendered the Chinese text in this rather ambiguous way : *sgrub mi dgos pai p'yir dan sgrub par nus kyañ abras bu med pai p'yir*.

Ad 3, 9, T. 1, gañ yañ ruñ ba la ma grub corresponds well to *anyatarāśiddha* ; I do not see the necessity of supposing an original *yadyogyāśiddha*.

Ad 4, 8-10, Chin. is not defective at all, but corresponds literally to Skt.

Ad 5, 4-6, Chin. 相違 may correspond to Skt. *viruddha* as well as to Skt. *viparīta*.

Ad 7, 16-17, I think that the hypothesis advanced by the editor is out of place. I should be inclined to read : . . . *śes pa skyes pa adir me 'an (or dan) bum pa mi rtag ces pa*.

So far as T. 2 is concerned, I think that the doubts about it arise from the fact that the Tibetan translator could not understand the Ch. ; *de dag rtags la brten nas don rnam dpog pa yin la* is an unclever translation of Ch. 由彼爲因於所比義, like the following : *yañ dag pai ñes pai śes pa dan ldan*, in which 有 has been wrongly rendered as a possessive : *dan ldan*. Moreover the reading of the xyl. is defective ; instead of *dan med* I think that we must read *der me 'o*.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A NOTE ON PAÑCA-KĀLA IN CONNECTION WITH PAÑCARĀTRA

The significance of the difficult term *pañca-kāla* used in *Mahābhārata*, xii, 338, 4 (Bombay ed.), does not appear to have been satisfactorily cleared up. It occurs in the list of the hundred names which Nārada utters (along with the epithet or description *pañcarātri*) in praise of Nārāyaṇa in the well-known Nārāyaṇīya episode of the epic. The full name or title of the deity appears in the text as *pañca-kāla-karṭṛ-pati*, explained by Nilakaṇṭha as “the lord of the *pañca-kāla* and of the *pañca-karṭṛ*”. Again, the devotees of Nārāyaṇa, the Ekāntins who worshipped him in the mythical Śvetadvīpa, are also called (xii, 336, 46) *pañca-kāla-jñas*, apparently meaning “those who know *pañca-kāla*”; and this passage, though not commented upon by Nilakaṇṭha, has an obvious connection with the passage under discussion, which Nilakaṇṭha explains. We are not concerned here with *pañca-karṭṛ*, which is interpreted, not very satisfactorily, by a reference to *Bhagavadgītā*, xviii, 14–15, where the five sources of a man’s action are enumerated; but Nilakaṇṭha thinks that the *pañca-kālas* or “five times”, of which Nārāyaṇa is said to be the lord, are the day and night (*ahorātra*), month (*māsa*), season (*ṛtu*), half-year or solstice (*ayana*) and the year (*saṃvatsara*). This interpretation is scarcely convincing; for, even if it applies to Nārāyaṇa, who may be supposed to preside over this temporal dispensation, it is not clear as to what the Ekāntins have to do with a knowledge of this division of time. There is, on the other hand, no support for Grierson’s equation¹ of *pañca-kāla* with the specific “Pañcarātra rules”, which are connected with the five times at which the five sacrifices (i.e. the daily offering of the Pañca-Mahāyajñas of Gṛhya and Smṛti works) are

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, September, 1908, pp. 265 and 266, footnote 53.

said to be performed. The fact that Nārāyaṇa's special devotee Uparicara-Vasu is mentioned (xii, 337, 30) as performing five sacrifices to the deity at five times is hardly enough to connect the term with the five Brāhmaṇic domestic rituals and corroborate the etymology or significance suggested. The orthodox five Mahāyajñas need not be performed at *five* different times of the day; at least no such five times are prescribed. Nor need they be performed in honour of Nārāyaṇa. The Nārāyaṇīya *pañca-kāla*, therefore, need not be connected with them. It may be suggested that the term refers to the rites and services to be performed by a Vaiṣṇava during a day, which is divided into five parts. Such observances apparently form the theme of later Vaiṣṇava ceremonial works like *Pañca-kāla-krama*,¹ *Pañca-kāla-kriyā-dīpa*,² or *Pañca-kāla-paddhati*³—of which observances a remote tradition may be presumed to have existed from the epic times. But it would be hardly critical, in the absence of further evidence, to import a meaning from the later developments of Vaiṣṇavism into the Nārāyaṇīya or Pañcarātra cult of the epic. Unless the word can be shown to refer to some obscure rites or doctrines of a special character of the Nārāyaṇīyas, Ekāntins, or Pañcarātras, we are inclined to offer the explanation that Pañcakāla is nothing more than an extended synonym or variation of the term Pañcarātra as a designation of the cult itself. The term *pañca-kāla-pati*, as an epithet of Nārāyaṇa, would then be easily connected with the other one, *pāñcarātrika*,⁴ used by Nārada in the immediate context; and the Ekāntins would be *pañca-kāla-jñas* in the sense that they were well versed in the Pañcarātra doctrine.

We are not concerned here directly with the origin and

¹ Described in *Descriptive Cat. of Govt. Oriental MS. Library, Madras*, vol. v, p. 2073.

² Mentioned in Burnell, *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 314.

³ Included in Oppert, *Lists of Sansk. MSS. in Southern India*, No. 291.

⁴ Nilakaṇṭha explains this term as "one who is attainable by the scripture of the Pañcarātras (*pañcarātrāgama-gamya*).

precise meaning of the term Pañcarātra.¹ Leaving aside fanciful etymologies suggested,² we need not discuss in detail whether the term should be connected (1) with Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa's *pañca-rātra sattra* described in the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* (xiii, 6, 1) as lasting over five nights, or (2) with the five (*pañca*) principal topics or kinds of knowledge (*rātra*, as the apocryphal *Nārādīya* puts it) dealt with in the later Pañcarātra system or texts, or, again, (3) with the later dogma of the school which speaks of five-fold manifestation of the supreme deity by means of his Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin, and Arcā forms.³ But it is clear that the last two (and other such) explanations of the term are connected with later developments of the school or system, and cannot be authenticated by anything contained in the description of the cult in the epic itself. The original records of the cult are not available, but in the absence of any other data, the Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa hypothesis appears to be the most plausible explanation. If this view is accepted, then it is not difficult to connect the specific connotation of time, involved in Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa's continuous sacrifice for five days and implied in the designation Pañcarātra of the cult itself, with the obvious general signification of time in the term Pañca-kāla employed with reference to Nārāyaṇa and his Ekāntins. Is it possible that the Pañcarātras had a mysterious five-day rite in imitation of the mythical *pañca-rātra sattra* of the original Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa, just in the same way as the

¹ It is scarcely necessary to point out that, even if their origin might have been independent, the Pañcarātras are apparently identified with the Ekāntins or Nārāyaṇīyas in the epic. Apart from the fact that Nārāyaṇa himself is called Pāñcarātrika, we are told (xii, 339, 110 f.) that the Pañcarātras only intensified the cult introduced by Nārada, which must be the doctrine explained to him by Nārāyaṇa himself.

² A. Govindācārya Svāmīn in *JRAS.* 1911, pp. 940 f.

³ F. Otto Schrader, *Introduction to the Pañcarātra*, Adyar (Madras), 1916, pp. 24 f. Or the term Pañcarātra may be supposed to refer to the five forms of worship of the system, viz., *abhiḡamana*, *upādāna*, *ijyā*, *svādhyāya*, and *yoga*, which Śaṅkara mentions (on *Brahma-sutra*, ii, 2, 42) in his notice of the school.

mythical three strides of Viṣṇu, as a personification of Brāhmanic sacrifice, were imitated by the Brāhmanic sacrificer's three strides in the ritual? Perhaps the performance of five sacrifices at five times in honour of Nārāyaṇa by the legendary Ekāntin, Uparicara-Vasu, has something to do with such a rite.

S. K. DÉ.

Dacca,

26th July, 1930.

URDU GRAMMATICAL NOTES, II

(a) GENDER OF NOUNS ENDING IN -ā.

The rule that nouns in -ā are masc., with the exception of some Sanskrit words, all Hindi diminutives in -iyā, and certain Arabic abstracts, is only approximately correct. I have made some lists which may be of interest. It might be claimed that one or two of the Hindi nouns are diminutives, but I do not think they can fairly be so described.

Hindi fem. nouns ending in -ā :—

<i>aṅgiyā</i> , bodice.	<i>garhayyā</i> , large pit.
<i>jāṅgiyā</i> , <i>jāṅghiyā</i> , drawers.	<i>ṭhiliyā</i> , earthen pot.
<i>chāliyā</i> , betel nut.	<i>muniyā</i> , amadavat.
<i>saṅkhiyā</i> , arsenic.	<i>mainā</i> , starling.
<i>badhiyā</i> , bullock, gelding.	<i>shāmā</i> , magpie robin.
<i>bhaṭ kaṭayyā</i> , a prickly plant.	<i>barvā</i> , poor land.

And the proper names :—

<i>Lankā</i> , Ceylon.	<i>Ajodhiyā</i>
<i>Gaṅgā</i> , Ganges.	<i>Janīvā</i> , Geneva.
<i>Jamnā</i> , Jamnā.	

The following are worth adding, for they are so common that the fact of their being Sanskrit is forgotten :—

<i>jaṭā</i> , matted hair.	<i>pūjā</i> , worship.
<i>ghaṭā</i> , dark cloud.	<i>sabhā</i> , assembly.
<i>mālā</i> , necklace.	<i>dayā</i> , mercy.
<i>sīlā</i> , smallpox.	

To these we might add :—

kirpā, kindness. *bidyā*, knowledge.

The following Persian feminines should be noted :—

shahnā, flute. *āsiyā* corn mill.

qarnā, horn. *sazā*, punishment.

cūn o cirā, excuse. *daqā*, deceit.

sarā, inn. *parvā* caring, etc.

jā, place.

A few Arabic feminines in *-ā* should be recorded as not being abstracts :—

dunyā, world. *qulyā*, name of a sūra in the Qurān.

ṣahbā, wine. *kīmīā*, chemistry (Greek).

(b) ARE NOUNS DENOTING MALES ALWAYS MASC., AND THOSE DENOTING FEMALES ALWAYS FEM. ?

It has often been pointed out that *ghar*, house, *qabīla*, family, etc., even when used for “wife”, retain (as is natural) their masc. gender. I have never seen any mentioned on the other side, and therefore venture to adduce the following :—

badhiyā f., bullock, gelding.

asāmī f., client, tenant (male or female).

savārī f., passenger (male or female).

sarkār f., the government, also single individual, your honour, his honour.

polis, *pulīs*, *puls*, f., the police.

ra'īyyat f., plur. *ri'āyā* f. subject, landholder, tenant.

(c) THE MEANING OF “JĀNĀ” IN COMPOUNDS.

jānā, go, when added to the root of another verb to form a kind of compound verb, either contains or does not contain the idea of “going”. Can rules be given ? I would suggest the following :—

(i) When added to intr. verbs *jānā* does not contain the idea of “going” :—

baith gayā, sat down.

so gayā, went to sleep.

ā gayā, came.

The verb *itself* may of course imply motion, as *haṭ gayā*, moved away.

An exception, perhaps, is *uṭh jānā*, which means not to rise up, but to move out of one house into another.

Along with these must be included the occasional use of *jānā* with *karnā*, to form an intr. compound :—

sirāyat kar gayā, penetrated (*mē*, into).

jagah pakar gayā, found a place (*mē*, in).

As my colleague, Mr. G. E. Leeson, has pointed out, *jānā* often limits the meaning in a peculiar manner. This point deserves a note to itself.

(ii) When added to tr. verbs *jānā* normally contains the idea of “going” :—

rupayā de gayā, he gave a rupee and went off.

khirkīyāṭ tor gayā, he broke the windows and went away.

Exceptions.—While it is difficult to say with certainty that in any given case the idea of moving away is entirely absent, we do find sentences in which it is so weak that we may disregard it.

(a) Verbs meaning “understand”, “take in”, etc. :—

maī tār gayā, I saw and went way, or I saw and took in.

maī samajh gayā, I took in or have taken in.

maī jān gayā, I took in or have taken in.

maī dekh gayā, I looked and went, or I looked over (the volume).

(b) Verbs meaning “eat” or “drink” :—

sārā khānā ragar gayā, or *harap kar gayā*, or *khā gayā*, he ate all the dinner and went off, or he ate it up.

sharbat pī gayā, he drank the sherbet and went off, or he drank up the sherbet.

So *hazm k.*, *caṭ k.*, *nigalnā*, eat or swallow up.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTE

LUGAL-KI-GUB-NI-DÚ-DÚ CONTEMPORARY OF ENTEMENA?

Inscriptions of the early kings of Erech have been excavated at Nippur, and are written in a script which suggests that they may be older than the first known line of kings and governors (*patesis*) of Lagash. The names of these early kings of Erech as found on monuments of Nippur are commonly read *Lugal-ki-gub-ni-du-du*¹ and *Lugal-kisal-si* (also *si-kisal*).² Judging from the script of the inscriptions of Lugalzaggisi,³ these two kings of Erech cannot be placed long before his period.⁴ Lugalzaggisi was a contemporary of the last three kings of the fourth dynasty of Kish (middle of the twenty-eighth century B.C.) and the great line of kings and *patesis* (*iššakku*) of Lagash were probably contemporaries of the earlier kings of the fourth dynasty of Kish. It is, therefore, probable that Lugal-ki-GUB-ni-dú-dú and Lugal-kisal-si reigned at Erech and Ur in the time of the same Kish dynasty, and were contemporaries⁵ of Eannatum and Entemena at Lagash and the kings of Kish, Gimil-Sin, Ur-Zamamama, Zimudar. The dynastic lists recognize Kish only as the capital of Sumer and Accad in this period, but the rulers of Lagash and Erech also call themselves indifferently "kings" or "patesis". So Akurgal son of Ur-Nina and father of Eannatum is described as king of Lagash and also *patesi* of Lagash.⁶ Urukagina calls himself "king of Lagash", but his great predecessors, Eannatum

¹ Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, Nos. 23-5; 86 (also king of Ur).

² *Ibid.*, Nos. 86; 91-2. Also king of Ur, No. 86, second vase, l. 7. A vase found at Ur dedicated by *A-nu-zu* the *damkar*, seems to bear the names [Lugal]-ki-[GUB ni]-dú-[dú] and *Lugal-kisal-[si]*, *Ur Excavations*, No. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 87.

⁴ See the judicious remark of Thureau-Dangin, *RA.* xx, p. 5.

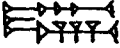
⁵ Eannatum was a contemporary of Zuzu, king of Akaš, and of a certain *Al . . .*, king of Kish, both unmentioned in the dynastic lists!

⁶ Thureau-Dangin, *SAK.* 11, No. 4, ii, 8, and 21, b; iii, 2; 27, 1; ii, 1-2.

and Entemena claim the lesser title *patesi*. On the other hand, Urukagina also appears in temple records as *patesi*.¹

In *Revue d'Assyriologie* xxvii, 125 Mr. Gadd published an important text of Entemena *patesi* of Lagash which states that he and a certain *Lugal-ki-ni-X-dú-dú*, *patesi* of Erech, "made brotherhood," formed an alliance.² The similarity of the name of this *patesi* of Erech with the name of the king of Erech commonly read *Lugal-ki-gub-ni-dú-dú* is striking; the fact that this king of Erech must have reigned about the same time as Entemena also forces upon one the suggestion that there must be something wrong about the way in which the name *Lugal-ki-gub-ni-dú-dú* has been read. The reading introduced by Hilprecht, OBI. ii, 46 has been generally adopted; Hilprecht's interpretation of the name *lugal-kigub-nidudu* = *šarru-manzazu(a)-ušaḫlil*, "The king has finished the place," *ibid.*, 58, n. 2, is clearly grammatical and natural. The sign after *ni* in the new text, RA. xxvii, 125, 17 is taken by Mr. Gadd for REC. 469, but the form (upper horizontal stroke protruding to the left, perpendicular interior stroke) leaves considerable doubt. If it is this sign, it may be read *eš*, *še*, or *šu*. CT. 7, 47, A. 16 has a sign which is practically identical but the variant, Reisner, TU. 173, 13 has here *má*; it is impossible to see *má* in the sign on B.M. 17775. In Genouillac, *Textes Cunéiformes* xv, pl. 14, l. 187, the sign appears to be intended for *dar*, confused with *sī* (= *si-gunu*, REC. 48). In any case *sī* is

¹ RTC. 48, Rev. iii, but 20, Rev. ii, *lugal*, "king."

² *nam-šeš*. The sign  with values *šeš*, "brother," and *uru*, "to protect," are different signs in the ancient script. *SEŠ*, REC. 8, has two circles above the horizontal shaft, so *šeš-sa-ni*, his brother, Allotte de la Fuye, DP. 177, i, 6. But *inim* ^d *Ningirsu-ka urù-ám*, "As one who observes the command of Ningirsu." Gudea, Cyl. A. 20, l. Cf. Deimel, *Fara*, Sign List, Nos. 31-2. It is the second sign (*uru*) which is used to write *urinnu*, "spear." See Deimel, *Fara*, ii, 20, Rev. i, 16; Gudea, St. E, 3, 4; C. 2, 23; Cyl. A, 24, 21. The form originally used in the ideograms for ^d *Nanna(r)* and for the city Uri is *šeš*, "brother." See *Fara* ii, pl. ii, Col. 1, 6.

written in a form almost identical with that used in RA. xxvii, 125, 17 and in CT. 3, 1, B.M. 12156, 2.

Is it possible then to read *še* for *gub* here? *GUB* is glossed *še-e*, AJSL. 36, 159 C. 14; the Accadian rendering may be *magāru*; cf. *še(g) = magāru*, Br. 7428, with *GUB(gi-in) = magāru*, 4889, but this is improbable; for the same text, AJSL. 36, 158 B. 26, has *GUB(gi-e) = magāru*. It is probable that *GUB* has the value *še* in two passages indicating that a compound verb is construed with *šu, še*; *gud-dú máš-dú-GUB (šê) si-im-di-di-e*, "He provided sleek oxen and sleek kids," Gudea, Cyl. A., 1, 14, and parallel passage, *gud-dú máš-dú-GUB(šê) giš-be-šum*, "He slaughtered sleek oxen and sleek kids," 18, 7. In both passages Thureau-Dangin also took *GUB* for a particle reading *rá*. But admitting that these compound verbs *si-di* and *giš-šum* are construed with *ra*, it would be difficult to admit this with neuter objects; for *ra* is construed with persons, and *šú, še* with things.¹ There is a clear example of *si-di* (also *si-sá* is a correct reading) construed with *šú, šé*; *illuru ku²E-TUM-UR-mé-šú si-di-da-zu = tilpanu u kababu ina šutêšuri-ki*, "When thou directest javelin and shield," RA. 12, 79, 17. I did not understand the syntax in my edition, *ibid.*, and supposed *šú* to stand for *šu*, making a causative verb, *šu-si-di*. It is, therefore, most probable that *GUB* is the postfixed directive particle *šê* in the passages cited.

Comparing the two readings of the name of the king of Erech and using *še* for *gub*, the result is (1) *lugal-ki-šê-ni-dú-dú*, (2) *lugal-ki-ni-šê (èš, or perhaps sî)-dú-dú*. The order of the signs in early names is not constant; with this reading the name as written in RA. xxvii, 125 is *Lugal-ki-ni-še-dú-dú* (or *rû-rû, ul-ul*), perhaps, "The king made fit for his place," which is not good Sumerian, *ki* never being used in that way. *kí-šé*, "to the earth," is possible. Only *du-du* or *ru-ru* are admissible readings, and the name being derived from some

¹ Sumerian Grammar, § 80. Cf. ² *Enlil-ra Nibru-šú kâš-mu-un-na-dib-bi*, "To Enlil and Nippur he hastened," Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 197, ii, 11.

unknown mythological poem must remain unexplained. *Lugal-ki-šê ni-dû-dû*, "The king (title of some god) has made it beautiful on earth," is the most probable interpretation.

Granting that this is the reading, then *Lugal-ki-ni-eš-dû-dû*, as read by Gadd, is clearly the king of Erech, hitherto known as Lugalkigubnidudu. The new inscription makes him a contemporary of Entemena which is certain from all the historical evidence. It is incredible that famous kings of Erech in the same period should have names (in the old readings) so similar, and it is certain that they are the same persons.

S. LANGDON.

THREE PAHLAVI NOTES

1. THE "HARE" IN PAHLAVI

In the "Chapter of Animals" of the Iranian recension of the Bundahišn, the seventh kind of animal is the hare: p. 96, l. 10, هفت سحره سحره *haftom sahūy hast xar-gōš*, "seventhly the *sahūy* (hare) that is the donkey-eared." This passage was not understood by the writers of the Indian recension nor by the Pazandist. The Indian Bundahišn has (ed. Justi, p. 30-1) سه سحره سحره *səyā xarg<ō>š* in Avestan letters. The Pazandist (Pâzend Texts, ed. Antiâ, p. 41, l. 13) has سه سحره *zāgī*, and according to West (*SBE.* v, p. 49, n. 4) the manuscript M. 6 has *zyāgi hast*. This reading *səyā* naturally suggested the Pahlavi سیاه *siyā* or سیاه سیاه *siyāk* "black", and so West translated it. Then the word هفت *haft* (= "that is") was inconvenient and is absent from the Indian recension. But the word of the Iranian recension سحره *sahūy* is certainly to be read *sahūy* derived from the Iranian *saha-* "hare", which is well represented in the Eastern dialects down to the present day, Parachi *sahōk*, Ormurī



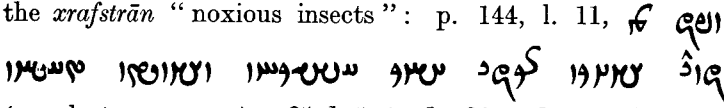
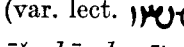

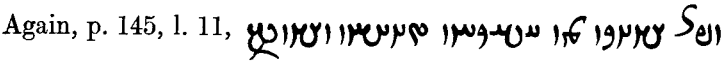


From these Iranian words it is safe to conclude that Indo-Iranian had *śasa- "hare", preserved as *saha- in Iranian, but altered by assimilation of the sibilants in Indian śāśa-, cf. Avestan *xvasura-* < **suekuro-*, Sanskr. *śvaśura-*. This dispenses for Indo-Iranian with Brugmann's suggested connection of Sanskr. śāśa- as a reduplicated formation with Greek κεκῆνας· λαγούς, Κρητες (Brugmann, *Vgl. Gram.* i, 2, 732).

2. "SILK"

Corresponding to the Armenian loan-word *aprešum*, *aprišum* "silk" quoted by Hübschmann (*Arm. Gram.*, p. 107), the Middle Iranian form is found in Pahlavi (*Iran. Bund.*, p. 146, ll. 13–15): *ēn xrafstrān Ohormazd pat harvisp-ākāsīh vas apāč avi sūt i dāmān vartēnēt, čēgōn makas kē angupēn kunēt, kirm kē aprēšm* 𐭠𐭥𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭬, "as for these noxious insects Ohormazd through his all-seeing providence turns them largely to the profit of his creatures, as the 'fly' which makes honey, and the worm which makes silk." Again, in *Iran. Bund.*, p. 144, l. 5: *kirm i aprēšom* 𐭠𐭥𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭬 "silkworm", the form from which the Armenian *aprešum* was borrowed. The meaning of the word in Pahlavi is at the same time assured in accord with Arm. *aprešum* "silk" and NPers. *abrēšam* "silk". The NPers. *abrēšam*, later *abrišam*, passed to other Iranian dialects, Bal. *abrēšam*, Munj. *vṛēšum*, Wakhī *vṛīšum*, Iskāshmī *abrēšum*, Šughnī *abrēžum*, Afg. *wrešam* (see Zarubin, *Iran.* i, p. 173; Morgenstierne, *Etym. Voc. Pashto*, p. 90). Besides this compound,

aprešm < **upa-rēšma*, the simple word occurs in NPers. *rēšam*, *rīšam* with the same meaning "silk". Both words are derived from *rēs*- "to spin", NPers. *rištan*, *rēs*-, *rīs*- (the -s- may represent Indo-European *ḱ* or *ǵh*, cf. NPers. *lištan*, *lēs*- *līs*-, "to lick," Greek *λείχω*) with the common suffix -*ma*.

3. "WASP"

Further support to the interpretation of Avestan *vawžaka* (Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, 1346) by comparison with Bal. *grabz* "bee, wasp, hornet", is given by the word *vaβž*, written  and , in Pahlavi. The word occurs in the *Iran. Bund.* as the name of one of the *xrafstrān* "noxious insects": p. 144, l. 11,  (var. lect. ) *vaβž hač čand adivēnak ānč i xānak āšyakān kunēt gilēn*, "wasps of several kinds, that also which makes its house and nest of clay" (read  *TYNĀ-ēn*). Again, p. 145, l. 11,  *vaβž adivēnak kē āšyakān i gilēn kunēnd*, "the genus of wasps which make nests of clay" (read  as in 144, 11 and  *TYNĀ-ēn*). The same word has been recognized by Benveniste in Sogd. (Buddh.) "wz'k SCE. 146 (Benveniste, *Le Sūtra des Causes et des Effets*, ii, p. 31). In the Pamir dialects Munjānī has preserved *wāfšiya* "wasp, gad-fly" (Zarubin, *Iran.* i, p. 174). The Avestan *vawžaka*-may, therefore, now be confidently translated by "wasp or hornet".

H. W. BAILEY.

THE KINGDOM OF KIZZUWADNA

The geographical position of the kingdom of Kizzuwadna has been not unjustly the subject of considerable discussion among Hittite scholars, as it has an important bearing upon both Hittite geography and history. Professor Forrer and his followers placed it in Paphlagonia; in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1923, p. 46, I assigned it to Eastern Cilicia extending from the Saros to the Euphrates, and Mr. Gadd and Professor Götze subsequently arrived at the same conclusion. In fact it was difficult to arrive at any other, since the tribute paid by Kizzuwadna to the Hittite king Mutallis, consisted only of *argamanna* or "murex-purple" (*KB*. i, No. 5, 48), which was in such large quantity as to furnish the Hittite language with a word *arkammas* for "tribute" in general. The murex, however, is not found in the Black Sea, whereas it was the chief trading commodity of the north-eastern part of the Mediterranean. Moreover, Kizzuwadna had both political and commercial connections with Egypt, while in the treaty between Mutallis and Sunassuras, the king of Kizzuwadna, the line of boundary is the river Savri which, as I have shown elsewhere, must be the Sâros of classical writers and the Savranchai of modern Turkish geography. Zilappuna, which is placed upon the eastern side of it by Mutallis (*KB*. No. 5, *Rev.* 62), must be the Zazlipa of *KUB*. xxiii, p. 22, 12, 24, which was in Kizzuwadna and not far from the Mitannian capital Wassuggannas. "The land of Ataniya" on the western side of the river I would identify with Adaniya "the district of Adana", which is coupled with Tarsa (Tarsus), Unnakhara (Ass. Ingira, Gk. Ankhiâlê) and Qummanna (Komana) in *KUB*. xx, 26, 21. In the treaty with Sunassuras, Kizzuwadna is described as adjoining the Mitannian Murri (not Kharri or Khurri!) who were their eastern neighbours, while Isuwa lay to the north of the latter.

In *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* xxiii, No. 68, Professor Götze has recently published the text of a treaty

made by the Hittite king Arnuwandas II with the city of Ismiriga which contains an important passage, unfortunately much mutilated, relating to Kizzuwadna. After a reference to certain "mercenaries" (*kussannattallas*), we read: (11) "And do [you] men of Ismirika (*sic*) observe your oath of vassallage (*linkiya ARDU-umat*); Ekhaltes . . . (12) [in] Kizzuwadna hereafter [shall be his ?] the city of Zazlippas; now he is in the city of Wa[ssuggannas] . . . (13) [X] . . . is (is) a man of Ismiriga; in Kizzuwadna the city of Wassugannas (*sic*) is his city; War[tilas] . . . (14) . . . [is a man] of Ismiriga; now his city (is) Ziyaziyas; in Kizzuwa[dna] the city of Wassukkanas (*sic*) [is his city] . . . (15). . . a man of Ismiriga; his city is Ziyaziyas; in Kizzuwadna his [city] is Wassuk[kanas] . . . (16) . . . a man of Ismiriga; his city (is) Ziyaziyas; in Kizzuwadna it is Wassuk[kanas] . . .

(17) immas, Nanis and Aliwasus, 4 men of Ismirik (*sic*); in Kizzuwad[na is their city] . . . (18) mazziyas and Murlannis, 2 men of Ismiriga; their [city] is Adaras . . (19) [in Kizzuwadna] the city of Aranas (is) their city; Akiyas and Khukhananis [2 men] of Ismiriga (20) [in Kizzuwadna ?] Terussas (is) their city; Zardumannis and . . . was, 2 men of Is[miriga] (21) . . . misas, in Kizzuwadna Urita (is) their [city].

(22) buriya; in Kizzuwadna Urussa (is) their [city] . . . (23) [a man of the] city of Irrita; in Kizzuwadna U[russas] is his city . . . (24) is and Pariyamuwas, 2 men of the city of Zazlippas"

The passage, in spite of its mutilation, makes it clear that in the time of Arnuwandas II about 1230 B.C. Wassuggannas, once the capital of the Murrian Mitanni, was included in Kizzuwadna, like Irrita which is coupled with it by Subbiluliuma (*KB. i, No. 3, Rev. 48-54*). As Dr. Weidner points out (*Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, p. 26), Irrita was situated between Carchemish and Harran, and we may therefore conclude that Wassuggannas was situated, not on the eastern branch of the Khabur, as Professor Hrozný

has suggested, but in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates. In the closing days of the Hittite empire Kizzuwadna must have gained possession of the Mitannian districts facing Carchemish; the possession of them, however, did not last long, as the northern invaders, more especially Moschians and Kaskians, descended upon the cultured lands of the south, destroying, according to Ramses III, the kingdoms of the Hittites, Qody (probably Kizzu-wadna, where the two last syllables are suffixal as in Kalyk-adnos), Carchemish, and Phœnicia, occupying Cyprus and finally establishing themselves in "the land of the Amorites". The older cities were to a large extent destroyed and with them perished the older geographical names.

It is worth notice that Subbiluliuma "descended" from the highlands to the towns of Suta and Wassuggannas, which must have adjoined one another as they were both plundered by him at the same time, and that as soon as the work of plundering was completed he crossed the Euphrates and entered "the country of Aleppo" (*KB.* i, 1, 27-30). The treaty of Arnuwandas II with Ismiriga was probably connected with his wars in the regions of Isuwa (between the southern bank of the Arzanias and the Euphrates) and Kumâ-kha or Komana, which are described in the fragmentary texts also published by Professor Götze in *KUB.* xxiii, No. 72. Here his antagonist was Mita or Midas, who must have represented the Phrygian invaders then making their way from Europe and north-western Asia Minor and driving the Moschians and similar Pontic nations before them.

A. H. SAYCE.

THE HITTITE MONUMENT OF KARABEL

In the brilliant chapter on the fragments of Hipponax in his *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilization* (p. 145) Sir W. M. Ramsay has shown (1) that in the fragment describing the

Royal Road to Smyrna the correct reading, or rather division of words, in the fourth line is—

καὶ μνημα Τῶτος Μυτάλυδι, πάλμυδος,

and (2) that the reference is to the two famous stelæ in Karabel, one of which was supposed by Herodotus to represent the figure of Sesostris. In a note he refers to my having read the name of the king in the Moscho-Hittite inscription attached to the figure. As the fact is the best verification known to me of the correctness of my decipherment of the Moscho-Hittite hieroglyphs it is worth while to state it in full.

Many years ago an excellent photograph of the Karabel monument was taken by a Greek. A little later, in 1879, I visited the spot and took a squeeze of the inscription. Unfortunately, the squeeze was injured on my way back to England, and the drawing, accordingly, made from it by Mr. Rylands and published in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology (vii, 2; 1881) was very far from correct. My own drawing made on the spot proves to have been much more accurate. Since then, in 1916, I have been able to examine the exceptionally good cast in the Art Institute at Chicago, where all the characters in the first two lines are clear, while those of the third line can be read with the help of the pencil copy which I made in 1879.

The inscription is as follows:—



My reading would be:—

- (1) KÛ *Tua-ti nai-e.*
- (2) *Khalmis* DET.-e.
- (3) *amis-ku.*

“(1) Monument of Tuatis, the king (2) of the country of Khalmis, (3) the High priest.”

The name of Tuatis, written Tuates, meets us again on the stela found at Babylon (Messerschmidt ii) : AMEI-*a-me-i* DET. *Tua-a-te-s* KUANI-*ku-a-ni-s* ISI (?) -*mi-i-s a-tu*(?) -*wis-mê Tarku-kam-mi-a-ni-s*, " I am Tuates, chief priest, king of the city of the Tarkamian family " (literally " Tarkammian city-king ").¹ In the Tel el-Amarna tablets the name appears as Teuwatti, the chief of Lapana (perhaps to be identified with the Lamena or Lamana of Assur-nazir-pal eastward of Tarsus). In Greek inscriptions it takes the form of *Teátτης*, an inscription of Tennesos giving us the name of " Trôilos son of Teattes ". In Phrygia and the adjoining territory we find *Mōs*, gen. *Mōτος* (for *Moατος*), like *Pōs*. The Vannic king Argistis also mentions a contemporary ruler of Malatiyeh named Tuates (Sayce, xxxviii, 16 ; *JRAS.* Oct., 1882).

The " land of Khalmis " was the Phrygian district of which " the Midas-city " was the capital as we learn from a Hittite stela discovered there by Sir W. M. Ramsay.² The stela is cut in the rock at the entrance to the citadel and represents the standing figure of a god accompanied by an inscription in Hittite hieroglyphs which reads : " The sacred stone of the land of Khalmis." There was another city of Khalma and a land of Khalmis (Khalmadana) on the western side of the northern Euphrates as we have recently learnt from a Hittite cuneiform text (*KUB.* xxiii, No. 72, 39 ; R. 10, 35). Here, too, it is associated with a king Mitas or Midas.

A. H. SAYCE.

¹ The form of the character *tua* in this text is exactly that given to it at Karabel.

² *Mittheilungen d. k. Deutschen arch. Instituts*, xiv, p. 182 (1889). The original drawing of the discoverer gives the inscription more correctly than the illustration which omits the first character and blurs the last.

PAUNDRAVARDHANA TO KARNASUBARNA

(In the 7th century A.D.)

This pamphlet, presented by the author, has been reprinted in convenient form and brings together a large number of facts bearing upon the controversial question of the site of Karnasubarna.

It merits the consideration of scholars.

S. C. GHOSH.

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY'S JUBILEE

The Glasgow University Oriental Society celebrated its Jubilee at Glasgow by a reception and exhibition of Oriental objects in the Hunterian Museum in the afternoon of the 16th December, under the direction of the President, Dr. W. B. Stevenson, Professor of Semitic Languages in the University, and with the patronage of Dr. R. S. Rait, the Principal of the University. In the evening a special lecture was delivered by Professor Garstang on "The Walls of Jericho". A distinguished company graced both the reception and the lecture.

This society, the oldest of its kind in the British Isles, was founded in 1880 by Dr. James Robertson, the Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow (1877-1907). In 1901 an Historical Sketch of the Society was published, and since then four volumes of its *Transactions* and a volume entitled *Studia Semitica* have been issued by it. To mark its Jubilee, the Society aims at establishing a "Publication Fund", and it appeals to friends of Oriental studies to assist in endowing a capital fund that will produce at least £50 a year.

The Society deserves the fullest support, as besides being the oldest Society of its kind the record of its work is clearly one of growing fruitfulness and energy. In memory of one of its members it has recently established a University Prize for original studies in Arabic, and during the past two years no less than ten books have been published by its members.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE KHASA FAMILY LAW IN THE HIMALAYAN DISTRICTS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, INDIA. By L. D. JOSHI, B.Sc., LL.B. (Allahabad), LL.D. (London), Barr. at Law., M.R.A.S. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xiv + 368. Allahabad : Government Press. 1929.

This work, produced as a thesis, secured a doctorate in laws in the University of London. It contains a careful and detailed account of the family law of those inhabitants of the Kumaun Division, Tehri State, and Jaunsār Pargana of Dehra Dun, who a century ago would have called themselves Khasa Brahmans or Khasa Rajputs. Living as they did in the Himalayas, they preserved their own customary law, modifying it, no doubt, from time to time, but not following the changes wrought by priestly influence in the Hindu law of the plains. The incidents recorded here are full of interest to the student of ethnography as well as to the lawyer, whether an ordinary practitioner or intent on comparison of different systems. Within the last century woman in Kumaun was a chattel. Even to-day marriage is a civil contract, and the most binding part of it is the entry of the woman into her husband's house, where he need not be present. The ease with which the contract can be terminated by either party would please the most earnest reformer of our own marriage laws. Re-marriage of a widow or a separated wife is permissible, and children taken with the woman to her new husband are accepted as his. Adoption, while admissible, is made not for religious but for worldly purposes.

Rights in land are vested in the village community rather than in the family, and the son does not acquire at birth the full right under the Mitakshara law, though he has a stronger position than in Bengal. A widow, remaining in her husband's house, may take one of his brothers, or even a stranger, and

raise up seed and still be regarded as in his family, though if she goes to the house of another man she loses her position.

The historical account of Kumaun is mainly taken from Atkinson's *Gazetteer*, and a new history of the tract is badly needed. Dr. Joshi's style is rather diffuse and full of repetition. The book would be more useful to both the student and the practising lawyer if these faults were eliminated in a future edition. A notable omission is the absence of a clear definition of the important terms *khaikar* and *hissadūr*, and the creation of *thatwāns* during the thirty years of Gurkha rule is not mentioned.

R. BURN.

INDIGENOUS BANKING IN INDIA. By L. C. JAIN, M.A., LL.B.,
Ph.D.(Econ.), London. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xvii + 274.
London : Macmillan and Co. 1929. Price 15s.

Dr. Jain has written a competent survey of his subject, and equipped it with well-selected tables and diagrams of such statistics as are available. He admits frankly that the business in India is more largely one of money-lending than of banking in the Western sense, as those engaged in it deal in the majority of cases with their own private capital and do not accept deposits or discount trade bills. His description of methods is clear and full, and he gives adequate accounts of interest charges, the growth of joint stock banks in India, co-operative credit, and attempts to control the evils which are bound to arise from the ignorance of borrowers and the greed of unscrupulous usurers.

In his survey of the extent to which the agriculturists are indebted he might have referred to Sir Harcourt Butler's speech in November, 1922, which showed that over 60 per cent of the landholders in the United Provinces, paying Rs. 5,000 land revenue or more, were free from debt, and of the rest about half were only moderately indebted. The banking crisis of 1913, which brought down so many indigenous banks,

was largely due to departure from sound methods. Too many banks had locked up funds in loans for buildings or in mortgages on land. Dr. Jain is in error in suggesting that the system of *taqavi* dates from the Acts of 1883-4. It was in force from the early days of British rule,¹ and the great development in times of famine should have been mentioned. Loans on joint security have been very successful. In describing the legislation which restricts alienation of land, it would have been well to refer also to the Encumbered Estates Acts which have been very effective in liquidating debt.

Dr. Jain makes a number of practical suggestions for linking the indigenous moneylenders and bankers in the general banking system of the country. These will be useful for the Committee which is now examining the whole question.

R. BURN.

A STUDY OF THE MAHĀVASTU. By BIMALA CHURN LAW.
9 × 6, pp. x + 180, pls. 4. Supplement, pp. 40. Calcutta
and Simla : Thacker, Spink, and Co., 1930.

The *Mahāvastu* is well-known for being in its arrangement, as Dr. Law says, most disorderly and full of repetitions. He has therefore gone through the entire text and given translations of the most important passages, and by classing the material under three heads, the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, Gautama Buddha, and stories, he has succeeded in presenting an interesting picture of the legendary portion of the whole. The plates, reproductions of Indian sculpture and painting, are most appropriate and attractive. His method of analysis is excellent, and he has succeeded in preserving the impression of the original arrangement. This, except for a page of introduction and a note by Professor Keith, is all that he gives us, and it is not exactly what we mean by a study. However, he has since made up for this by issuing a Supplement, in which ten pages are devoted to Avadāna or Apadāna

¹ See *Bengal Reg.*, XLVI, 1795.

contrasted with Jātaka, the importance of the study of the Mahāvastu, religion and philosophy, and other important questions. The remainder consists of a useful table of correspondences with Senart's edition and further extracts from the work. Is it intentional that the *Mahāvastu* is called "one of the most important books of Mahāyāna Buddhist literature"? Later on Dr. Law calls it "a work on the Vinaya of the Lokottaravādins among the Mahāsāṅghikas", and he appears to favour the date for the work (third or second century B.C.) given by MM. H. P. Śāstrī, but without contradicting Professor Keith, who puts it five or six centuries later. There is thus considerable room for further study.

E. J. THOMAS.

LA CATÉGORIE DU DUEL DANS LES LANGUES INDO-EUROPÉENNES ET CHAMITO-SÉMITIQUES. A. CUNY. Extrait des Mémoires publiés par l'Académie royale de Belgique (Classe des Lettres). Collection in 8°. Deuxième Série, xxviii. 10 × 6½, pp. 68. Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1930. Fcs. 15.

The question of relationship between Semitic and Indo-European has of late years been studied from the morphological side, and with better results than when the chief aim consisted in drawing up a list of common "roots". M. Cuny's work, even apart from its interest from this general point of view, leads to some solid results in Indo-European and Semitic philology also. He shows that the dual was not originally confined to natural pairs. It was just the other way about, and its use in the case of natural pairs only shows us where it persisted longest. The first four numbers in Indo-European are not the oldest but the latest. They were not needed when there was a dual, a trial, and perhaps a quatrial, but were added when the inflexional period was flourishing, and that is why only these four are inflected.

The whole article is an admirable example of the true comparative method. Its wider significance will have to be considered in connection with such results as those of H. Pedersen.

E. J. THOMAS.

THE ĀRYABHAṬĪYA OF ĀRYABHATA. An ancient Indian work on mathematics and astronomy. Translated with notes by W. E. CLARK. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxx + 90. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (The Cambridge University Press.) 11s. 6d.

Professor Clark offers this as a preliminary study based on inadequate material. Even as such it was well worth doing. It allows us to see where at present the chief difficulties lie and whereon further study should be concentrated. The *Āryabhaṭīya* is really two works, the first, the *Daśagītika*, having a separate invocation and conclusion. The subject is astronomy, as is also that of the other work, the *Āryāṣṭaśata*, except for the chapter on mathematics, the *Gaṇitapāda*. The edition is well supplied with references to the works of modern scholars who have studied the subject, as well as to the Indian astronomical literature. The moderation of the editor's judgment on disputed questions inspires confidence.

E. J. THOMAS.

CATALOGUE OF THE ROYAL ENGINEERS CORPS LIBRARY at the Horse Guards, Whitehall, London. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xxviii + 522. Chatham: Mackays, Ltd. Published by the Institution of Royal Engineers. 1929.

This catalogue has the somewhat unusual feature of being essentially a subject catalogue. Its aim is "to enable officers to see at a glance what books on any one subject (are) to be found in the Library". There is no doubt that from the point of view of the student who is not seeking a particular book, but who wants to know what books there are for him

to study, this is the best arrangement. There is an Index of authors' names, which allows the book to be used as an author catalogue, but anonymous works do not always seem to be adequately treated. Revision by someone with a competent knowledge of German would have been advisable, though the occasional lapses do not impair its usefulness.

E. J. THOMAS.

A GRAMMAR OF THE KUI LANGUAGE. By Rev. W. W. WINFIELD. 10 × 7, pp. xiv + 248. Bibliotheca Indica, 245. Calcutta : Asiatic Society of Bengal. 1928.

A VOCABULARY OF THE KUI LANGUAGE. Kui English. Same author and publishers. pp. xiv + 132. Bibliotheca Indica, 252. 1929.

The speakers of the Kui language are known from the Oriya name *kandha*, *kondho*, as Kandhs and in the Anglo-Indian corruption as Khonds. Mr. Winfield prefers the name Konds as a satisfactory Europeanized term. As Kui is not a literary language, the chief interest of the grammar is philological, and it has a special value from this point of view as it has not been crowded with a Sanskrit vocabulary. Mr. Winfield's grammar is the first executed on an adequate scale, and is specially welcome for its phonetic method and treatment of the syntax. The vocabulary which now accompanies it follows the plan of the grammar, and distinguishes words that are borrowed from Oriya.

E. J. THOMAS.

INDIAN ISLAM. A religious history of Islam in India. By MURRAY T. TITUS, Ph.D. (Hartford, K.S.M.), D.D. (Ohio, Wesleyan). $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xvii + 290. London : Humphrey Milford. 1930. Price 12s. 6d. net.

A monograph of this kind on Islam in India has long been desired. The numerous sects professing Muḥammadanism in the sub-continent have peculiar qualities due to their

relationships with Hinduism and to ancient local custom, and these sects are of decided interest to anyone engaged in the study of Islam or of India. They are described in the present work in lucid and agreeable fashion; the newest developments of Islam in India—which there has dynamic qualities—being set forth, together with the effects of Western thought and political activity on the ideas of Indian Muslims of different types of mind, both progressive and reactionary. Towards the end of the book there are given some extremely useful tables showing the distribution of Muslims among the various provinces of India, their racial origins and “social classifications”, their religious orders and their languages. Several pages also are devoted to the vernacular press, the periodicals belonging to which are distributed over all the provinces of India and make use of numerous languages, including English.

The sections of the book dealing with the later history of Muḥammadanism and its development in India are of considerable value and interest. For the early part of the history and for his general account of the Islamic institutions the author has, unfortunately, relied on late and secondary sources mostly in translations from Arabic and Persian, with the result that much of what he says on these subjects is obsolete. Dr. Titus still regards the early Muslims as having set forth with the Qur’ān in one hand and a sword in the other, but he leaves unexplained how it was that in these circumstances so much of a country like Persia, for example, in spite of its being a province of the Caliphate, remained unconverted until well on in the third century of Islam. Also he still maintains (pp. 17 f.) that Muslim canon law—as though Islam also recognized a secular law—early in the development of the faith made *jihād* incumbent on every Muslim sovereign and that “the people against whom the *jihād* is directed must first be invited to embrace Islam. If they refuse they have two alternatives: (1) to submit to Muslim rule, become *dhimmīs*, and pay the *jizyah* (poll-tax)

and *kharāj* (land-tax); or (2) fight". Actually, there is little doubt that, under the Umayyads and after, all holders of land, whether unbelievers or Muslims, were made to pay *kharāj*, and in the first century of Islam, if not later, *jizya* and *kharāj* were interchangeable terms, a fact which implies that 'Umar at any rate formulated no rule specifying *jizya* as a poll-tax payable in return for Muslim protection. In the passage quoted, Dr. Titus has been misled by his sources into confusing the general and the specialized meanings of the word *dhimmī*, the former being applicable to any person under the *dhimma* of Islam and the latter only to a member of the *ahl al-kitāb*. On p. 18 he inserts an explanatory sentence declaring that "the status of *dhimmī* may be offered only to those people who have a scripture"—amongst whom Islam certainly did not include the Hindus, and yet on the next page he describes how the first invader of India "on approaching a city of the infidels . . . offered them the alternative of embracing Islam or of becoming *dhimmīs* and paying *jizyah*". One can only set down such errors as these to the neglect of good and early authorities and the fact that the author has thereby been led astray into the common fault of seeing in the system of Islam an ordered simplicity which it never possessed except in theories formulated by the 'ulamā at a comparatively late stage in the development of the faith. Other errors due to the use of translations rather than original texts—though they may be misprints—are *hijrat* "emigration" (pp. 62 and 192) for *hijrat*, *dābir* for *dabīr* "secretary" (p. 68), and Ja'far *as-Ṣiddīq* for *al-Ṣādiq*, the 6th imām (p. 84).

R. LEVY.

STUDIES IN THE PSALMS, Part I. By SAMUEL DAICHES, Ph.D. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ii + 50. H. Milford, Oxford University Press, London, 1930. 5s.

This book forms No. 12 of the Jews' College Publications, and its genesis is a paper read before the Society for Old

Testament Study. In this paper, printed as the first essay in these studies, Dr. Daiches put forward the thesis that **אדם** and **בן אדם** in many passages of the Old Testament have a meaning not hitherto recognized, viz., "man of wealth," "man of position," often with the implication that such are evil, wicked doers, and that this meaning is specially recognizable in the Book of Psalms. In the present instalment only a portion of the Psalter is dealt with (i-xv) and a clear case is made out for our author's contention, which cannot be ignored by lexicographers.

The second essay maintains that the difficulties of interpretation in Psalms ix, x are overcome by attaching meanings to **אניש** and **גוים** which have hitherto escaped the commentators: **אניש**, like **אדם** and **בן אדם**, being not "weak man" but "strong man", the haughty, arrogant, wicked man; and **גוים** "wealthy people", with the added notion of their being oppressors who are not the heathen but bad Israelites. Incidentally, light is thrown on other passages of Scripture (e.g. Haggai ii, 14; Isai. xiii, 7; 2 Chron. xiv, 10) which have troubled the exegetes; and one great gain by Dr. Daiches' theory is that it enables us to read what is before us, the Massoretic Text, without resource to countless emendations.

In the third essay the chief interest circles round the meanings assigned to **לאמים** in Ps. vii, 8, and to **תבל** in Ps. ix, 9. Dr. Daiches suggests that **לאמים** does not denote "nations" but "persons of importance", wealthy people, thus making Budde's emendation **אלדים** unnecessary; and that **תבל** means here "the land" (Assyr. *tabalu*) and not "the world", a suggestion which simplifies the interpretation of other difficult passages which are to be dealt with in a forthcoming essay.

Particular interest attaches to the last section of the book which gives a new interpretation of the second Psalm, admittedly a *crux* to all commentators. Dr. Daiches submits that it is a Psalm entirely Jewish, dealing only with the land

and the people of Israel. Here his view of the meaning of נְיִים, "the nobles" and not "the nation", gives the key to his interpretation; and he suggests that an appropriate heading for the Psalm would be "The great ones in the land, too, should be righteous." The exegesis upsets the common view that the Psalm is Messianic and deserves a detailed investigation. נִשְׁקֵן בַּר is rendered "worship in purity" (as RV. marg.) and Dr. Daiches rules out absolutely the meaning of "son" for בַּר, "as it is not the king who is of real importance in this Psalm, but God, whose law the king proclaims and whose righteousness the king practises."

These essays display the acumen which we associate with Dr. Daiches' contributions to linguistics and exegesis, and we look forward to the issue of the further studies, which are to be continued on the lines already indicated in the present volume.

A. W. GREENUP.

PRE-DINNĀGA BUDDHIST TEXTS ON LOGIC FROM CHINESE SOURCES. Translated with an introduction, notes and indices by GIUSEPPE TUCCI. 9½ × 6, pp. xxx, 40, 32, 77, 89, 91. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, XLIX. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1929.

The four texts here translated formed part of the materials which Professor Tucci used for his survey of Buddhist logic before Dinnāga, published in the July 1929 number of this *Journal*, pp. 451-88. To these texts he gives the titles *Tarka-śāstra* (= Nanjio 1252); *Upāya-hṛdaya* (= Nanjio 1247); *Vigraha-vyāvartanī* (= Nanjio 1251); and *Śata-śāstra* (= Nanjio 1189). He translates the two former into Sanskrit (because they are very technical, and because they are such as to appeal to *naiyāyikas* of modern India), while disclaiming the purpose of giving a hypothetical restoration of the original texts. The two latter are translated into English; the *Vigraha-vyāvartanī* being accompanied with an

edition of the Tibetan version in Roman characters, the translation in this case being from the Tibetan as well as from the Chinese.

The first two works are of purely logical interest, though the interest is narrow. Both are concerned with debate (*vivāda*) merely, the subject of the *Tarka-śāstra* being *sophistici elenchi* (*jāti* and *nigrahassthāna*), while the *Upāya-hṛdaya*—though it is a rambling work touching on a variety of topics which appear to have been thought useful to a debater—is interested in sophistry rather than logic. The *Tarka-śāstra* reproduces the familiar divisions of the sophistic art without material modifications, and so far as internal evidence goes there seems to be no reason for regarding it as an early work. It was translated into Chinese in 552–557 A.D., and the attribution of it to Vasubandhu has perhaps no better ground than the cataloguers' dislike of anonymity. There is a passage (p. 25, l. 6 ff.) dealing with *arthāpattisama* which uses the illustration given by Vātsyāyana (the wrong implication “when there are no clouds it does not rain: therefore when there are clouds it does”). Professor Tucci says that this is “alluded to in NS. II, ii, 3, and is almost verbatim quoted by NSB.” But (if there is any question of quotation in so trite an illustration) why should not the *Tarka-śāstra* be quoting the sūtra? The work is familiar with the terminology of the *trairūpya* (p. 13, ll. 15–16), which is later than the *Nyāya-sūtra* and *-bhāṣya*. As to the antiquity of the *Upāya-hṛdaya*, Professor Tucci holds that some of the classifications of the *Nyāya-sūtra* do not appear to be so old as those found in the *vāda* section of Caraka; and he infers that the *Upāya-hṛdaya* (which resembles Caraka rather than the NS.) is therefore more primitive than NS. But is the premise sound? Caraka and these other *vademecums* of debate may look more primitive because they did not care to be too thorough. And it is not easy to believe that the *Nyāya-sūtra* and *-bhāṣya*, which after all are great logical works, owe anything to second-rate writings such as (after all allowance is made for the deficiencies of the

Chinese translation to which Professor Tucci frequently calls attention) these still appear to be.

The case is different with the other two works, the *Vigrahavyāvartanī* attributed to Nāgārjuna and the *Śata-śāstra* attributed to Āryadeva. These are of much greater interest and it is not unreasonable to impute them to great names. The former is an epistemological tract in the characteristic Mādhyamaka vein, embodying an attack on the *pramāṇas* which Professor Tucci is justified in regarding as very closely related to the discussion in NS. II, i, 8-19. He goes so far as to say that "there is no doubt that this refutation of *pramāṇas* was known to the compilers of NS. and to Vātsyāyana . . ." "There is no doubt that the compiler of this section of NS. meant to refute the attacks of Nāgārjuna as contained in the *Vigrahavyāvartanī* and implicitly in MMK." It is of course plain that NS. is arguing against a sceptic who denies that there is any criterion of truth ; and he brings in the dream-argument in the connection (and, as Vidyabhusana long since pointed out, in the language) in which Nāgārjuna employs it ; not as a moment in the idealist argument for the unreality of an external world (*bāhya-śūnyatā*), but to suggest that, as dreams have not only no real *objects*, but also no logic or criterion of the real, so also there is no logic in our waking thoughts. This reference to the dream-argument was misunderstood, so that the passage in NS. was thought to be directed against the *viññāna-vāda*. But, as Nāgārjuna uses it—and as NS. cites it,—it is not a merely idealistic but a sceptical argument ; an argument of the *śūnya-vāda*. If Professor Tucci had said that the *sūtra-kāra* meant to refute precisely such arguments as Nāgārjuna puts forward, his position would have been unassailable. But there is still a doubt whether Nāgārjuna was the first to use such arguments : and therefore it seems unsafe to draw the conclusion that this section of NS. is later than (or contemporary with) Nāgārjuna.

The *Śata-śāstra* is neither specifically logical nor epistemo-

logical, but its inclusion among texts on logic is justified by the logical interest of its arguments and of some of its topics, and by the fact that it not only refers frequently to the teachings of the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* but even quotes five sūtras which are to be found in *Nyāya-sūtra* III, i (the discussion of ātman. All these quoted sūtras will be found on pp. 32–36 of Tucci's translation of the *Śata-śāstra* : and all form part of Āryadeva's own sūtras, not of the commentary thereon). The obvious inference from these quotations would seem to be that this part of NS., at any rate, existed in very much its present form before the time of Āryadeva. But Professor Tucci finds himself precluded from drawing this inference by the fact that "these quotations are referred to by the commentator not as being taken from the Nyāya system but from the Vaiśeṣikas". He therefore suggests the hypothesis that these sūtras "were already existent though belonging to a Vaiśeṣika text and not to the NS." But perhaps reference to the Nyāya, *under that name*, could not be expected in any early work ; not because the Nyāya did not exist, but because the name was not applied to the system until comparatively late. It may be suggested that the name first came to be used as a result of that section in Vātsyāyana's *bhāṣya* (on NS. I, i, 1) in which he insists that the five-membered syllogism is *the* method—*paramo nyāyaḥ*. Before that, the school might have been regarded as a modification of the Vaiśeṣika in the direction of orthodoxy ; as in fact it is. And, for want of a better name, and because it was often of no importance to distinguish, opponents might use the term Vaiśeṣika—or sometimes *Yogāḥ* (see Mr. Kṣetreśa-chandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya's note on *A Peculiar Meaning of Yoga*, published in this *Journal*, October, 1927, pp. 854–8)—to denote either system. Professor Tucci has in this book made generally accessible evidence of first-rate importance. In the translation of the *Śata-śāstra* the book seems to reach the climax of its interest ; but it is from first to last an achievement which compels admiration, and a contribution to the

literature of the subject the full significance of which may take some time to realize.

H. N. R.

LÉGENDES SUR LES NARTES suivies de cinq notes mythologiques. By GEORGES DUMÉZIL, Professor à l'Université de Constantinople. 10 × 6½, pp. xii + 213. Paris: Champion, 1930. Price 40 fs.

This is the eleventh volume of the series of the French Institute of Leningrad, and does not at first sight appear to fit into a purely Russian set of publications, but the author is careful to show that the folk-tales, of which he gives fifty-one, with numerous variants, varying but little from each other, have some value, though not much, for comparison with Slavonic hero and giant tales. The legends are from Ossetia, Kabarda, Circassia, Chechenia, etc., and it is a pity that the author's travels in the Caucasus, in 1928, did not include a visit to Ossetia, the country where the memory of these wild "international heroes" of the "iron age" was still very much alive down to almost the middle of the nineteenth century. The Ossets, as descendants of the Alans and Sarmato-Scythians and last surviving representatives of the "Iranians of Europe", preserved many stories showing how good an ethnographic observer Herodotus (in his sixth book) was, and M. Dumézil devotes his first note (pp. 151 to 166) to this point, following the lead of Vsevolod Miller. In this classical field the author has already worked for some years (cf. his studies on the Centaurs, 1929, and the Crime of the Lemnian women, 1924), and the book before us is a useful contribution to the elucidation of Greek, Norse and other mythologies by comparison with early beliefs current in the Caucasus. One of the most interesting passages in the book is that summing up earlier observations concerning the "Roue de Saint Jean", at Basse-Kontz, near Thionville (p. 196), a solar myth found also, with the same name (p. 198), in the Osset stories. The

bibliographic material on pp. 16-18 will be useful to those who read Russian. M. Dumézil has inadvertently inserted a superfluous letter in the honoured name of Kondakov (note on p. 164).

O. W.

ARMENO-PELASGICA. Geschichte der Armenischen Philologie in Kritischer Beleuchtung nach ihren ethnologischen Zusammenhängen dargestellt mit Beilagen und Exkursen über die Asianische-Mediterranische Vorgeschichte. By JOSEPH KARST. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 213. Heidelberg (Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung). 1930. Price M. 10.

Professor Karst, of Strasbourg, occupies a high place among Armenologists, and this work is dedicated to the Mechitarists and printed by them at their press in Vienna, though published at Heidelberg in the series of "Schriften der Elsass-Lothringischen wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft". Its name shows its nature as a first attempt to deal with the Pelasgian substratum underlying the so-called "Indo-Germanic" element in Armenian. By "Pelasgian" we are to understand: (1) Proto-Pelasgian, a series of prehistoric tongues of the type of Basque (Euskara), Proto-Caucasian; (2) Deutero-Pelasgian, e.g. Armenian, Albanian, Deutero-Ligurian and probably the Deutero-Iberian or Ebro-Iberian of north-eastern Spain.

The book is but a summary of conclusions arrived at in a much more extensive work, ready for the press, on the prehistoric Asian-Mediterranean peoples and languages.

Among those to whom Professor Karst acknowledges his indebtedness is Professor Marr, whose "Japhetic" theories have made so great a stir in the philological world.

There are five chapters: 1, Historical position of Armenian; 2, Dialects, etc.; 3, Etymology; 4, Phonetics; 5, Morphology. There are also three supplementary monographs, two of which deal with Basque and Armenian and Iranian ethnical

affinities and the third with Thogarma-Thorgom (Togarmah, grandson of Japheth, Gen. x, 3, and Ezekiel xxxviii, 6) as the ancestor of peoples formerly inhabiting the lands from Turan-Turkistan through Armenia to Cappadocia, Crete, Libya, Spain. A threefold index facilitates reference.

O. W.

RASSEN UND RELIGIONEN IM ALTEN VORDERASIEN. By
MAX SEMPER. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 468 with front., 8 pl., 8 fig.
Heidelberg (Carl Winter). 1930. Price 25 m.

Trained and practised in paleontology and geology, untravelled in the Near East and unskilled in the languages of that region, Herr Semper has yet written a book well worthy of notice on the races and religions of antiquity. His bibliographical list, with five or six hundred entries, is a good one, and his index (very useful, though confessed to be incomplete) covers a wide range of subjects. As a collection of materials from many good sources, with abundant concise references to authorities, this is more than a summary compilation of printed matter checked by consultation with such well-known men as the late von Lecoq, F. W. K. Müller, and Jos. Marquardt; it is an attempt to find in history an inspiration for the Germans and their kinsfolk, a guidance in their religious and ethical life at the present day. The frontispiece is a clue to the purpose of the book; it is a drawing based on the Sasanid relief in Persepolis representing Ardvī Sura Anahita and, as the last chapter shows, Herr Semper claims to have demonstrated the long conflict in history between Anahita (Athene, Walküre, etc.) and Istar (Astarte, Aphrodite, etc.).

Book I is devoted to Ethnography; Book II, Aryan and Caucasian deities (Indra, Mithras, Anahita); Book III, religions of the Aegean and Asia Minor (Minoan and Mycenaean, Nude Goddesses, Attis, etc.); Book IV, interaction of ideas (Hellenic and pre-Hellenic gods, the Caucasian conception,

Marduk and Jahve, the Persian conception, magic and dogmatism); beginning on p. 414 we have an examination of the ideals of womanhood which gives a good view of the main object of the whole work—the contrast between the two erotic types, Anahita and Istar.

Of particular interest is the insistence (e.g. on p. 5) of the author on the great importance of studying the ancestors of the Caucasian peoples of to-day, so little known hitherto from the standpoint of comparative religious history. Plates ii, iii, from originals at Karnak and Luxor, show Mitanni of Mingrelian and Lesghian types like those of to-day.

O. W.

A SHORT HISTORY OF AURANGZIB. By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR. 7½ × 5, pp. ii + 507: map 1. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1930. Rs. 5.

This book appears without preface or other introductory matter, but a note on the title-page informs the reader that it is abridged from the author's larger work, that well-known classic, *The History of Aurangzib*. The reviewer is not therefore concerned with the subject-matter, which has already passed the critics, but only with the method of presentation, and the verdict on this point must be almost wholly favourable. The narrative is clearly and orderly, the characterization of individuals is excellent, and, while the book is not short by present-day standards, there is very little indeed that could be spared. The best proof of the author's power of presentation is the fact that even battles are rendered intelligible without the aid of diagrams; but I must admit that I have found the sieges occasionally puzzling, and I should like to suggest that the next edition might be enriched with plans of a few of the more important fortresses, such as Golconda or Bijapur. The map, too, might be improved. It is overcrowded owing to the insertion of details which are not relevant to the subject-matter, notably the network of railways, which make it difficult to follow the system of roads,

a vital topic for the readers ; while it does not show all the places mentioned in the text. These, however, are small matters ; the book can be recommended with confidence to any readers who have not time or opportunity to study the author's larger work.

W. H. M.

CHRISTIANS IN CHINA BEFORE THE YEAR 1550. By A. C. MOULE. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xiv + 293 pls. 14, illustrations 6. London : S.P.C.K., 1930. 15s.

This is a work of value to the student interested in this subject. He will find brought together, if not all the information that is available, yet ample to supply his needs. It consists largely of translations of letters, paragraphs from books, edicts and other literature in various languages, all of which, as would be expected from the author, are adequately documented.

Nestorianism in its two importations and Roman Catholicism in its first mission to China are the subjects of the book. The first Nestorian settlement in the days of that great T'ang emperor, T'ai Tsung, was definitely a mission to the Chinese and for some centuries was not without a measure of success. The second Nestorian importation can hardly be called a mission, at any rate not to the Chinese, amongst whom its propagation seems to have been hardly appreciable, though to some extent it was successful among the conquering Mongols. It was chiefly the religion of certain tribes which had been swept into the Mongol army and of Nestorian officials and soldiers of the coloniae established in various parts of China by the armies of occupation, and the entourage of those armies.

Mr. Moule has been unable to find evidence in support of the theories that have been advanced for the disappearance of the first Nestorian Church. Whether it became a sect of Buddhists, or was destroyed in the persecution that fell on Buddhists and Christians alike in A.D. 845, or whether, far removed from its

base, with no oversight and with few books and little that was distinctive in its faith, it gradually sank into decay, as did Judaism at a later date, Mr. Moule has found no evidence of value to prove. Nor has he been able to find anything to show that with the second advent of Nestorianism under the Mongol rulers any churches of the early mission remained. Nor has he discovered any documents to show in what manner the second Nestorian importation disappeared, or the Catholic Mission founded by John of Monte Corvino. The only reasonable conclusion seems to be that both the second Nestorians and the first Catholics were chiefly associated with the Mongol invaders with their international armies and peoples, and had little contact with the Chinese people. It would be a natural consequence that, along with the expulsion of the Mongols in the latter half of the fourteenth century, occurred the expulsion of the Christians, who disappear from our ken in the wake of the vanishing invaders.

The author, with meticulous care, has presented all the evidence that is of value to the student of this difficult problem. Such scanty records from Chinese sources as he has collected are useful as showing the extent of the ground occupied by the first and second Nestorians, as well as by the Catholics, but Christianity cannot have been of sufficient importance in so vast a country as to command much attention from Chinese writers. It is true that Christians, under the T'ang and Yuan dynasties, occupied high positions. Marco Polo's governorship of Yang-Chou is an instance of this, as also is the Yeh-li-k'o-wen Yuan, or Board for Christians, in the capital, though this is shown to be rather for the control of the Christian nations or tribes, chiefly dwelling in the north-west, than for the control of Christian communities in China itself.

The author has made it clear that the Nestorian monument of A.D. 781 at Hsi-an is the first authentic evidence that exists of Christianity in China. His translation of its text includes the further knowledge acquired since the days of Wylie and

Legge, but has hardly captured the style of the original, or of Wylie. The hymn "gloria in Excelsis Deo", found by M. Pelliot at Tun-huang, is so-called on the authority of Dr. A Mingana who identifies it with the Syriac version. However this may be, the Chinese version bears no resemblance to the Latin version. Seeing that the whole of its translation could equally well be expressed in the third person, as in the original, it seems less graceful to have used "You" and "Yours". Nor does the translation convey the rhythm of the Chinese version. But let the reader be grateful, for the original is not easy.

It may be noted that the opening phrase of the imperial decree, on p. 39, repeats the style of the Tao Te Ching: "The Way has no unvarying name, the sages have no unvarying systems; in succeeding places they have set up their teaching for the unceasing relief of all the living." It is at least doubtful if 隨方 means as stated "to suit the land", but rather "in their several regions". At any rate the decree shows the admirable breadth of view of the renowned ruler in recognizing variety of expression in religion. Again it is doubtful if 生成立要 means "it fixes the essentials of production and perfection", but rather "for initiating and perfecting, it establishes essentials". Instead of "In its speech", perhaps "In its phraseology", or "terminology", might be considered; and instead of "in its principle there is (perfect accomplishment) forgetting the means" perhaps the idea is that, possessing the principles, the details in regard to them may be ignored, for 忘筌 is another Taoist phrase from Chuang Tzu, "the fish being caught the trap may be ignored." The four characters translated "It is the salvation of living beings, it is the wealth of men", is a Buddhist phrase meaning "It saves (or blesses) the living and benefits men". As to "A brilliant breeze blows towards the east", 景風東扇 seems to be a delicate allusion to the "Nestorian breeze fanning the east", seeing that 景教 was the name of the Nestorian church. These and other details need not interfere

with the appreciation of the general reader, and the student who knows the Chinese language may have the pleasure of trying to make his own version of the Chinese texts.

Mr. Moule has rendered a service to all who wish to know what can at present be known about Christianity in China down to the fall of the Mongols.

W. E. SOOTHILL.

DER ANFÄNGER UNSERS GLAUBENS. By Lic. Dr. WILHELM ERBT. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 137, pls. 5, map 1. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1930. 11m.

This book describes itself as an investigation of the way in which the Gospels have been transmitted, and if novelty of conclusion be a merit it is highly meritorious ! The writer is a Nordist ; according to him there is a sort of golden chain connecting the Veda and the Avesta, Zoroaster, the picture of Jesus drawn by Simon Magus, the German Mysticism of the Middle Ages, Martin Luther's book on the Freedom of a Christian, and so on to Kant and Fichte (p. viii). This prepares us for surprises, and we get them.

That the Gospel of Mark was a source of Matthew and Luke, and that a common source (Q, Erbt's SE) lies behind these two is acknowledged by Dr. Erbt, but this does not lead him far enough. A Nordic spirit of divination has enabled him to reconstruct UE, an *Urevangelium* ; and SQ, an original *Spruchquelle*. But this is not all. Simon Peter denied his Master, but as told in our Gospels the act was venial ; it did no harm to any one. But we read elsewhere of a Simon who dissuaded Jesus from going to His passion, of a Simon who treated Jesus unworthily and objected to the gracious forgiveness of the " Woman that was a sinner " (Luke vii)—in other words a bad Simon. The " betrayer " of Jesus was one Judas, but he is a lay figure, invented for the purpose. According to Dr. Erbt the real betrayer was Simon Peter himself, though afterwards he repented ! So we get a tradition of two Simons,

a good and a bad, corresponding to the different parties among the early Disciples. The real Simon, again according to Erbt, lived near Haifa on Mount Carmel, where most of the real activity of Jesus is to be placed, near a little town called in the Middle Ages "Old Tyre".

I do not think it necessary to go much further with Dr. Erbt's theories, and will content myself with one or two detached remarks. (1) William of Tyre really does speak of *antiqua Tyrus*, but this name is unknown to earlier times and to oriental tradition. It is surely not out of place to remark what an ancient place "Old Tyre" must have been if the name really meant what it says! The place is now called *et-Tīreh*, whereas Tyre has been called *Sūr* or *Şor* by both Jews and Phenicians at least ever since Old Testament times. "Old Tyre" seems to me a Crusaders' blunder. (2) A curious statement meets us on p. 2, which may mislead the innocent reader. Dr. Erbt quotes the words of Jesus in Luke vii, 22, and then says Professor Schaeder has proved that enumeration of these works of healing is part of the traditional description of the *Urmensch*. From the context you would gather the authority was "Iranian", but the quotation which follows is not ancient and heathen at all, but only a description in the Mandæan Ginza of the essentially Christian figure of St. Enosh (GR i, 29; ii, 53). (3) A more general point may be kept for the last. Dr. Erbt's over-ingenious reconstruction of the Gospel History is not likely to win general acceptance. So complicated a transformation cannot be deduced from the documents: at the best it must be regarded as serious romance, like that of Venturini and his successors, including Mr. George Moore. But what is the impelling cause that leads to the production of these more or less learned romances? Is it not a feeling that we have not yet produced a satisfactory exegesis of the Gospels themselves, that the story, which in the last resort we owe to Mark, does not seem to hang together? Former generations were content to base their idea of the beginnings of Christianity on the Gospels, the

demand now is to base it on the movement itself of which the Gospels give an account. It is a very difficult task, but if Dr. Erbt succeeds in making his readers convinced that a problem, either of reconstruction or of more intelligent explanation, really is there to be solved his book will not have been altogether unsuccessful.

F. C. BURKITT.

THE MOST NOBLE AND FAMOUS TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO, together with the Travels of NICHOLÒ DE'CONTI, edited from the Elizabethan translation of JOHN FRAMPTON, by N. M. PENZER, M.A. 10 × 7½, pp. lx + 381, pls. 2, maps 11. London: The Argonaut Press, 1929.

It has just been announced that "the most completely equipped Asiatic expedition in modern times is soon to be organized . . . to traverse areas little visited since the famous journey of Marco Polo". If the members of that expedition purpose to follow the route of that wonderful traveller, they will find this book worth their study, less for the text than for the critical notes of Mr. Penzer. Not only they but all those who are interested in the first great Asiatic traveller will be grateful for the issue of this handsome volume.

Only three copies of Frampton's book are known to exist, nor has it ever been reprinted until now. One of the attractions of this issue is that it is presented in its original Elizabethan form and spelling, the "original head- and tail-pieces have also been preserved, together with the sixteenth-century capitals". The edition is on Japon vellum and is limited to 1050 numbered copies. The original woodcut on the title page is by William Monk, R.E., and the volume is printed by the Cambridge University Press.

The pages are not disfigured by notes, which are placed towards the end of the book, there occupying 110 pages, followed by eighty pages of an appendix giving selected passages from Ramusio's version, supplementing the account

in Frampton. The Index also covers nearly forty pages. There is a map showing Europe, Asia, and part of Africa, and in addition eleven new maps "to elucidate the itinerary of our great traveller".

Our geographical knowledge has increased in detail even since the recent days of Yule, whose labours are beyond the need of commendation, as are those of Cordier. Moreover, the recently published work of Benedetto has for the first time classified the various MSS. into the "groups to which they belong", has increased the Yule-Cordier list of MSS. from 73 to 138, and has revealed the existence of one "that contains many of the passages used by Ramusio". The text given in Benedetto is that of fr. 1116; this Yule "owned to be the best text", yet he discarded it in favour of "those used by Pauthier which were much inferior".

Frampton made his version from the Spanish of Santaella and Mr. Penzer in his painstaking Introduction traces the history, not only of this, but, of the other versions. He also discusses at length the itineraries, suggesting certain amendments which are deserving of consideration. Referring to the difficult itinerary from Kinsay to Zayton I have tried in vain to identify the route as described in the texts. It is over forty-six years since I travelled down the Ts'ien T'ang, and can form no adequate judgment from that experience. If Marco Polo had not been so careful to state that the places named were important, it would have been possible to believe that some of them were mere hamlets used as travelling stations. For instance, when Sir Alexander Hosie made his valuable map showing the commercial products of China, he was astonished to find villages of no size shown in the existing maps, while cities not far from them were totally omitted simply because they did not fall in the line of march. There are remarkable route maps still to be found in places, exhibiting every town and hamlet on the journey, but I am not acquainted with one for the route described by Polo. If, as the editor says, "any attempt at tracing the localities on

etymological grounds seems hopeless," then all else seems to resolve itself into guessing. The direction in Chekiang is given as one day south to Tanpiju, three more days presumably in the same direction to Vugiu, two more days south-east to Ghiugiu, three days south undefined, four days to Cianscian which parts a river in two parts, and four days further to Cugiu on the borders of the Fukien province. This seems to reach a total of seventeen days from Hangchow to the border of the adjoining province, a distance representing little more than 10 miles a day, a very slow rate of progress. Neither Yule's nor Phillips' suggested routes satisfy and there is still scope left for some traveller and scholar to solve this difficult problem.

Students of Marco Polo will recognize their indebtedness to Mr. Penzer for his issue of this volume, not least for the valuable introduction and notes which he has provided.

W. E. SOOTHILL.

THE QUATRAINS OF 'OMAR-I-KHAYYAM. Persian text taken from two newly discovered oldest manuscripts with an English Prose Version by FRIEDRICH ROSEN. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 4, pp. vi + 200 + 17 + 197, pls. 4. London: Luzac and Co. 7s. 6d.

This little book is in two parts, English and Persian. The former has a short preface followed by the English translation of 329 quatrains taken from a MS. which may be called J. (جد for جدید "new"), 13 quatrains as given in a shorter fragment contained in Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazvini's *Mūnisi' l-Aḥrār*, and 63 quatrains from another MS. (also provided by Mirza Qazvini) written in Herat in 930 A.H. To these translations a few notes are added; they are clearly meant for readers who know little about Persian. The title page is not quite accurate; 930 A.H. is not "oldest", and J's date is doubtful. The Persian half has an introduction and a short account of Khayyām, followed by the Persian

texts, of which translations are given in the first part, and an article in Arabic by Khayyām on the determination of the quantity of gold and silver in a body compounded of these metals—to show the poet's knowledge of science and his special manner of proving scientific matters. The only MS. of this article is said to be at Gotha. There is no translation of it.

The English translation is unattractive; in a few cases its correctness may be questioned, and sometimes it is unintelligible. For example, in quatrain 71, 1-2, Dr. Rosen's text runs: *نومید نیم زبت پرستان کنشت*, and he translates "I am not without hope like the idol-worshippers of the temple"; this is the translation of an alternative reading *چوبت پرستان*. The quatrain given as No. 8 on p. 196 of the Persian text is translated as No. 7 on p. 178 of the English. But the Persian has *ایام* and the English is Khayyām. Again, in the first quatrain on p. 1, what is the meaning of the last line: "You do a hundred things that are as low as a slave next to that"? Or, take quatrain No. 9: "To-day this verdure is admired by us, until it will be admired—by whom?" But, indeed, there are so many excellent translations of Khayyām that a scholar is hardly justified in producing another unless it is of distinguished merit or special utility. In his Persian note on p. 63 of the Persian part, Dr. Rosen says that there are two "very famous" (*خیلی مشهور*) translations of the quatrains—that of Fitzgerald in English, and his own in German—a remark that seems hardly fair to the many others who have laboured in this field.

The Persian half is well printed, as might be expected from the Kāvīyānī Press. There are occasional misprints; but that can hardly be avoided, and they are very few. The introduction is written in simple and clear Persian, which does great credit to Dr. Rosen's command of the language and forcibly reminds a reader of an article written by a contributor to the now unhappily defunct *Īrānshahr*. Its main object

is to settle which of the numerous quatrains which have been attributed to Khayyām are really his. It cannot be said that Dr. Rosen advances our knowledge very greatly. Unless, and until, a really old MS. is found, it is better to be content with Browne's conclusion—"it must, save in a few isolated cases, remain uncertain which of the many quatrains ascribed to 'Umar are really his." Dr. Rosen fixes upon twenty-three as genuine, including the thirteen given in the Mūnisu'l-Aḥrār.

Passing from the introduction to the main text given we observe that it is taken, as Dr. Rosen says in his English Preface and in his Persian Introduction, from the MS. J. But is it? A facsimile of some pages of the MS. is reproduced, and the readings do not always correspond with those of the text. Thus quatrains 76 and 263 are given in the text quite differently from what appears in the facsimile, and the reading in the facsimile is given in notes at the bottom of pp. 39 and 133. From which it appears that Dr. Rosen's text is something other than what he says it is. It is quite certain that the facsimile is that of J, because that MS. is stated by Dr. Rosen to end with the words *تمت الرباعيات ٧٢١* and the words *تمت الرباعيات الختام ٧٢١* are reproduced at the end of the facsimile. Dr. Rosen discusses the date of J. The number *٧٢١* may be intended for its date, although it is rather abrupt. But its script is nasta'liq, and Dr. Rosen, recognizing that 721 A.H. is too early for a MS. written in this script, decides that it is a copy of an original dated 721 A.H., to which the later copyist has added a certain number of quatrains from other sources. If this theory be accepted it gravely affects the estimate of J's value, and makes it doubtful how far it is worth while to print it and rely on it for an authoritative text. Why, indeed, should it be preferred to the well-known Bodleian MS.?

C. N. S.

MAJMA'-UL-BAHRAIN : or The Mingling of the Two Oceans.

By Prince MUHAMMAD DĀRĀ SHIKŪH, edited in the original Persian with English translation, notes and variants, by M. MAHFŪZ-UL-HAQQ, M.A., Lecturer in Arabic and Persian, Presidency College, Calcutta. 10 × 6, pp. vi + 146. Calcutta : Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1929.

This small fascicule in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series consists of the Persian text covering 38 pages only of the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*, a short prose work dealing with Sufistic doctrine written by Shāhjahān's eldest and favourite son Dārā Shikoh (not Shikūh, which represents only the modern Persian pronunciation of the word), an English translation occupying thirty-nine pages, and an introduction which runs to thirty-five pages. There is also a long list of variant readings and a very full index.

The work is of considerable importance because of its historical connection. Dārā Shikoh was born in A.H. 1024 at Ajmer and executed in A.H. 1069 at Delhi, after being found guilty of apostasy from Islam by a biassed set of orthodox theologians under the influence of his younger and more astute brother. The concluding words of the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* set forth the fact that the tract (*risāla*) was completed in A.H. 1065 in the 42nd year of the *faqīr-i-be-andoh* (the unsorrowing ascetic) Muḥammad Dārā Shikoh. This little treatise is not, as is admitted in the foreword contributed by the present Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a work of deep insight or great spirituality. On the contrary, it is "poor in spirit", formal and concerned with a barren discussion of words rather than ideas. The subject-matter is entirely matter-of-fact and consists of nothing but wooden terminological comparisons. It lacks both eloquence and inspiration.

The editor and translator has, however, done excellent work, and, if there is no surprising disclosure of literary brilliance or of profundity of thought, the translation has at

any rate removed the false glamour with which the career and death of the Mughal prince has tended to invest this and his other numerous, but by no means more interesting or important, literary compositions.

R. P. DEWHURST.

A HISTORY OF THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT, with a brief survey of the Urdu language. Part I, Babur ; Part II, Humāyūn ; Part III, Akbar. By MUḤAMMAD 'ABDUL GHANI, M.A., M.Litt. (Cantab.), Professor, Morris College, Nagpur. 8 × 5. Allahabad : Indian Press, 1929.

This is in my opinion a most important and valuable publication, full of matter of the greatest interest. It is dedicated to the late Professor Browne, to whose suggestion and encouragement the work is declared to owe its inception and completion, and it may be said without doubt and with no degree of exaggeration that as a whole, in spite of a little crudity and eccentricity occasionally in the author's English style, it is not unworthy to stand by the side of Browne's own admirable volume dealing with the history of Persian literature under Tartar dominion. The three volumes of which this work consists are very unequal in size. The first, which deals with the reign of Babur, only contains 153 pages, apart from the short introduction and the index. The second volume, which is concerned with the time of Humāyūn, runs to 196 pages. The last, treating the reign of Akbar, is much bigger than the other two put together, so it seems a pity that the portions of the work dealing with the two earlier periods were not bound together to form one volume. The actual portion of the third volume, concerned with the court of Akbar, extends only to 304 pages, but there are three lengthy appendices giving the Persian text and a translation into English of the three sections of the *Sih Naṣr* of Zuhūrī. These appendices cover 163 pages, and they are of very great

value, the English rendering being in my opinion exceptionally well done. The lithographed texts are also excellent.

The whole work is of extreme interest and value. This remark applies in a particular degree to the third volume and most of all to the portion from page 108 to page 170, where a number of the most famous and remarkable *qaṣīdas* of the most brilliant of all *qaṣīda*-writers, the poet 'Urfi, have been printed in full and followed by translations, which seem to me just what translations of Persian verse into English prose should be, no attempt being made to evade difficulties by what are often somewhat disingenuous paraphrases. So far as I know no attempt has been made to translate 'Urfi before.

All three volumes teem with interesting information. Professor 'Abdul Ghani is, fortunately for his readers, much addicted to giving quotations and there is an enormous abundance of them throughout the three volumes. The footnotes, too, constitute a very valuable feature, and I may single out in particular one very long note, occupying nearly twelve pages, on the subject of the modern poet Qā'ānī. This note is, strictly speaking, not very relevant to the main purpose of the book, but the matter of it is so interesting that one cannot help feeling glad that the author has interpreted his subject in such a liberal way. I do not personally like the labelling of Qā'ānī with the title "the Shelley of Persia", because I do not consider that any Persian poet in any way resembles Shelley at all either in thought, subject-matter, or style. Qā'ānī perhaps resembles him as little as any other Persian poet. These attempts to allege parallels between poets of different countries are to my mind useless and misleading.

To indicate all the notable features in these volumes would prolong this notice to inordinate length, but a few specially interesting points must be briefly indicated. In the first volume there are the lists of words given at pages 62 and 131 of Indian words found in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and in late Persian

literature. In the second volume we have the note on Qā'ānī, and in the last two most interesting comparisons, firstly between 'Urfī and Nazīrī (the latter also being compared with Hāfiz) and between Zuhūrī and 'Urfī, and finally a very forceful and convincing exposition of the erroneousness of the views expressed by Vincent Smith on the poets of Akbar's reign.

These volumes, especially the third, deserve almost unqualified praise, and they may be commended without any reservation to all who are interested in Persian literature in general and in its connection with India in particular.

R. P. DEWHURST.

OUR PERFECTING WORLD, ZARATHUSHTRA'S WAY OF LIFE.

By MANECKJI NUSSERVANJI DHALLA, Ph.D., Litt.D.,
High Priest of the Parsis, Karachi. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 8$, pp. xviii
+ 266. London: Oxford University Press. 1930.
Price 21s.

This exceptionally fine book is dedicated to Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, whom the writer acclaims as his friend and teacher, and it may be said at the outset that it reflects the greatest possible credit both on the teacher and the pupil. It is highly interesting throughout, and it is written in a most attractive style. It contains what is practically a history of civilization in all its phases, and while facing boldly and courageously all the defects in human civilization as it now exists it closes on a note of healthy but not exaggerated optimism. The writer holds the view that Zoroastrianism is the most optimistic living religion which exists in the world. Some of his criticisms of other religions are very acute and penetrating. Christianity, for example, he points out, preaches humility and meekness, passivity and peace in terms rarely equalled in clarity by any other religion, yet the Christian nations of the West, owing to their virile and

aggressive temperament, are on the whole the least fitted of all the peoples in the world to realize the Christian ideal.

His views on all subjects are expressed with great clearness and with remarkable detachment and freedom from bias and rancour.

The book begins with an introduction of eighteen pages, at the opening of which the author shows clearly what the present position of the world is after emerging from the greatest cataclysm in history and still experiencing the bitter aftermath of the most terrible war of all time. The world is distracted by class hatred, racial antagonisms and sectional jealousies to an unparalleled extent. There is a world-wide social unrest and an economic upheaval, which have assumed menacing proportions and threaten to be ruinous, yet the final conclusion is not a pessimistic one. The object of Dr. Dhalla is to deal with the religious, mental, social, economic and physical phases of life through all the stages of their development and to show that the universe is unfolding towards the realization of an aim, and that the life of man, though still manifestly imperfect in all its various fields of activity, has been on the whole slowly but steadily progressing towards perfection in accordance with the inexorable laws of co-operation with good and conflict with evil. This he conceives to be the real and vital message of hope that Zarathushtra brings to mankind.

The introduction is followed by the main body of the book, which occupies 354 pages and is divided into six sections. The first of these deals with the thorny question of the existence of evil in the world and gives an analytical description of the four main ways of dealing with it, the attitudes of resistance and non-resistance to evil, the policy of retreat before evil and that of regardlessness towards it. The five following sections deal in succession with the evolution of religion, of mental development, of social life, of economic life, and lastly of the physical side of human life and the satisfaction of its multifold necessities in the shape of food, dwelling, clothing,

agriculture, transport, and medical treatment. The discussion of these topics shows throughout the same high level of clear and profound thinking, based on careful observation and wide reading, the combined result being expressed in a manner which is both stimulating and attractive in a high degree.

Dr. Dhalla's book may be commended to all readers as a most fascinating exposition of the working of a powerful mind, subtle and critical and entirely free from religious or any other kind of prejudice. It recalls to my mind a book which I have always greatly admired, *The Martyrdom of Man*, by W. Reade, but it lacks the bitterness of tone which to some extent characterizes that book and is much more fair-minded and detached from bias.

R. P. DEWHURST.

THE MAHABHĀRATA. Critically edited by VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR, Ph.D. Ādiparvan fascicules 1-2-3-4 (published in 1927-28-29-30 respectively). 11 × 8½, pp. viii + 400, pls. 4. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1928.

These four fascicules constitute the opening part of a very important and ambitious work. The *Mahābhārata* is the longest and, in some respects, the most important epic in the literature of any language of the world. In dealing with its text the textual critic is faced with a bewildering profusion of versions, and also an amazing mixture of versions. All the problems, which present themselves for solution in editing any text based upon manuscript authorities, exist in the case of the *Mahābhārata* on a gigantic scale and in an intensified form.

The editor, who is responsible for the execution of this exceedingly elaborate and difficult task, is of opinion that a text prepared on eclectic principles will present a more faithful picture of the elusive "original" than any single codex could do. He reasonably admits that an editor who

attempts a reconstruction in this way may make mistakes, but he claims rightly that this is the first attempt to produce a critically-edited text. It is perhaps to be regretted that the promised elaborate introduction, containing a comprehensive account of the available manuscript material and a detailed discussion of the principles of textual criticism accepted and acted upon by the editor, has been postponed and will not be published until the last fascicule of the *Ādiparvan* is ready for the press. The ordinary reader will, however, find that the information given in the foreword at the beginning of the first fascicule, in the course of what are termed cursory remarks, is quite sufficiently formidable, and on seeing the extent to which the footnotes exceed in matter the actual text of the epic he will wonder how many human lives will be required to carry this enormous task to its final completion. Particulars are given of over fifty manuscripts, which have been utilized in preparing the text of the first two *adhyāyas* of the *Ādiparvan*, and the number of various readings is stupendous. The editor's task has been without exaggeration described as monumental, but it must be admitted that Dr. Sukthankar is in a very high degree qualified, by learning, training, skill and enthusiasm to undertake this work and thereby enhance the high prestige of Indian scholarship in the field of Sanskrit studies.

In conclusion, it must be added that the coloured illustrations, which have been designed by the chief of Aundh, seem to me very beautiful and to be in wonderful harmony with the spirit of the great Indian epic which they are intended to illustrate.

R. P. DEWHURST.

CALENDAR OF THE MADRAS DESPATCHES, 1754-1765. By H. DODWELL. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 468. Madras: Government Press. 1930. 16 rupees.

The historian of British India cannot complain of a paucity of records. On the contrary, he is apt to be overwhelmed

by their superabundance. This is especially the case with the records of the East India Company which form very valuable historical material. The distance of the Court of Directors in London from the Company's settlements in India, combined with a trading concern's natural desire to make its ventures a financial success, necessitated a close and constant supervision of its servants' activities in the East Indies. Political entanglements with the "country powers," together with the intrigues of hostile European trading bodies, alarmed the directors and led to a still more jealous supervision of the actions of their subordinates. Finally, the fact that the three chief settlements were administered by councils has provided the student with excellent historical records in the form of minutes and dissenting minutes.

In 1920, Professor Dodwell, whose researches into the history of British India are too well known to require comment, edited a series of despatches covering the period 1744-1755, which witnessed the War of the Austrian Succession and the rise and fall of that inveterate political gambler, Dupleix. The despatches of this period bear ample testimony to the fact that neither the directors in England nor their servants on the Coromandel coast had the faintest presentiment that they were to be the founders of a mighty empire. There can be no doubt that, until they realized the danger from their French rivals, trade was their principal preoccupation.

As Professor Dodwell points out in his *Report on the Madras Records*, the despatches from Court began in the year 1670, whereas the earliest existing despatches to Court date only from 1694. The Company's vessels normally left the shores of England some time during December and January, so that they would be able to catch the south-west monsoon in the Indian Ocean and arrive at Madras in June or July. Vessels from Madras were, as a rule, sent home twice a year, in September before the breaking of the north-east monsoon, or early in the New Year. An excellent account of the influence of the monsoon upon early Asiatic commerce can

be read in Mr. W. H. Moreland's penetrating economic study, *India at the Death of Akbar*.

The despatches under consideration commence in 1754, the year when Godeheu arrived at Pondichery to supersede Dupleix, and they cover an important period in the history of our Indian empire, a period which saw the Seven Years' War and the defeat of France. The early despatches in this volume bring out quite clearly the fact that the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was merely a truce, that the war which preceded it had by no means decided the struggle between England and France for colonial and commercial supremacy. The reader of these despatches soon realizes that war is inevitable. To quote but one passage :—

“Grand naval preparations in France have created such an alarm that the English have been forced to equip a fleet. Exhort the three presidencies to act together for the common good at this crisis.”

How important political considerations were becoming is apparent from Pigot's letter to the Secret Committee on the 27th October, 1755 :—

“According to the Company's orders of February 12, 1755, will, in future, address the Secret Committee on the following subjects : military operations, the Nawab's debt, the political situation, H.M.'s squadron, H.M.'s troops, and foreign nations in India.”

Yet, in the midst of military preparations, the Company's servants at Fort St. George appear to have been culturally inclined, but, in reply to their request for books, they received the sharp reproof, “this is not the time for forming a library or incurring needless expense.” This was in 1755, but, in the following year, we read that the exiles received a “*Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae, etc.*” by Mesgnien Meninski. Unable to procure the original edition published in four volumes at Vienna during the years 1680–87, the Company forwarded a new edition published at Vienna

in 1780. Both these editions can be referred to in the Library of the School of Oriental Studies.

It is, of course, impossible in this short review to do full justice to the mass of information contained in these despatches. The student of this period will find valuable references to the preparations for war, the Swiss soldiers in the Company's service, the career of Yusaf Khan (the Rebel Commandant), the schemes of Bussy, the Nawab of Arcot's debts, and, last but not least, the condition of trade on the Coromandel coast. Of great interest and importance to the military historian is the fact that Pigot, the Governor of Madras, ordered medals to be struck and distributed in his own name in commemoration of the defence of Madras in 1758-9. This action produced an indignant remonstrance from the Company, pointing out that honorary rewards were the Company's prerogative. Professor Dodwell states in a footnote that this appears to be the earliest distribution of medals in India.

The despatches end on an ominous note, for the Madras authorities are informed that "at the instance of Paul Benfield's friends, and their favourable representations of his abilities, the Company has added his name to the list of writers appointed this season."

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

STUDIES IN JEWISH LITURGY. Based on a unique MS. entitled *Seder Hibbur Berakot*. In two parts. 9 × 6; pp. viii + 139; fasc. 4. Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning. 1930. Price \$2.

In the conflagration of the library of Turin in 1894 all the Hebrew MSS. were burned. Happily, some years previous to that date Dr. Solomon Schechter, visiting Italy, noticed a MS. containing a compilation of prayers, and made a rapid copy of it in the cursive Jewish writing. This MS. was afterwards deposited in the library of the Jewish Theological

Seminary in New York. At the same time Dr. S. Schechter had a photograph taken of three pages. Dr. Abraham Schechter, the author of this book, has now subjected this MS. to a searching investigation. Apparently it had remained unknown to all students of the Jewish liturgy, with the exception of Zunz. It is now just a century since he had seen it and discovered the name of the author, a certain Menaḥem b. Solomon. He also had referred on sundry occasions to some of the poems contained in that compilation, but never gave a reason for ascribing this book to Menaḥem and it is Dr. A. Schechter who is able now, by comparing this work with another, *Sekel Tob*, the author of which was known to be Menaḥem b. Solomon, fully to establish the authorship and also the date when he lived 1140. He calls him "the First Compiler of the Italian Ritual". One may be justified in saying the oldest compiler whose work has come down to us, for it is unquestionably the case that the Jews scattered throughout the world must have had their own ritual, their own liturgy, and their own books of prayer, and, what Menaḥem did in this case, and others in other cases, was simply to write them down in a systematic manner, accompanied by such legal disquisitions as were required for the proper order in the observances of the prayer. Up to the time of the printing one can find great variations. There was no uniformity. Almost every community had its own ritual and it was easy for Zunz to describe in his great work *The Ritual* that a large number of such Uses had existed among the Jews. They were all subject, however, to all the dominating influences which crossed and re-crossed one another, the Babylonian and the Palestinian and, though the Spanish Jews may have asked R. Amram to send them a definite set of prayers, the fact remains that they did not accept it and, on the contrary, this set became the model for the rites prevalent in Germany and France and to a certain extent also in Italy. The local conditions cannot be entirely eliminated and thus we find in this compilation much which owes its origin to Babylon

and much to Palestine. Dr. A. Schechter endeavours now to prove that it represents more the Palestinian tradition, whilst as for the Spanish it represents more the Babylonian. Careful examination of the latter, however, must convince him to the contrary. If the compilation of Menaḥem stands under the paramount influence of Palestine then the same can be said for the same reasons adduced by him for the Spanish rite. The compilation of Menaḥem is highly conflated and it is a recognized fact that the simple text is always the original. If we compare then the two rituals with one another we will find that if one eliminates all the conflation the rest approximates the Spanish rite much more closely than the so-called German rite. In order to prove his case as far as the Palestinian origin of Menaḥem's work is concerned, Dr. A. Schechter does not hesitate to declare as interpolations all the passages found in the Amram compilation when they seem to run counter to his propositions. But, be this as it may, this question does not affect the importance of the book. The author shows himself fully versed in the rabbinical literature of the Middle Ages and thus greatly contributes to the elucidation of some interesting problems in the history of liturgy. The value of the book is enhanced by the publication of twenty-two texts in the original Hebrew to which are added also the three photos from the original MS. taken by Dr. Solomon Schechter and one page of the copy made by the latter. It is sincerely to be hoped that Dr. A. Schechter will now publish the whole work of Menaḥem b. Solomon which will throw a flood of light on the history and development of the Jewish liturgy.

M. GASTER.

DIE ALTEN ORTSNAMEN PALÄSTINAS. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. iii + 125.
Leipzig : Eduard Pfeiffer Verlag, 1930. Price 15s.

Of all kinds of philological work none is more difficult to lead to some satisfactory conclusion than that concerning

the etymology of proper names and, still more, of geographical names. Many fantastical conclusions have been drawn from etymological investigations. Untenable theories have been built upon them and problems of civilization, of ethnology and of religious beliefs and practices have all been derived from such interpretations of geographical names. Their origin is very obscure; the psychological impulse which leads to such names cannot easily be traced. As a rule such geographical names represent only one aspect, the way in which a place, or a mountain, or a river affects the mind and imagination of the people. Then there comes the question as to whether the names, such as they are recorded, are the work of the then inhabitants when the record was made, or whether they were inherited from older inhabitants who had been displaced and in such a case the possibility also exists that all the names no longer understood by the new inhabitants had been transformed by the well-known process of popular etymology so as to be assimilated to their own language.

The author of the present book is fully alive to all these problems and he endeavours to solve them with all the means which modern critical science places at his disposal. This booklet is the result of a sober and painstaking inquiry, strictly grammatical, free from every flight of fancy, given to no mythological deductions or ethnological hypotheses. The author sticks to the facts, which he groups and enumerates in a systematic manner. He has limited himself only to the names found on the soil of Palestine, with a very slight enlargement towards the North. The upward limit of time is about the third millenium and the lower limit is rightly put at the time of Alexander, fourth century, B.C.E. The profound changes which the country had been subjected to, the influx of the Greek and Roman colonies, and political changes have all contributed greatly to alter the topography of Palestine. His chief source is, of course, the Hebrew Bible, but he has also consulted the Septuagint, especially so far as the pronuncia-

tion is concerned, and also some changes in the names which have been preserved in the Greek version. He has also studied the old Onomastica and has paid serious attention to the list which appeared among the Egyptian records of Tut Moses and Rameses. On the other hand he has not neglected the Babylonian inscriptions. The latter have preserved the vowels whilst in the Egyptian only the consonants are retained. With all this material he has investigated the names first from a purely grammatical point of view. He has divided them further into the Semitic and non-Semitic. The former he has studied according to the roots, classing them into names which can be reduced to words consisting of one syllable, then into three and four, and then those with affixed or prefixed words, and has given them in so many sections. Of these there are twenty-two. In each section small groups have been arranged in alphabetical order, according to their contents, so that it is not very difficult for anyone to find the word as soon as he realizes the suggested etymology. In such wise the meaning of many of the names is made clear at the place which has been assigned to them. Not every name can be easily explained. Therefore, the author has taken care to refer to the best authorities and to the latest works concerning the interpretation of these words, and yet many of them still remain open to different interpretations. In Section C he has then re-grouped a large number of these words according to their meaning into fifty-seven paragraphs. He starts with personal names, such as names of gods and goddesses, of individuals, and then names of tribes, then local conditions, mountainous country, flat country, fountains, land fit for cultivation, homesteads, fortified places, open places, reference to colours connected with some religious ideas, plants, animals, and so forth. In the second section—a very small one indeed—the author endeavours to unravel the mystery of some of the names mostly found in the North, and hypothetically assigns them to some primitive races, probably of Asia Minor. He leaves it an open

question whether these names are due to invaders anterior to the Semitic settlement or are due to those which took place whilst the Semitic element was already settled in Palestine. Thus within a very small compass, in a most concentrated form, the author has been able to give to the student thus far a most complete account and a most luminous interpretation as is possible of the old names in Palestine. The conclusions which the author draws is obvious from the mass of material which precedes this last section. It shows convincingly that the names are mostly Semitic and of a Hebrew origin. Considering the caution exercised by the author one hesitates to try and offer suggestions of any kind. I only venture to suggest that the names of **בֵּאֵר לַחַי רֵאִי** (p. 82), and similarly **בֵּית לַעֲפֻרְתָּה** (p. 77) might be interpreted in a somewhat different manner. The **ל**, Lamed, stands probably there for *el*, so that the words would read *beer el hai*, which would give a very satisfactory interpretation. As for the transliteration or pronunciation, the author might have consulted also the MSS. of the Bible, with superlinear vocalization; he would then perhaps have found a greater similarity between the Hebrew text and the LXX. It is a pity, however, that the author has not seen his way also to give us a full index of the names, for it is not a very easy matter for anyone immediately to be able to find the names in the numerous lists succeeding one another with such rapidity. The book is extremely concise and compact, and in this form is a veritable mine of valuable information for all those interested in these studies. The price, however, would seem to be far too high, even considering the typographical difficulties of production.

M. GASTER.

THE MEDICAL BOOK OF MALAYAN MEDICINE. Translated by INCHE' ISMAIL, Munshi, possibly in Penang, *circa* 1886, now edited with medical notes by J. D. GIMLETTE and determinations of the drugs by I. H. BURKILL. *The Gardens' Bulletin*, Straits Settlements, Vol. VI, Part 3. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 152. Singapore: Botanic Gardens. 1930. \$2.50.

The present work has an interesting history. Two years ago the attention of the authors was called to a MS. in possession of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain headed "This is the Medical Book of Malayan Medicine" and endorsed above the heading "Translated by Inche' Ismael, Moonsee". The writer of the endorsement is believed by the authors to have been a British officer employed in Malaya, under whose instructions the munshi prepared the translation. The MS. perhaps formed part of the collections made in the Straits for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in London in 1886, though this is only a surmise. The original of which this is a translation was written, it is inferred, in Arabic characters, and was probably valued so highly by its owner that he would not part with it, though he allowed the translation to be made. It bears the marks of being a collection of notes of different dates which was never revised; little order is perceptible in the arrangement of the diseases, and the drugs are called by different names in different prescriptions; there may even have been an intentional obscurity. The earlier portions of the work are characterized by a relative polypharmacy (an average of four drugs in each prescription), the later by a greater simplicity (a little over two drugs per prescription)—a change which is suggestive of a passage from the medical practice of the town to that of the Malay village. Polypharmacy reaches its height in a prescription for smallpox, which contains 29 ingredients. The names of the plants belong to many languages, a fact which suggests that the author lived in a port—not improbably, for reasons given, Penang.

The munshi's translation, of which the authors have acted as editors, was by no means free from errors ; these, however, are exposed by the happy circumstance that transliterated Malay has been freely inserted in the translation. The prescriptions number 543 ; examples, taken quite at random, are the following (the Malay names are omitted) :—

88. Sections to explain medicines for numbness of the feet.

In the first place, take about a cupful of milk of a black goat, and a very small cupful of honey. Mix. Drink this on three consecutive mornings.

89. Should this fail.

Now take pure gold and pure silver. Rub each three times on a stone with honey. Then mix this honey with the aforesaid preparation of milk (88). Warm it slightly and then drink it.

169. A section to explain a medicine for breaking up bad blood in the body. Also for removing winds ; easing sinews ; and clearing the head. Taken after parturition this medicine brings virtue to the blood.

Take the yolk of a black fowl's egg ; honey, the egg-shellful ; juice expressed from the fresh rhizome of *Languas Galanga* (galingale) the egg-shellful ; and milk of a green coco-nut, the egg-shellful. Beat these well together. Drink this for seven days, and all the complaints will be cured.

The translation is followed by a useful Glossary and Index of fifty-five pages, giving notes on the identifications of the numerous plants and on certain other medicaments, and explanations of the meanings of the Malay names, in fuller fashion than can be done in the text. Though vegetable remedies preponderate, both animal and mineral substances are also employed. The whole forms a valuable and interesting contribution to our knowledge of native medical practice in Malaya, and may be compared with *Malay Village Medicine*, by I. H. Burkill and Mohamed Haniff, recently reviewed in these pages. Together these two

works will provide the student of comparative medicine, and of comparative culture, with most of what he will require to know of Malayan medicine. The authors are to be heartily congratulated on the result of their labour.

J. STEPHENSON.

MEIN WERDEN UND MEIN WIRKEN. Erinnerungen eines alten Berliner Gelehrten, von ADOLF ERMAN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. viii + 295, pls. 10. Leipzig: Verlag von Quelle and Meyer, 1929. M. 12.

There is no doubt that Adolf Erman is the most prominent figure in the Science of Egyptology on the continent at the present moment, and his works have acquired world-wide renown. In them he has dealt with hieroglyphic and demotic writing, grammar and special details thereof, Egyptian texts, including legends and tales, literature in general, history, religion, manners, and customs. Many of these have been translated into English, and have attained universal notice and approval.

So far, the learned world has read but little concerning the man himself, and that is apparently the main reason of the present publication. Born 75 years ago, he has seen many changes both in the life of his own people and in the peoples of the world, as well as in their relations with each other. But just as important from a scientific standpoint is the advance made in the knowledge of Egyptian and the nature of their wonderful and mysterious language and history. As the enumeration of his books on these subjects shows, he has taken no small part in the working out of this progress. It is evident that in this study he has not come to the end of his career, and all scholars will look for further contributions from his hand.

There is so much to speak about in this book, that one cannot notice in full the publishers' introductory details of the

author's career (printed rather badly in imitation typewriter-characters). This naturally gives the estimation in which Adolf Erman is held in his own country, and forms an interesting addition to the autobiography. In this we are reminded that his services in Egyptology have earned for him the reward *Pour le Mérite*, and that in this book he reveals himself to us not so much as the earnest student as the amiable and humorous gossip who knows how to appreciate men and things. He is in the first rank as a scholar who knew all the most prominent men of the last hundred years. We see distinguished names like those of Humboldt, Bissel, Chamisso, and others, closely connected with Erman's fate, and his house became one of the centres of Berlin's learned world. With a true master-hand he depicts the many-sided life of the imperial capital.

The work is divided into books, in which he speaks of his family, his childhood and schools, his youthful activities, concerning his Museum days, and his work as an Egyptologist. He is a descendant of a branch of the old family of Ermatiger, also called Ermantinger, from Ermatinger on the Bodensee, where they probably cultivated vineyards. The Ermans could not claim to be pure-blooded Germans, as there had been among his ancestors three of French nationality and one Jew. This leads him to remark that purity of race is not an advantage, but rather the contrary (as other writers and thinkers have already pointed out), and it may also be added that a common language does not produce unity in different races even when they occupy the same tract. Erman therefore acknowledges with joy his French and Jewish ancestry.

His earliest schooldays were passed in what is called a "Klippschool", but this institution has no blessing from his lips. He had not learnt industry and attention there, and the French Gymnasium, which he attended later, was not the place to gain these virtues. This Gymnasium he entered in 1864, and he seems to have found himself in a very mixed company—a few of French origin and many Jews, not of the best class.

Of these and certain Roumanian students Erman gives interesting details.

But naturally Professor Erman's Egyptological work is the most interesting, and it is to this that we must turn, not forgetting the learned men with whom he came into contact. In dealing with this I feel that I cannot do better than quote some of his remarks upon the subject which became his speciality. Champollion, as we all know, deciphered the hieroglyphics, but, as he points out, the knowledge of a writing is not of much use if we do not know the language. In this case it must be confessed that Egyptian differs greatly from old Persian and Assyrian, for the only aid the first students of Egyptian had was Coptic, a tongue which was not well understood. More than 2,000 years separate Coptic from the classical speech of the Egyptians, and of fifty words in the old tongue hardly two or three exist in Coptic. The grammar also is so different that it seems almost like another language.

It was probably owing to this that it was not at first recognized that the hieroglyphics used as letters were wholly consonantal, like those of the purely Semitic alphabets, though in this generalization we ought probably to exclude Ethiopic. It is owing to this that the old system of transcription was abandoned and that of letters of our own alphabets, interspersed with what look like diacritic marks, adopted. However scientific this latter may be, it cannot be regarded as in every sense practical, as many words consist of these diacritic marks only, unaccompanied by any vowel to make them pronounceable.

He does not deny that he has often asked himself, both now and in his younger days, what the study of Egyptian had brought him—whether it was a profitable thing to sacrifice his life to that study. Such doubts, however (he says), have not been of long duration, and he has always thanked his fate that his childish enthusiasm led him to undertake that task. The discoveries made have quite transformed the world's

views of the history of that country, just as the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions has transformed our views of the history of Babylonia and Assyria. It has also placed the Israelites in their true position as a small state situated between two great civilizations—the culture of the Egyptians and the Assyro-Babylonians. This is undoubtedly a sufficient reward for all the pains which we have taken to find out what has existed in the past, and it all adds to the glory of man's Creator, who placed within his brain the power of unriddling such things and profiting by the learning he gained.

There is no doubt that Erman is right in criticizing the earlier Egyptologists. Discouraged, possibly, by the little help which the study of Coptic gave them, they had neglected that language, which, as Erman points out, would have helped them, not by providing words for comparison, words descended from the old language, but by supplying them with those metaphors and, possibly, shades of meaning which they needed for successful work. He develops this section of his book by referring to Ebers and his Egyptian novels, that which bears the title of *Uarda* furnishing him with the best illustration of his criticism. In this book Ebers introduces a poet named Pentaur, but Erman shows that this is incorrect—there was no poet of that name. He adds that the copy we possess was simply one which had been written out by an Egyptian student of old time, Pentawēre, and there are mistakes in his copy, possibly because he was only a beginner. We owe to this student, however, the exceedingly interesting and important account of the battle fought by Rameses II and his army at Kadesh.¹

The dramatization of Eber's *Uarda* seems to have popularized the study of things Egyptian, but Erman doubts whether this was really an advantage or not. He seems to be of the opinion that romance was connected in the minds of the public with this ancient people because they had remained unchanged

¹ See Erman, *The Literature of the ancient Egyptians*, translated by Aylward L. Blackman; London, 1927.

and were a nation of pious worshippers interested only in temples and tombs. This idea, however, existed no longer, having been lost because they realized that the Egyptians had always been human beings like ourselves. This may have been the case in Germany, but upon this point the German literary world is best able to pronounce an opinion—in Great Britain, it seems to me, the people have never doubted that the Egyptians were a great nation, and though possessing strange opinions in art, manners, customs, and religious belief, men in the true sense of the word.

Concerning novels based upon historical events, there seems to have been a prejudice against them in Germany, and this is not to be wondered at, when we remember how free even novelists of repute have been with the events of the time with which they dealt. Nevertheless, such compositions could be made useful accessories of education.

Erman's remarks about Maspéro as a historian are worth reading. He seems not to have had a very good opinion of his work, and his opinion of the French scholar's pupils are still more unfavourable. Possibly they did want to work too quickly, and were therefore untrustworthy. We may neglect, however, the bet which is said to have been made by certain young French Egyptologists as to which of them should copy funeral inscriptions quickest.

As one of the lesser lights in my own speciality, I should like to say a word for my own countrymen. As long as I can remember, we have never been without Egyptologists. Englishmen have never had the reputation abroad of being great scholars, but if this estimate of their attainments across the Channel be true, their inferiority is certainly due to want of encouragement. During the period when Egyptology in England was *brach*, "fallow," I imagine that there were Egyptologists notwithstanding. The following may be mentioned among the earlier contemporaries of the late Dr. S. Birch: C. W. Goodwin, M.A., Professor J. L. Lushington, Sir Peter Lepage Renouf, Eugene L. Roy, Samuel Sharp, and

Joseph Bonomi, a noteworthy copyist of Egyptian texts, etc. When one looks at old work of a learned nature one always finds blunders, and books are always being brought up to date.

But *Mein Werden und mein Wirken—Erinnerungen eines alten Berliner Gelehrten*, by Adolf Erman, is a work of absorbing interest, and will be read eagerly by many who are not Egyptologists. Several well-known English names are to be found therein—Boylan, Sir Wallis Budge, who first pointed out the nature of the Book of Proverbs of Amenemope, and Sir Flinders Petrie, whose discoveries at Amarna seemed a revelation. Crum and Professor A. H. Gardiner are also referred to as enthusiastic students who had attended lectures in Germany.

T. G. PINCHES.

MATERIALIEN ZUR KUNDE DES BUDDHISMUS, hrsg. von M. WALLESER. 14. AKṢARA-ĀTAKAM, the hundred letters, a Madhyamaka text by Āryadeva, after Chinese and Tibetan materials translated by V. GOKHALE; pp. 24. 15. THE NYĀYAMUKHA OF DIGNĀGA, after Chinese and Tibetan materials, by G. TUCCI; pp. 72. 16. THE MAN AND THE WORD, by Mrs. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS; pp. 8. Heidelberg: In Kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig. 17. ZUR LEHRE VOM BEWUSSTSEIN (Vijñāna-vāda) bei den späteren Buddhisten, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Laṅkāvatārasūtra von E. WOLFF; pp. 90. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1930. M. 7.20.

Dr. Gokhale has translated the *Akṣaraśataka* and its commentary from the Chinese version (Nanjio, 1254), and has compared the Tibetan version. In the Tibetan it is attributed to Nāgārjuna, but Dr. Gokhale concludes that the text is by Āryadeva and the commentary by one of his pupils. He also gives a reconstruction of the Sanskrit of the text, which makes

up three memorial verses in ārya metre. The argument is chiefly directed against the soul-theory of Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣika, and according to Dr. Gokhale foreshadows the philosophic attitude of the Yogācāras.

Dr. Tucci continues his invaluable work of making the sources of Indian logic accessible to the historians of Indian philosophy. The *Nyāyamukha* consists of a series of kārīkās and a commentary dealing with the five-membered syllogism and its fallacies, and Dr. Tucci has enriched his translation with valuable elucidations and extracts from the Tibetan of Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and its *ṛtti*.

Mrs. Rhys Davids finds that Sakyan (i.e. early Buddhist) thought put forward an "unworthiness of the man", but that there were other new valuations which lifted the man-in-man to a "more-worth". Such instances are the terms *gotrabhu* and *satti*, but most of all *bodhisattva*. These, and especially the meanings they developed, are indeed far from early Buddhist thought, and this tracing of the development of new words and meanings by such an authority evidently deserves the closest consideration.

The work of Dr. Wolff is at first rather puzzling. In a discussion on Vijñānavāda we expect something about *ālayavijñāna*, and in fact on p. 81 he tells us that before going on to discuss this subject, "bevor ich zur Darstellung des Ālayavijñāna übergehe," he will give some general remarks on *saṃsāra*. But with these remarks his work concludes. There is nothing more except Anhang and bibliography. The work seems as if it must be the first part of a dissertation insufficiently revised. As it stands it consists of two parts, a historical introduction and a systematic portion, which consists of passages translated from chapter II of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* dealing with the terms *śūnyatā*, *paramārtha*, *nirvāṇa*, *pariṇiṣpanna*, *paratantra*, *parikalpita*, and *māyā*. Each passage is followed by the Tibetan text of one of the commentaries with a translation and an "Interpretations-versuch".

It is surprising to find how often he gives modern authorities, Keith, Strauss, Farquhar, Eliot, etc., for his statements, when what we want is a reference to an original source. We are told that the followers of Rāmānuja called their opponents *prachannabauddha*, and it would be of use to know who actually said it, but we are referred to an article by L. de la Vallée Poussin, and are further told that this scholar refers to Garbe's index to the *Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya*. He tells us that Farquhar says that Buddha in the *Lotus* "wields magic power, māyā". What good is it to be told that Farquhar says so? It appears to be through depending on Schrader that he has discovered a sect called Ajñānikas founded by Sañjaya Belatṭhī (*sic*). Nevertheless, we shall look forward with interest to what he has to say about *ālayavijñāna*.

E. J. THOMAS.

INTRODUCTION À L'ASTRONOMIE NAUTIQUE ARABE. Par GABRIEL FERRAND, Ministre Plénipotentiaire. 10 × 6, pp. xii + 272. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1928. 14s. 6d.

The present volume constitutes the first of a series of works under the editorship of M. Ferrand to make accessible to a wider circle of students the works of the ancient Arabic geographers. The learned author had previously published in facsimile two volumes containing the nautical almanacks, if we may call them thus, of Ibn Mājid and Sulaiman al-Mahrī based upon manuscripts preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. These two volumes, which are of the highest importance for understanding the navigation of the Indian Ocean and adjacent seas in the Middle Ages, are, however, a practically sealed book to all scholars except the very few who may combine a knowledge of astronomy and the Arabic language. Even then the subject remains obscure on account of the nature of these almanacks, and the author has rendered a signal service to science by composing this introductory

volume, as without it the translation of the works of Ibn Mājid and al-Mahri would require a perpetual commentary.

We can only be too grateful to the author for re-publishing the articles of James Prinsep—which appeared as long ago as 1836 in the *JASB*.—on the nautical instruments used by native mariners reaching the port of Calcutta, as also a shorter article by Captain Congreve, which appeared in the *Madras Journal of Literature* in 1850, because they give us a good idea of the manner in which native mariners found their bearings. A knowledge of these primitive instruments enables us in addition to obtain a knowledge of the manner in which they computed the latitudes in which they sailed.

From pp. 31–127 follows a reprint of the article upon the wind-rose and the invention of the compass by Leopold de Saussure, reprinted from the *Archives des Sciences Physiques*, Geneva, 1923, in which the author establishes the dependence of the Chinese wind-rose upon the Erano-Indian one, but finds that the Arabic one rather differed and dated back to times before the polarity of the magnet had become known. The mariners were in those early times compelled to use a sidereal rose on which were marked the names of the stars as they obtained the Azimut with the corresponding stars on the opposite side of the sky.

The commentary upon the Nautical Instructions of Ibn Mājid and al-Mahri which follows (pp. 129–75) explains the manner in which the Arab mariners by the use of the sidereal rose ascertained the exact position of the Polaris as far as it was possible by such method. That it goes back much further than the times of any written records as to the manner of ascertaining the Polaris for navigation is proved by the much earlier works upon the Nau's of the stars, which point to the existence of such knowledge certainly in the first century of the Hijra and the Kitāb al-Azmina of Marzūqi (if more correctly printed—Haidarabad) would give some additional information.

The last portion of the volume is devoted to precise

meaning of the title "Mu'allim", i.e. "Pilot", and his duties and obligations, the biographies of Ibn Mājid and Sulaiman al-Mahrī. The former has been identified with the pilot who conducted the fleet of Vasco de Gama from Malindi on the coast of Africa to Calicut in India, a point of great historical significance. The biographies are followed by a description of the manuscripts used, or to be used, for the translation, as an additional copy has been found in Damascus. The volume closes with an account and appreciation of the Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī and his work *al-Muḥīt*, in which he has incorporated the work of Ibn Mājid without making any material changes and additions.

Our library in Aligarh lacking not only the volumes of the text of Ibn Mājid and al-Mahrī but most works of reference, I am unable to check any doubts which have arisen in my mind.

I have found a few misprints and I cannot agree with نسيم meaning "une très petite quantité" and propose that it is only a clerical error for يسير, which means "very little", and we need not add another word to the Arabic dictionary.

Page 110, note 3, read *Ibt al-Jawzā'*.

Page 136, line 13, read *aš-Šawla*.

The work in itself is a monument of erudition and an almost inexhaustible source of information both for the historian of nautical matters and for the early history of astronomy.

F. KRENKOW.

MESOPOTAMIAN ORIGINS: THE BASIC POPULATION OF THE NEAR EAST. By E. A. SPEISER. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 12s. 6d.

Professor Speiser has published a learned and interesting book, full of new facts and new light. His work at Nuzi near Kerkuk and the Tepe Gawra near Khorsabad has revealed

to us a new world of archæological facts and full use is accordingly made of them, though the book is mainly philological rather than archæological. His conclusions are summed up on page 173, where he writes: "The basic stock of the area which extends from eastern Anatolia to Elam, and also of the adjoining plains of the south, consisted of the people from whom the Hurrians and the Elamites were descended. That group formed a branch of the so-called Alpine race, and spoke a language whose nearest relations must be sought in the modern Caucasus. Culturally it was characterized, in very early times, by the production of painted pottery and by the application of the knowledge of metallurgy." By the "Hurrians" (or "Khurrians") Dr. Speiser means the non-Semitic population of north-western Mesopotamia, whose name I should rather write Murrians.

On the philological side the author has to depend mainly on the evidence of proper names, more especially geographical ones. Such evidence, unfortunately, has to be used with caution, as geographical names more especially do not obey phonetic laws and are apt to change beyond recognition. The larger the field of comparison, however, the greater is the chance of correctness in the conclusions, particularly where terminations or suffixes are concerned. And in a few cases the evidence of the proper names can be supplemented by words and grammatical forms.

Whether we agree with him or not Professor Speiser's conclusions are always stimulating or suggestive. It is needless to say, however, that there are several of them which are more or less disputable. His interpretation of the phrase applied to the Sumerians that they were a "black-headed" race is certainly wrong; common sense alone would teach that a "black head" refers to hair and not to the colour of the body. As to the contrasted term *namru*, *bûnu namru* is simply "a fair child", while *damqu* I should render "in fair health". The "black heads" imply that there was another and presumably older part of the population which

was not "black-headed"; a Sumerian text published by Professor Langdon states that the pre-Sumerian inhabitants of the Babylonian plain were Murrû or Amorites, and we know from the Egyptian paintings that the Amorites were blondes with fair hair.

"Haldian," that is to say Vannic, again, may have been related to "Hurrian", by which Professor Speiser means Mitannian, and in fact probably was so, but it was certainly not "closely related" as he states. Nor has Tseretheli by any means proved that *u* and *a* were "indicative" of the first and third persons of the Vannic verb. And I very much doubt whether the form Mitanni "goes back to an older Maiteni"; it is more probable that the converse was the case. The statement moreover on p. 5 that "the Hamitic and Semitic types are representative of the Mediterranean race" must be corrected. Sergi's "Mediterranean race" has nothing to do with the purely philological Hamitic and Semitic families of speech; a considerable proportion of the Jews are brachycephalic, and Hamitic languages are spoken by Negroid tribes.

A. H. SAYCE.

P. G. VON MOELLENDORF: EIN LEBENSBIOD VON R. VON MOELLENDORF. 9 × 6, pp. 166, pls. 20. Leipzig: Otto Harrossowitz, 1930. 10 mks.

Paul Georg von Moellendorf was born in 1847 in Zedenik in der Uckermark and in 1869 proceeded to China to enter the Customs Service under Sir Robert Hart. His life during the eventful years which followed was full of variety and interest. Leaving the Customs he pursued what had been his original plan and entered the German Consular Service; leaving this again he entered the service of the Chinese Viceroy, Li Hung-Chang, and was despatched to Korea to open a Customs service there. He describes the post he was to fill in the following words: "Ueber eine Stunde bei Li, der wirklich sehr herzlich und liebenswürdig war und mir mittheilte, dass

er mir einen Posten geben wolle, der mir viel Ehre und Geld einbringen werde, ich solle Korea, das bis dahin für die Fremden eifersüchtig abgeschlossene Land, dem europäischen Handel eröffnen, ich solle Ratgeber des Königs von Korea werden und Chef, Generalzollinspektor des einzurichtenden Seezollamtes und wolle ich nach einigen Jahren nach China zurückkehren, dann wolle er mir eine Stellung geben, wie sie noch kein Europäer vor mir gehabt habe. Meine Anstellung solle ich erhalten, sobald ein amtliches Schreiben vom König von Korea eingetroffen sei." Although he did not remain long in Korea, as he re-joined the Chinese Customs Service, Dr. von Moellendorf endeared himself to the King and Queen, who in later years continually begged that he return. He saw in Korea a facet of life which has been unveiled to few Europeans, and one which has now vanished.

The book before us, edited by his widow, consists of extracts from Dr. von Moellendorf's diary and throws many sidelights upon an interesting page of history. It contains, moreover, a list of his many important linguistic works and several unpublished essays.

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

CHINA : EINE LANDES- UND VOLKSKUNDE. VON DR. GEORG WEGENER O. Professor der Geographie an der Handelsschule. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 230. Berlin. Mit 30 Abbildungen auf 16 Tafeln und 22 Textskizzen. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1930. 12 mks.

In this slim but useful volume Dr. Wegener describes in outline the land, the people, and the history of China. Being a geographer, he devotes the first third of the book to an excellent study of the "real" China, its mountains and streams; its frontiers and internal divisions; its soil and the treasure under the soil. In less than a hundred pages the historical development of the people from mythical times is given, and the remaining one hundred and fifty pages are devoted to

International Relations and the recent Revolutionary Movement.

The division is of course unbalanced, but unavoidably so. The world is more concerned with present-day China and her evolution, chaotic as it may seem, than it is with the long course of events from which old China evolved. In its way the book is a masterpiece. Condensation, and yet the preservation of many essentials, result in a clear and consecutive narrative. It is, however, discouraging to find the so-called "Opium War" discussed in the old mistaken way; and surprising that a scholar, who should have studied the documents in question, who should know that in the treaty made at the close of that unfortunate war, the word "opium" was not even mentioned, can yet write a sentence such as the following: "Denn wie auch im einzelnen der Verlauf der Dinge gewesen ist, es lässt sich nicht aus der Welt schaffen, dass England China mit Waffengewalt die Zulassung der Opium einfuhr aufgezwungen hat," etc., etc.

Each student regards the history of China and her International Relations from a different standpoint, but facts are facts and should not be misrepresented. In my opinion Dr. Wegener lays insufficient stress on the difficulties caused to International intercourse by the Chinese system of justice; nor does he properly emphasize the importance (in its result upon the evolution of ancient China) of the former educational system with its regularly recurrent examination.

A serious blemish upon a most useful book of reference is the lack of an index.

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

DER GESETZMÄSSIGE LEBENSLAUF DER VÖLKER CHINAS
UND JAPANS. VON HARTMUT PIPER. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xv +
110. Leipzig: Theodor Weicher, 1929.

This volume constitutes Division II, Part I, of the work
Die Gesetze der Weltgeschichte by the same author.

Division I, in five parts, is devoted to the "Vergleichende Völkerbiographie Europas". This is an amazingly interesting work, in which for the first time the laws which have governed the evolution of Europe, have been applied to the evolution of the Far East.

As it is impossible to review in a short notice this epoch-making book (which should be read by every student of history, Western or Eastern), a short analysis of its contents is here given.

The three main divisions are as follows :—

- (i) Die protochinesische Kultur: Völkerwanderung der Hsia.
- (ii) Die antike chinesische Kultur: Völkerwanderung der Chou.
- (iii) Die moderne chinesische Kultur.
- (iv) Die japanische Kultur.

A Bibliography, Index, and Appendix, which latter consists of a short statement regarding "Der gesetzmässige Lebenslauf der Völker Europas", bring the book to its close. These main divisions are each subdivided into seven parts :—

- (1) Patriarchalische Monarchie der Kindheit.
- (2) Aristokratie der Jugend.
- (3) Absolutismus der Frühreife.
- (4) Konstitutionalismus der Vollreife.
- (5) Imperialismus der Spätreife.
- (6) Cäsarismus des Alters.
- (7) Marasmus des Greisentums.

Dr. Piper uses a quotation from Goethe as the keynote of his work; it reads:

Das Ew'ge regt sich fort in allen;
Doch alles muss in nichts zerfallen,
Wenn es im Sein beharren will
Das Sein ist ewig; denn Gesetze
Bewahren die lebend'gen Schätze,
Aus welchen sich das All geschmückt.

The laws which preserve "eternal Being" have operated in the East as in the West, and by studying their course one comprehends the development of Japan and understands dimly "dass erst durch diese völkerbiologische Deutung besonders die chinesischen Geschichte einschliesslich der gegenwärtigen Wirren aus einem Chaos sinnloser Menschenschalächtereien und Dynastiewechsel in den Kosmos einer sinnvollen organischen Völkerentwicklung verwandelt wird."

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

WORTE MAHĀVĪRAS. Kritische Übersetzungen aus dem Kanon der Jaina von WALTHER SCHUBRING. (Quellen der Religionsgeschichte, Gruppe 7.) $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. ix + 152. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: and Leipzig, 1927.

Dr. Schubring has rendered an important service to the study of Jainism and its language and literature by the publication of this volume. He presents in it careful and well-annotated translations from some of the earliest Jain scriptures—more or less "Worte Mahāvīras", as he styles them—namely Sūyagaḍa, i, 1-4 and 12, ii, 1-2, and some Bambhacēras, which give forcible expression to the ideals and teachings of Jainism; and to these he has prefixed a masterly introduction on the Canon of the Śvētāmbaras, in which he critically traces the development of its elements and examines the *Lehrpersönlichkeit* of Mahāvīra, as it is revealed in them. The book is a work of exact and penetrating scholarship, of a quality that unfortunately is becoming somewhat rare in these days.

L. D. BARNETT.

Samkhya and Modern Thought, by T. Ghosh, reviewed on p. 182 of January, 1931, *Journal*, is published in London by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Theodor Nöldeke

On Christmas Day of last year Theodor Nöldeke, one of the greatest Orientalists that ever lived, who was elected an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1890, ended a long career of ceaseless labour. Of the external events of his life little need here be said. He was born on 2nd March, 1836, at Harburg, which then belonged to the kingdom of Hanover. He studied at Göttingen, became Professor at Kiel in 1868, and in 1872 was appointed to a Professorship at Strassburg in Alsace, where he continued to reside till some months after the end of the Great War; from that time onwards he lived with some of his relatives at Karlsruhe. In his old age he suffered much from ill-health, but he retained his mental vigour till the very last.

To convey any adequate idea of the services which he rendered to linguistic and historical science is quite impossible, for his researches extended over an almost unlimited field and in every subject that he treated he proved himself a consummate master. From the first he took a special interest in the Old Testament. A collection of popular essays on Hebrew literature which appeared in 1868 was followed by an important contribution to Biblical criticism "*Untersuchungen zur Kritik des alten Testaments*" (1869). Here, as in all his later works, he combines great acuteness with a remarkable caution and sobriety of judgment. Thus in dealing with the critical analysis of the Pentateuch he warns his readers against the notion that it is *always* possible to distinguish the various sources with certainty. Much, he says, remains doubtful; moreover, we have no reason whatever to suppose that the text has come down to us unaltered and that we can ascertain the precise wording and spelling of the original authors (p. 5, foot-note). Similar warnings,

it is needless to say, have since been uttered by many other writers of the critical school. With regard to the modern theory which assigns the so-called Priestly Code to the post-exilic period—a theory usually associated with the name of Wellhausen—it is to be noted that Nöldeke for many years regarded it with suspicion and only after long hesitation accepted it as substantially correct (see the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. xxi [1908], p. 203, foot-note).

The greater part of his life was devoted to Arabic and Aramaic literature, and in both of these departments he produced an immense amount of valuable work. It was one of his favourite maxims that the scientific study of languages must always be combined with the study of history, of religion, and of general culture. Hence in his writings even the most strictly technical details of philology acquire a human interest. It may be doubted whether any European scholar was ever better acquainted with ancient Arabic poetry than he was, and he treated it not merely as a repertory of rare words and peculiar grammatical forms but also as vividly illustrating the history and customs of the time. Of his numerous contributions to the study of Islām it is superfluous to speak, as they are probably the best known of all his writings, but it is interesting to record that having in his younger days planned a work on the early Muhammadan Empire he at length abandoned the project chiefly from a sense of his inability to give a satisfactory account of the Prophet's character (see the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. xxi, p. 298, foot-note).

Among the greatest of his achievements must be reckoned the discovery of the true relation of the various Aramaic dialects to one another. Eighty years ago the most confused notions on this subject prevailed even among genuine scholars, as is shown by the fact that the Aramaic of the Old Testament was still believed to be a language which the Jews imported from Babylonia; hence the misleading term "Chaldee". It was one of Nöldeke's merits finally to dispel this and many

similar delusions. His Aramaic studies included even the most obscure sources of information, not only the inscriptions of heathen Syria but also the literature of the Mandæans which, as he himself says in the Introduction to his "Mandäische Grammatik" (1875), is "full of the greatest nonsense". Nevertheless, he adds, this literature and the dialect in which it is written are of vast importance from a scientific point of view. Accordingly he spent years in the elucidation of these strange compositions, little suspecting that half a century later the Mandæans and their religion would suddenly become objects of interest to European theologians and that serious attempts would be made to connect the Fourth Gospel with the "nonsense" of the *Sidrā Rabbā*.

He was likewise a diligent student of Æthiopic and the modern languages of Abyssinia. In his *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1910) will be found a most instructive dissertation on the words which passed from Æthiopic into Arabic and *vice versa*; among these expressions are some which play an important part in Muhammadan theology, and as their real origin was naturally unknown to the Arabs they were often wrongly interpreted by Muslims.

His profound knowledge of Persian literature, from the earliest times to the present day, is proved by many of his works, in particular by his *Persische Studien* (1888-92) and his masterly treatise on the *Shahnāmah* of Firdausī, *Das iranische Nationalepos* (2nd edn., 1920). It is characteristic of his mind, in which the critical faculty always predominated, that in the preface to his *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte* (1887) he expresses himself thus:—"Vielleicht befremdet Manchen, dass ich im Ganzen die Orientalen und namentlich die Perser nicht allzu günstig beurtheile. Mich haben eben meine orientalischen Studien immer mehr zum Griechenfreunde gemacht, und ich denke, so wird es ziemlich Jedem gehn, der mit Ernst aber mit

unbefangenen Sinn das Wesen der orientalischen Völker kennen zu lernen sucht.”

This notice would be singularly defective if stress were not laid on the extraordinary amiability of his nature. No scholar was ever more ready to assist others, and the promptitude with which he responded to requests for information on all manner of subjects was a constant wonder to his numerous friends.

A. A. BEVAN.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

The Story of the Sind

The Indian Conference is occupying men's minds, and at the present moment one of the burning questions is connected with the Province of Sind. At a lecture, illustrated with lantern slides, given before the Royal Asiatic Society on 15th January, at the rooms of the Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1, Mr. P. R. Cadell, formerly Commissioner in Sind, recounted the story of that Province. He pointed out that its position in the extreme west, and its isolation from the rest of India by deserts, had rendered it more accessible to Western invasion than the remainder of the subcontinent. The discoveries at Mohen-jo-daro show it to have been the scene of the Indus valley civilization, which dates back to 3000 B.C., and by far the oldest of which there is any record in India. It is closely connected with the Sumerian culture. The invasion of Alexander the Great and his departure from India has supplied a historical connection with ancient Europe, shared only with the Punjab. It formed a portion of the Persian Empires of the Achaemenids and the Sassanians, and, in modern times, of Nadir Shah. Sind was the scene of the first Moslem invasion of India, and was a Moslem Province for three hundred years before the followers of that religion conquered any other part of India. After various periods of semi-independence, mingled with subjection more or less complete to the rulers of Delhi, it passed once more into the dominions of an outside Asiatic power in the rulers of Afghanistan. The story of its final incorporation with British India was briefly told. The lecturer indicated the differences of population and culture which connection with outside powers, and numerous invasions of other races, had created between Sind and the rest of India. Its likeness to Egypt, and its dependence on a system of irrigation which

had been reorganized and extended since the British occupation, were explained. Finally the conclusions which might be drawn from its past history, when applied to the demand for the formation of Sind into a separate Province, were indicated.

The Dragon of China

A lecture was given on 12th February before the Royal Asiatic Society, at the rooms of the Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1, by Professor the Rev. W. E. Soothill, Professor of Chinese at Oxford University.

Professor Soothill's connection with China is of long standing, and he has written numbers of books connected with that country, its religion, history, and literature; he compiled the Wenchow romanized system. He also established churches, hospitals, colleges, and schools. He was President of the Imperial University of Shansi Province for four years, and holds the 2nd Rank Red Button and the 3rd Rank Order of Wenhü.

The lecturer said that no symbol is so prominently associated with China as the dragon. There it is found everywhere, and here it is seen on a multitude of articles imported from that land—porcelains, brocades, carpets, carving, bronze, jade, and many other articles. It is especially the emblem of royalty, the dragon robe, dragon throne, dragon countenance, dragon pen, and so on through many attributes and instruments of royalty. It has been associated with the emperor for at least four thousand years. Whatever dynastic changes may have occurred, the dragon has remained supreme, until at length it was ruthlessly deposed in 1912.

What did the Chinese see in this creature of the slime to make it ruler over them? Was it a dinosaur, or a mere crocodile which was elevated to emblazon a throne? Certainly it was always associated with moisture, in this respect being unlike its western compeer, which is represented as belching forth smoke and fire. Again, in China, it is always beneficent,

while the dragon of the west, for the most part, has been considered as maleficent, injuring the people, stealing princesses, and calling forth the heroism of, say, a St. George, for its destruction.

So different are the two conceptions that it would almost seem wiser to call them by different names, adopting the Chinese name Lung for their national benefactor. That the Lung is so considered is evident from the rejoicing evinced at the Dragon festival at the first full moon of the year, when immense sinuous dragons are carried about with enthusiasm, every one by a dozen or so brightly clad young men.

When it is borne in mind that the Lung is so closely connected with the rains and the beginning of spring, it is easy to understand why a nation of farmers should consider it as a benefactor. Some have supposed that it has been elevated to this high rank because the Saurian tribe hibernated in the cold and drought of winter, and only came forth in the spring for the sake of the rains. But we shall have to look away from the slime, the pool, the river, to find the origin of the Lung, at any rate as a royal emblem.

From the earliest recorded period the sovereign of China has been associated with the sky as veritable astronomer-royal. Down to our own day the Calendar and the worship of the supreme powers have been the prerogative of the emperor. In the most ancient records we find the dragon as part of the royal sacrificial robe, and in the course of the centuries the dragon became the chief symbol of the astronomical ruler. There is sufficient evidence to justify the belief that the dragon emblazoned on the imperial robe is Draco, the constellation which drags its length through the sky between Ursa Major and Ursa Minor. Moreover, it was because Draco appeared at dusk with its head towards the first full moon of the year that it became the harbinger of spring, and thus the benefactor of the people.

On the robes of state the sinuous dragon is generally depicted

with round ball in front of its open jaws. The Chinese refer to this ball as "the Pearl", but may not the Pearl represent the full moon?

There is evidence for this point of view, but concomitant with it is the thought that, at a very much earlier date than is generally accepted, there must have been intercourse of some sort between the primitive Chinese astronomers and their fellows further west, where Draco was already a well-known constellation.

The Origins of English Trade with Persia, 1562-80

A lecture was delivered on Thursday afternoon, 12th March, at the rooms of the Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1, by Sir William Foster, Kt., C.I.E., entitled "Origins of Trade between England and Persia". Sir William has spent his official life at the India Office and is the leading authority on the history of the East India Company.

The lecturer described how the establishment of this trade was due to the efforts made in the middle of the sixteenth century to find new markets for English goods in the Far East, and to obtain in exchange spices and other Oriental products. Under the guidance of Sebastian Cabot ships were sent to discover a sea route to Cathay round the northern shores of Europe and Asia, and these ventures led to the establishment of commerce with Russia, by way of the White Sea, and the grant (1555) of a charter to a company formed in London to exploit this trade. On behalf of that body, Anthony Jenkinson made an expedition in 1558, from Moscow to Central Asia, hoping to find a practicable trade route to the Far East in that direction; but, after getting as far as Bokhara, he found this project hopeless and was forced to return. Four years later he left Moscow upon a fresh venture, this time for Northern Persia, with the idea of using that country as a half-way house for obtaining spices in return for English goods. He succeeded in establishing

commerce in the silk-producing province of Shirvan, lying to the south-west of the Caspian, and he managed also to reach Kazvin, then the capital of the Persian Shah ; but he found that monarch indisposed to entertain his overtures, for fear of offending the Turkish Sultan by diverting trade from the dominions of the latter. In 1564, two members of the Russia Company's staff at Moscow followed in Jenkinson's footsteps, and returned with encouraging reports of the large quantity of raw silk to be obtained in Northern Persia, and of hopes of spices being brought thither from Hormuz, should a trade be firmly established. This led to the dispatch in the following year of a fresh expedition, one member of which visited Kazvin and obtained a grant of privileges from the Shah, now rendered complaisant by a rupture between him and the Turks. In 1568, a larger party of merchants set out from Moscow, and on reaching Shirvan extended their operations to Tabriz and the ports of Ghilan on the southern coast of the Caspian. A fifth venture was made the next year, when one of the merchants penetrated as far south as Kashan. The general result was, however, unfortunate, owing to the capture of the return cargo on the Caspian by some Cossack pirates. As a result, no further attempt was made until 1579. The members of this expedition were stopped at Astrakhan by news that the province of Shirvan had been devastated and conquered by the Turks ; and although in the following spring they ventured as far as the neighbourhood of Baku, the intelligence there obtained showed that it was useless to venture into Persia itself. After buying from the Turkish general at Derbend part of his loot, they returned by way of Astrakhan to Moscow, and so to London. Their report convinced the Russia Company that further attempts to trade with Persia by this roundabout route were useless, especially in view of the fact that commercial relations had now been established with Turkey, and a Levant Company had been chartered (1581), which by its factories in Egypt and Syria seemed likely to obtain with ease both

the products of the Far East and the raw silk of Persia, the natural channel of which to Europe was via Aleppo. Hence attempts to open up direct intercourse with Persia were forborne for a generation, and were only renewed, this time with success, when the East India Company, having secured a footing in Western India, found it possible to open up communication by sea with southern Persia, and thus to inaugurate a lasting commerce between the two countries.

In future the annual List of Members will be published with the July *Journal*, instead of in April.

Members who wish to make any alteration in name, style, or address, are requested to send the fully corrected entry so as to reach the Secretary by 1st June.

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1931

PART III.—JULY

An Old Imperial “Sanad” relating to Rāsinā or New Delhi

By SĀHITYĀCHĀRYA PT. BISHESHWAR NATH REU

(PLATES III AND IV)

THIS “Sanad”¹ had been issued in favour of Mahārājā Bijaysingh of Mārwar by the Mughal Emperor Shāh ‘Ālam II of Delhi on the 9th Jumāda-ul-ākhir of the 17th year of his reign.

Emperor Shāh ‘Ālam II, whose original name was ‘Āligauhar, was son of Emperor ‘Ālamgīr II.

On 29th November, A.D. 1759 (8th Rabī-uṣ-ṣānī, A.H. 1173, or Mārgshīrsh Sudī 10, v.s. 1816) when ‘Ālamgīr II was murdered, ‘Āligauhar was in Bihār, where, on hearing of the event, he ascended the throne² with the title Shāh ‘Ālam II on 24th December of the same year (4th Jamādī-ul-avval, A.H. 1173, or Paush Sudī 5, v.s. 1816). In the meantime his father’s assassin Vazīr ‘Imād-ul-mulk Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān had declared Muḥī-us-sunnat as king of Delhi with the title Shāh Jahān II; but he could not remain on the throne even for a year as Sadāshiv Rāo Bhāū had replaced him by Mirzā Jawān Bakht, son of Shāh ‘Ālam II. Later,

¹ Its length is about 3 feet, and breadth about 22 inches. It is mounted on a cloth to keep it preserved from decay, leaving the endorsements and the seals on its back open to view.

² This ceremony had been performed at village Kathaulī in Azīmābād district.

in A.D. 1761 (A.H. 1174 or v.s. 1817), when Ahmad Shāh Abdālī having defeated the Marhattās at Pānīpat came to Delhi, he announced ¹ Shāh 'Ālam II as Emperor, appointed Mirzā Jawān Bakht as heir apparent, and Shujā'-ud-dāula ² as Vazīr.

But as Shāh 'Ālam ³ II had adopted his regnal year from the 24th December, A.D. 1759 (4th Jumāda-ul-avval, A.H. 1173, or Paush Sudī 5, v.s. 1816), his seventeenth regnal year

¹ After this event Ahmad Shāh returned to Qandhār leaving a deputy at Lahor.

² He was Nawāb of Oudh.

³ On the 12th August, 1765 (24th Safar, A.H. 1179, or Bhādon Badī 11, v.s. 1822), the same king Shāh 'Ālam II had granted the "Sanad of Diwānī" of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihār, and Orisa to the East India Company in lieu of Rs. 24 lacs (26 lacs as stated elsewhere) per annum. For some time he had also kept his residence at Allahabad, but in A.D. 1771 (v.s. 1828), being displeased with the English, he returned to Delhi and resumed the reins of the government personally. In A.D. 1788 (v.s. 1845) Ghulām Qādir, grandson of Najīb-ud-daula (whom perhaps Ahmad Shāh Abdālī had appointed, "Amīr-ul-umrā" of the Emperor), came to Delhi and deprived the king of his vision. But he was soon after restored to the throne by Mādho Rāo Sindhiā, who put Ghulām Qādir to death. For this timely help Shāh 'Ālam conferred on Sindhiā the title of "Farzand-i-'Ālijāh" and has suitably given vent to his sentiment of the occasion in the following couplet:—

مادھوجی سندھیہا فرزند جگر بند من
ہست مصروف بہ تلا فی ستمگار بی ما—

i.e. Mādhoji Sindhiā the affectionate son of mine is engaged in the removal of our distresses.

The title mentioned above still goes with the names of the Mahārājās of Gwalior.

It is evident from history that in the well-known impeachment of Warren Hastings in the British Parliament, one of the charges brought against him was that he had conspired with Mādho Rāo Sindhiā against the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II. This shows that Mādho Rāo Sindhiā having reached Delhi might have overpowered the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II at the instigation of Warren Hastings. Yet, however, the Sindhiā's treatment of the Emperor was not bad.

Later in A.D. 1803 (v.s. 1860) Lord Lake came to Delhi and having pensioned off the king on Rs. 12 lac per annum, assumed the government of the Empire. Shāh 'Ālam II died in A.D. 1806 (A.H. 1221, or v.s. 1863).

commenced from the 3rd July, A.D. 1775 (4th Jumāda-ul-avval, A.H. 1189 or Āshādh Sudī 5, v.s. 1832). Accordingly the corresponding date of the "Sanad" which was written on the 9th Jumāda-us-sānī of the seventeenth regnal year, falls on the 7th August, A.D. 1775 (Shrāvan Sudī 11, v.s. 1832).

Besides the text of the Farmān the "Sanad" contains one imperial "Tughrā" and one imperial seal on the obverse, and two official seals and four endorsements on the reverse. Before dealing with the text of the Sanad I think it proper to examine, in detail, these particulars of the Sanad:—

The "Tughrā": Written in bold arabic characters in gold, occupying a rectangular space, reads: "Farmān vālā Shāh Abul Muẓaffar Jalāluddīn Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh Ghāzī." Some scribblings in red occur in the blank spaces and at the top of the "Tughrā", according to custom of the age. This "Tughrā" is placed at the top of the Sanad towards the left.

The imperial seal: At its top is written "Hāulghālib", i.e. the omnipotent. In fourteen small circles around the seal are written names of the Emperor's fourteen predecessors, as follows: (1) Ṣāhib Qirān¹ Bin Fīrōz; (2) Ibn Mirānshāh; (3) Ibn Sultān Muhammad Shāh; (4) Ibn Abū Saīd Shāh; (5) Ibn 'Umar Shēkh Shāh; (6) Ibn Bābur Bādshāh; (7) Ibn Humāyūn Bādshāh; (8) Ibn Akbar Bādshāh; (9) Ibn Jahāngīr Bādshāh; (10) Ibn Shāhjahān Bādshāh; (11) Ibn 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh; (12) Ibn Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh; (13) Ibn Jahāndārshāh; (14) Ibn 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh.

The words "Bin" and "Ibn" show that the above-named rulers bore the relation of father and son in order. In the inner big circle is written "Abul Muẓaffar Jalāluddīn Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh Ghāzī" as also the "Hijrī" year 1173, and the regnal year one. This seal is placed towards the right above the text.

¹ This was an after death title of Timūr. [Read Ibn Amīr Timūr Ṣāhib Qirān.—ED.]

The Vazīr's seal : The writing in the seal reads : "Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh Ghāzī, yār vafādār, Sipahsālār, Rustam-i-Hind, Fidvī-i-Qadīm, Yāhyākhān Aṣaf-ud-daula . . . Shujā'-ud-daula, Abul Manṣūrkhān Ṣafdarjang I'timād-ud-daula Aṣafjāh Burhān-ul-mumālīk, Jamdeh madārul mahām." It also contains the "Hijrī" year 1190, and the regnal year seventeenth. This shows that this seal is of the time of Aṣaf-ud-daula, the eldest son of Shujā'-ud-daula, who had died on the 26th January, A.D. 1775 (24th Zī Qa'da, A.H. 1188, or Māgh Badī 10, v.s. 1831). This seal is placed on the back of the Sanad towards the left lower corner.

The third seal : Its contents are : "(Shāh 'Ālam)¹ Bādshāh Ghāzī, Fidvī Khānāzād Khān Bahādur." The regnal year given in it is sixteenth. This seal stands near the Vazīr's seal to the right. Just below this seal there is an endorsement, as follows :—

سنه ۱۷ جلوس والا بتاريخ دويم شهر رجب المرجب نقل شد

i.e. the copy² of the Sanad was taken on the 2nd Rajab of the seventeenth regnal year (29th August, A.D. 1775, or Bhādaun Sudī 3, v.s. 1832).

The second endorsement on the back on the right corner runs as follows :—

بتاريخ دويم شهر رجب المرجب سنه ۱۷ جلوس والا

مطابق سنه ۱۱۸۹ داخل سیاہ نموده شد مطابق ۷

شهر یورماه نقل بدقت صاحب نوشته شد . . .³ برهاند —

¹ This portion is torn.

² [The word نقل is not clear. Probably we should read ثبت and the reference is to affixation of the seal.—ED.]

³ Here there is some one's signature which is undecipherable.

Just near the above there is a third endorsement, as below :

سنه ۱۷ جلوس والا بتاریخ دویم رجب المرجب نقل ...
مستوفي اهیمة عظام رسید —

The purport of the second endorsement is “ Entered in the *siyāhā* (register) on the 2nd of the month of Rajab of the regnal year seventeenth, corresponding to Hijrī 1189 (29th August, A.D. 1775, or Bhādaun Sudi 3, v.s. 1832). Copy taken in the office of the “ *Ṣāhib* ” on the 7th of “ *Shahar yūr* ”.¹ May be handed over.

Purport of the third endorsement :—

Copy taken in the office of the “ *Aiyamā Izām* ” (high priest)² on the 2nd Rajab of the seventeenth regnal year.

The fourth endorsement called “ *Zimn* ”³ on the back of the Sanad, runs as follows :—

Line (1) مقدمه شرح ضمن بموجب سیاهه دفتر باشد
حکم صاد رشد موضع رای سینا در بست عمله پر گنه
حویلی دارانخلا فه شاهجهان آباد بابت محال قدیم . . .

¹ This is the 6th of the Persian months commencing from the “ *Sankrāntī* ”, i.e. sun's zodiacal change.

² [Should be : *mustaufi a'imma-i-'izām* = the controller of the great grants.—ED.]

³ In this endorsement, the following words being copied on a separate slip from the original, the slip is pasted instead at the time of repairing the Sanad :—

Line (1) اراخلا فه شاهجهان آباد بابت محال —
Line (2) اراپارای امان عرف رشید امان درجاگیر
Line (3) سنگه بهادر با فرزندان نسلاً بعد نسلاً

The cross letters visible in the photo between the 2nd and the 3rd line do not belong to the text of the endorsement, but are superfluous contents of the slips pasted to preserve the paper.

مہاراجہ بخت سنگہ کہ در آتمغا محمد مراد خان شدہ بود—
 ثانیاً درسنہ ¹ ۲ Line (2) پروانہ بجای بنام مہاراجہ بجی سنگہ
 عطا گشتہ بود ومن بعدآن (بجا گیردار) برابہارای
 امان عرف رشید امان درجا گیرخور ²) درخالصہ جدید
 قرار یافتہ ربیع قوئیل پیشین Line (3) محال قدیم
 آتمغا وزمین داری از محال خالصہ شریفہ درصیفہ انعام
 آتمغا بجی سنگہ بہادر بافرزندان نسلاً بعد نسلآ . . .
 واقع ۲۶ جمادی الآخر . . .

Its purport :—

The details of the case may be entered according to the Register of the office. Orders issued. Village Rāīsīnā situated in the "Havēlī" (Suburban) district of the capital Shāhjahānābād, in view of old "Jagīr" . . . of Mahārājā Bakht-Singh, which had passed on to Muhammad Murādkhān as a "Jagīr" for generations, was for the second time restored to Mahārājā Bijaysingh in regnal year 2, i.e. A.D. 1760 or v.s. 1817 ; but after this it (having remained in the "Jāgīr of Rāi Amān alias Rashīd Amān . . .) had recently lapsed to "Khālsā". (The same Rāīsīnā) due to its being his ancestral Jagīr (is granted) from "Khālsā" to Mahārājā Bijaysingh Bahādur and his descendants, generation after

¹ The following matter being covered under the cloth mount did not appear in the photo :—

Of the first line :— شدہ بود ثانیاً درسنہ ۲

Of the second line :— قیل پیشین

² The writing within this bracket being distorted conveys no sense.

generation, by way of reward from the “ Rabi ” Crop of the “ Quil ” year. Dated 26 Jumāda-ul-ākhir (24th August, A.D. 1775, or Bhādaun Badī 13, v.s. 1832).

TEXT OF THE SANAD

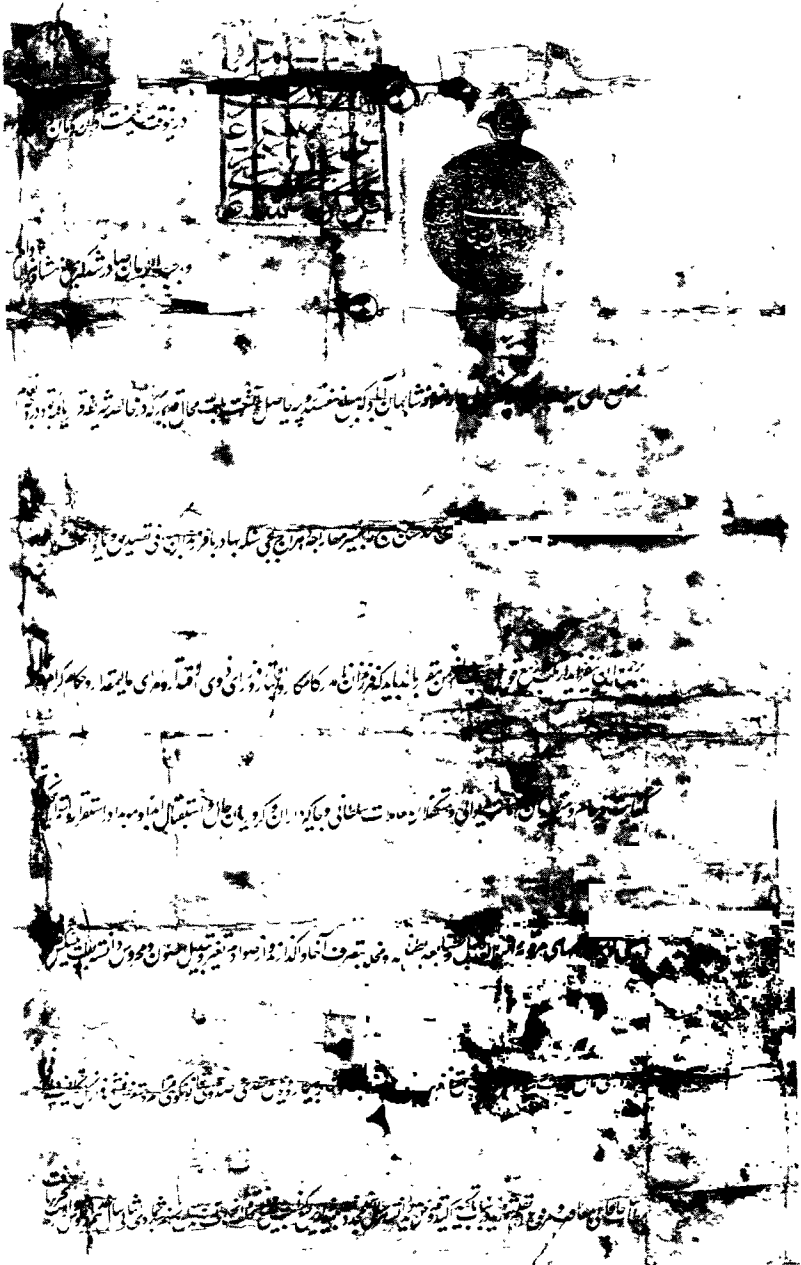
- (۱) درینوقت میمنت اقران فرمان والا شان —
- (۲) واجب الازعان صادر شد که مبلغ هشتاد هزار دادم —
- (۳) موضع رای سینه در بست عمه یرگنه حویلی دارالخلافة شاهجهان آباد که مبلغ هفتصد روپیه حاصل آنست بابت محال قدیم که درخالصه شریفه قرار یافته بود دروجه انعام —
- (۴) آلتغا . . . زبده راجهائی هندوستان راج راجیشرمه راجه دهرج بیجی سنگه بهادر با فرزندان معافی تصدیق و یادداشت .
- (۵) بر جمع آن بیفزاید از ثلث ربیع قوئیل حسب الضمن مقرر باشد — باید که فرزندان نامدار کامگار والا تبار و وزرای ذوی الاقتدار و امراء اعلی مقدار و حکام کرام و عمال
- (۶) کفایت فرجام و متصدیان مهمات دیوانی

وَمُتَكْفِلَانِ مَعَامَلَاتِ سُلْطَانِي وَجَاگِير دَارَانِ وَکَرُورِيَانِ
 حَالِ وَاسْتِقْبَالِ اَبَدًا وَمُؤَبَّدًا دَرِ اسْتِقْرَارِ وَاسْتِمْرَارِ اِيْنِ حَكْمِ . —
 (v) مَعَالِي کُوشِيْدِه دَامِهَائِي مَر قُومِه رَا نَسْلًا بَعْدِ
 نَسْلًا وَ بَطْنًا بَعْدِ بَطْنًا خَالِدًا وَ مَحْلَدًا بَتَصْرُفِ اَنهَا
 وَ اَکْذَارِنْدِ وَ اَز صَوَادِمِ تَغْيِرِ وَ تَبْدِيْلِ مَصْنُوتِ وَ مَحْرُوسِ دَانِسْتِه
 بَعْلَتِ پِيْش کَشِ صُوبِه دَارِي —

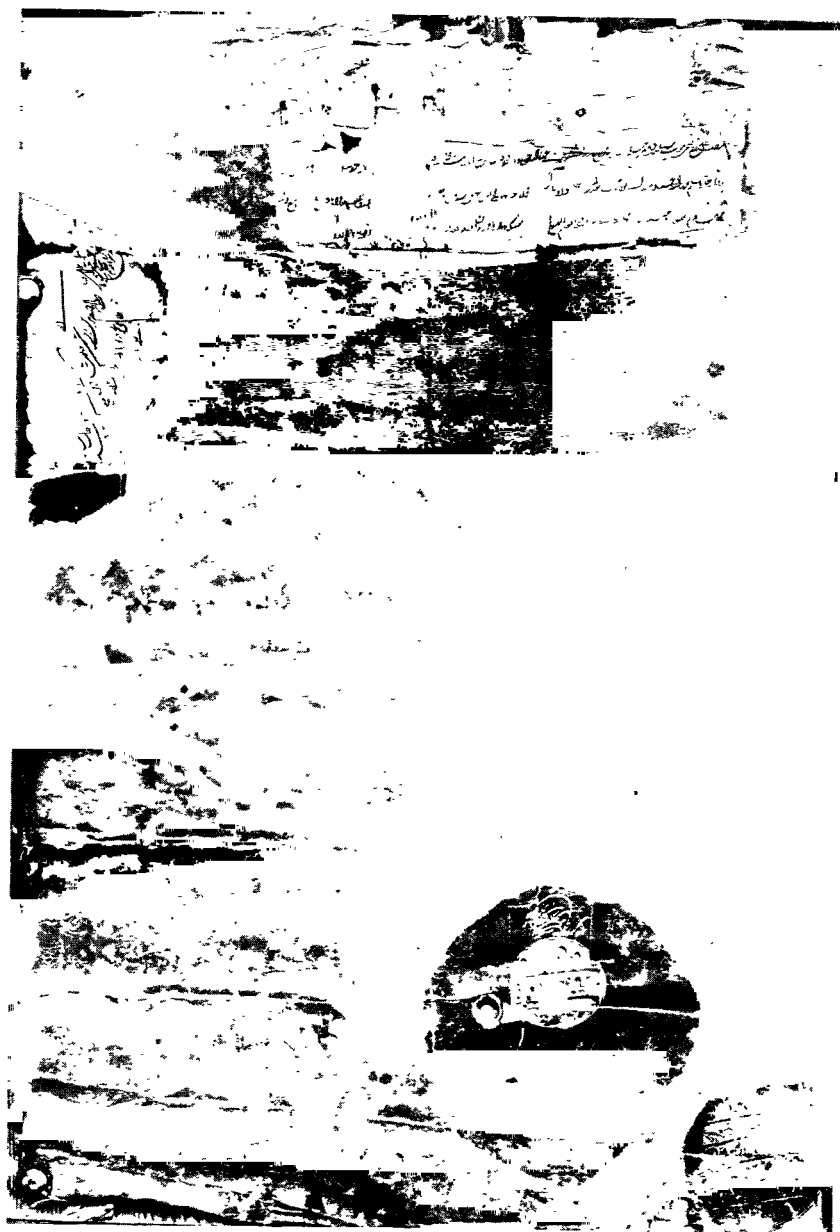
(۸) و فوجد اري و مال و جهات و ساير اخراجات
 مثل ... بيگا روده نيمي مقدمی صد ذوی قانون گوئی —
 مزاحم و مُتعرض نشوند و از کل تکلیفات دیوانی

(۹) و مطالبات خاقانی مُعاف و مرفوع القلم شمارند
 درین باب تا کید ا کید و قدغن مزید دانسته هر سال سند
 مُجَدِّد نه طلبند و از یرلیغ کرامت تبلیغ والا تخلف و انحراف
 نورزند بتاریخ نهم شهر جمادی الثانی سال هفت دهم از
 جلوس و الازیب تحریر یافت —

Translation : In this auspicious time the sublime command worthy of being obeyed is issued that village Rāīsīnā of 80,000 " dāms " in the " Haveli " (suburban) Pargana of the capital Shāhjahānābād (Delhi), the rental value of which is Rs. 700/-, may be settled as " Inām " (gift) for generations,



AN OLD IMPERIAL SANAD RELATING TO RĀSINĀ OR NEW DELHI.



AN OLD IMPERIAL SANAD RELATING TO RĀSINĀ OR NEW DELHI.

in view of his old "Jāgīr" that had lapsed to "khālsā", upon Rāj Rājēshvar Mahārājādhirāj Bijaysingh Bahādur, the predominant of the Rājās of India, and his descendants (having been verified as rent free and duly registered, that its revenue may increase) from the third part of the "Rabi" crop (i.e. from the time of the crop being ready) of the "Quil" (Turkish eighth year) as mentioned in the "Zimn" (Register). Our distinguished, fortunate, and dignified descendants, ministers of high rank, noble grandees, eminent officers, economical revenue collectors, administrators of civil matters, trustees of Royal affairs, "Jāgīrdārs" and "karoris" of the present and future, having ever and anon tried to maintain and perpetuate this esteemed order, ought always to leave the above-mentioned "dāms" in their (grantees') possession, generation after generation, and individual after individual. And treating this (grant) as safe and protected from consequences of changes and fluctuations, may not exercise pressure or raise objection about payment of "Sūbadārī", "Faujdārī", "Māl", "Jahāt," and all other cesses like . . . "Begār", "Dehnīmi" ($\frac{1}{10}$), "Muqaddamī" "Sadzuī" ($\frac{2}{100}$), "Qānūngōī", and should treat (the grant) as free from all civil obligations and Royal demands. Treat this as strict and very urgent, do not demand new "Sanad" every year, and never disobey or act contrary to this grand order. Written on the 9th Jumāda-ush-shānī, seventeenth year of the reign (i.e. on the 7th August, A.D. 1775, or Shrāvan Sudī 11, v.s. 1832).

From this Sanad it is apparent that the village Rāīsīnā, on the site of which the present New Delhi stands, had been during the Mughal period the ancestral "Jāgīr" of the rulers of Mārwar and had regularly remained under their sway up to the reign ¹ of Mahārājā Bakhtsingh A.D. 1751-2

¹ Mahārājā Bakhtsingh had ascended the throne of Mārwar on the 29th June, A.D. 1751 (Shrāvan Badī, 2, v.s. 1808), having deposed his nephew Mahārājā Rāmsingh. He died on 21st September, A.D. 1752 (Bhādaun Sudī 13, v.s. 1809), and was succeeded by his son Mahārājā Bijaysingh.

(v.s. 1808-9). But at this time, as dissensions¹ broke out in the royal house of Jodhpur, the Emperor having confiscated it from Mahārājā Bijaysingh conferred it on Muhammad Murād Khān at the instigation of hostile parties.² Later, when the family feud had ended, it was restored again to Mahārājā Bijaysingh in A.D. 1760 (v.s. 1817). But sometime after, when the administration of Mārṡwār had relaxed due to Marhattā inraids, the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II, again yielding to hostile influence, confiscated the village from the Mahārājā. Lastly on suppression of all the main risings in Mārṡwār, it is probable the Mahārājā might have put forward his claim to this, his ancestral " Jāgīr " village, in the Emperor's court (as is evident from the central endorsement on the back of the Sanad) and the Emperor having seen proofs of this village being the ancestral " Jāgīr " of the Mahārājās of Mārṡwār and finding no other rightful claimant to it, might have issued this " Sanad " in A.D. 1775 (v.s. 1832) in his favour. We cannot say when and under what circumstances this " Jāgīr " went out of the possession of the rulers of Mārṡwār, but two conclusions are derived clearly from it :—

Firstly, that this Rāisīnā was an ancestral " Jāgīr " of

¹ Warfare continued up to A.D. 1756 (v.s. 1813) between the two cousins Mahārājās Bijaysingh and Rāmsingh for the sovereignty of Mārṡwār. Later through the intervention of the Marhattās peace was concluded and Mahārājā Rām Singh was given eleven districts of Mārṡwār. Though the internal feud had mostly subsided by this action, yet the government of Mārṡwār had grown slack through the inraids of the Marhattās. This gave rise to a fresh revolt of the " sardārs " of Mārṡwār which was also suppressed to a great extent in A.D. 1760 (v.s. 1816). But in A.D. 1765 (v.s. 1822) due to Mādhorāo Sindhiā's invasion, the state affairs were again confused. In A.D. 1772 (v.s. 1829) Mahārājā Rāmsingh, the root cause of all troubles, breathed his last, and the eleven districts of his " Jāgīr " reverted to the state. This event broke the hearts of the internal enemies of Mārṡwār. Further the murder of Thākūr Jaitsingh of Āuwā, the premier noble of Mārṡwār, in A.D. 1774 (v.s. 1831) struck terror in the hearts of the rebel sardārs, and brought them round to reason and peace.

² Mahārājā Īshvarī Singh of Jaipur, being father-in-law of Mahārājā Rāmsingh, had sided with him. His influence also must have worked with the Emperor against Mahārājā Bijaysingh.

the Mahārājās of Mārwār, and that, up to, at the most, 155 years hence, it was in their possession.

Secondly, that the titles “Zubdah ¹Rājā-i-Hindustān, Rāj Rājeshvar, Mahārājā Dhirāj” were used with the names of the Mahārājās of Mārwār up to the end of the Mughal Empire.

¹ The word “Sarāmad” in place of “Zubdah” has also been used in the titles of the rulers of Mārwār, as is evident from Kharītās, dated 29th May, 1829 (Jyesht Badī 12, Shravanadī, v.s. 1885), and 12th June, 1829 (Jyesht Sudī 10, Shravanadī, v.s. 1885), from Hon. Richard Cavendish, Agent Ajmer to the address of Mahārājā Mānsingh of Mārwār, as well as from a “Farman” dated 7th Jamādī-ul-avval, A.H. 1217 (Bhādaun Sudī 8, v.s. 1859 = 5th September, A.D. 1802), from the King of Kabul to the address of Mahārājā Bhīmsingh of Mārwār.

An Ismailitic Work by Nasīru'd-dīn Ṭūsī

By W. IVANOW

THE connection of Naṣīru'd-dīn Ṭūsī¹ with the Ismailites is a well-known fact, familiar to every student of Persian literature. Even a beginner cannot pass without paying attention to his important treatise on ethics, the *Akhḫāq-i-Nāṣirī*. This latter work was composed for and dedicated to the enlightened Ismailite governor (*ra'īs*) of the province of Quhistān, Naṣīru'd-dīn Muḥtasham, or 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm b. Abī Maṣṣūr, of Qā'in, who was a well-known patron of men of letters. The original version of the work (as Ṭūsī himself states in the preface to the book as it stands at present) was subsequently altered by him when he dissociated himself from the Ismailites; it included apparently a doxology² with praises to Ismailite Imams.³

Ṭūsī's biographers do not give much information about the earlier period of his life⁴; especially they avoid touching

¹ His full name is usually given as Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (or Ḥusayn) aṭ-Ṭūsī, but he is briefly called Khwāja Naṣīr, or Khwāja Naṣīr-i-Ṭūsī, or (by Shi'ite writers) Muḥaqqiq-i-Ṭūsī. He was born the 11th Jum. I, 597 A.H., i.e. the 17th February, 1201, and died at Baghdad the 18th Dhī'l-hijja, 672 A.H., i.e. the 25th June, 1274. His family was originally from Jahṛūd, a village in the district of Sāwa (between Ṭīhrān and Hamadān) in the province of Ray.

² There is hardly sufficient ground to speak about the "first" and the "second" edition of the *Akhḫāq-i-Nāṣirī* (cf. E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 220), because, as Ṭūsī himself mentions in his introductory lines, the alteration was made only in the initial passage, and the whole of the text of the treatise was left unaltered. We therefore may think that the changed passage was simply the doxology and the dedication.

³ Most probably this abandoned doxology contained the pedigree of the Ismailite Imams which is referred to in the *Dabistān-i-madhāhib* (lith. Lucknow, 1321, p. 275).

⁴ Ṭūsī's biography is briefly summarized in E. G. Browne's *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 484-6, and based on the accounts found in the *Ḥabību's-siyar*, *Raudatu's-ṣafā*, *Ta'rikh-i-guzīda*, Ibn Shākir, etc. The information given by Nūru'l-lah Shushtarī in his *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn* gives a version substantially differing from these. *Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥī* gives nothing beyond the date of Ṭūsī's death. The modern work, *Raudātu'l-jannāt*, adds nothing new. Cf. also H. Ethé in *Grundr. d. Ir. Phil.*, ii, pp. 344, 348, 363.

on such a delicate matter as the real nature of his relations with the sectarians. It is generally accepted that his connection with them was not voluntary on the part of the philosopher, and that the Ismailis kept him by force.¹ We may, indeed, believe or disbelieve the story, as the facts which have been preserved are insufficient to enable us to form an independent opinion. It explains further that Ṭūsī tried to come in contact with Ibnu'l-'Alqamī, the vizier of the Abbaside caliph, Musta'ṣim bi'l-lāh (640-56/1242-58), requesting him to bring him to the notice of the caliph. Ibnu'l-'Alqamī, for some reason, brings the correspondence to the notice of the patron of Ṭūsī, the governor of Qā'in, Nāṣiru'd-dīn 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm, and the latter, being angry for these transactions, arrests Ṭūsī, and, later on, while going for some purpose to the headquarters of his government in Alamūt, takes Ṭūsī with him.² The philosopher remains there under arrest until the fortress of Alamūt is surrendered to Hūlāgū. Then he, professing himself to be a sufferer at the hands of the Ismailites, and repudiating any connection with their religious beliefs, is released and treated with honour. His subsequent career is well known.

The point which is of particular interest to us in the present case is the question of the character of Ṭūsī's position with regard to his Ismaili patrons. Was it simply service, or conversion to Ismailism also? ³ If the Ismailis wanted his services, they could afford to give him a salary sufficient to

¹ E. G. Browne (op. cit., ii, p. 456) uses even the expression " kidnapped " by Muhtasham of Qā'in, apparently on the authority of Rashīdu'd-dīn's great *Jāmi'u't-tawārīkh* (which is not accessible to me at present). In any case the story of Ṭūsī's being forcibly retained in Alamūt could not be thoroughly false, as it could be easily verified by the Mongols.

² So according to the version preserved in the *Ḥabību's-siyar* and its sources. The *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn* (p. 329 of the old Tabriz lithograph) states that the transactions with 'Alqamī preceded Ṭūsī's entering the service of Muhtasham, who attracted him " by a ruse ".

³ It is very significant that the author of the *Dabistān-i-madhāhib* (ibid., p. 275) uses an expression plainly implying Ṭūsī's being, or pretending to be, an Ismailite (*dar hangāmī ki khūd-rā Ismā'īlī mī-namūd, yā būd*).

assure his voluntary collaboration, which would be, indeed, immensely more productive than labour under compulsion. There may be a new explanation suggested. It is a well-known fact that the Ismailis of Persia have at present, and have long had, an established practice of giving education to their sons in the ordinary Shi'ite schools. The pupils remain under the *taqiyya*, i.e. outwardly professing and following the Shi'ite (twelve-Imamate) doctrine.¹ It is not a rare occurrence for an Ismailite student to find himself ultimately so much at home, or so convinced, in his Shi'ite professed beliefs, that he, especially in case of various personal considerations, may attempt to remain a Shi'ite, severing his connection with his original community. This severance often leads to open or hidden revenge.

There is nothing improbable in the supposition of a similar situation in the case of Tūsī, though, on the whole, our information is so conflicting and the circumstances are so doubtful that we scarcely can hope ever to solve this mystery.

Tūsī wrote in Persian and in Arabic.² Amongst his Persian works, besides the *Akhlāq-i-Nāsirī*, mentioned above, there was another book on ethics, the *Awṣāfu'l-ashraf*; astronomical tables; a short treatise on the use of astrolabe (*Bīst bāb*), etc. All these are well known. It may be added that Tūsī is sometimes regarded as the author of the popular work, *Mir'ātu'l-muḥaqqiqīn*, which in different copies is ascribed to

¹ There is no doubt that the relations between the "orthodox" Shi'ites and the Ismailites were rarely very unfriendly, especially in those sections of both communities which entertained somewhat extremist views. It would be sufficient to mention as an example the friendly tone in which such a jealous Shi'ite as Nūru'l-lah Shushtārī speaks about the Ismailis where he deals with Tūsī's biography. The rapid spreading of Shi'ism after the Mongol invasion and the destruction of the political power of the Ismailis may perhaps be attributed to a large extent to the drifting of the persecuted Ismaili communities under the shelter of the kindred sect which gained influence at that time.

² His Arabic works are mentioned in C. Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Lit.*, ii, pp. 508-12.

different authors,¹ and which the Ismailis themselves attribute to *Nāṣir-i-Khusraw*.²

An Ismaili friend of mine has lent me recently a manuscript of a Persian work, dealing with the dogmas of Ismailism ; in its opening lines the authorship is ascribed to Ṭūsī. The work is apparently unknown ; it has the title of *Rauḍatu't-taṣlīm*, is divided into a preface and twenty-eight *taṣawwurs*. or chapters of uneven length,³ and contains a clear philosophic exposition of the Ismaili theology. It gives a particularly clear view of what is the esoteric doctrine and the *ta'wīl* system of the sect.

There is no direct way of ascertaining whether the work is really by Ṭūsī. His biographers, as also Ḥājji Khalifa, the author of the *Kashfu'l-ḥujub*, etc., do not mention it at all. The internal evidence does not supply any reason for regarding it as a work which could not have been written by Ṭūsī. The language is obviously and undubitably old, and suits perfectly well the fashions of the early thirteenth century. In its manner and diction it resembles very much the *Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī*. There are many cases in which terms, expressions, and ideas are the same in both works.⁴ On the other hand, the work could not have been composed earlier than the second half of the sixth century A.H., or twelfth century A.D., because there are references to the Fatimide caliph al-Mustansir (427-87/1035-94), and to Sayyid-nā, i.e. obviously Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. Besides, if the dogma of the Great Resurrection (*Qiyāmatu'l-qiyāmāt*) was not invented

¹ Cf. my catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the "Curzon", or "Government" Collection in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1926, No. 462 (7).

² So in the lithographed edition, Bombay, 1333.

³ Some of the chapters are obviously incomplete, or pass abruptly from one matter to the other. Besides, there are many repetitions, some subjects are dealt with in different places, etc. The general impression is that the work was written in a hurry, and not carefully finished, "worked through."

⁴ Ṭūsī's Persian, however, is remarkably uneven, and the style varies much in his different works. For instance, the style of the *Awṣāfu'l-ashrāf* is quite different from that of the *Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī*. This, perhaps, may be explained by the difference in the time at which these works were compiled.

earlier than it was actually proclaimed by the *khudāwand* of Alamūt, Ḥasan 'Alī *dhikruhu's-salām*,¹ on the 17th of Ramaḍān, 559/the 8th August, 1164, the book must have been compiled later than this date, as the doctrine is quite prominent in it.²

There are also other reasons in favour of recognition of the probability of Ṭūsī's authorship of this work. Ṭūsī, certainly, was not held in much admiration by the Ismailis, and therefore if it was not written by him, but by some unknown author, the sectarians would have found somebody more appropriate and authoritative than Ṭūsī to ascribe the work to. Besides, the general style and "make" of the book show that it could not be the production of anyone but a man of real learning and philosophical talent.

These grounds for accepting Ṭūsī's authorship of this work as true may be insufficient. But, nevertheless, they are *some grounds* to justify us in attributing this work, provisionally and conjecturally, to the famous philosopher, until we discover some good reason either to confirm this hypothesis or to reject it entirely.

The importance of this work, in any case, cannot be exaggerated. Genuine works of Ismailis known in European libraries are very few, and mostly belong to modern authors.³

¹ So the Ismailites in India, Badakhshān, and Persia read his name.

² There are many references to this doctrine throughout the treatise, but the clearest mention of it is found in *taṣawwur* xxvi, in which it is stated that the Qā'im had proclaimed this dogma himself forty years after "the first blast of the trumpet" by Sayyid-nā, i.e. Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. This coincides fairly well with the historical sequence of the events.

³ Cf. St. Guyard, "Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis." *Not. et Extraits*, Paris, 1874, based on some manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale; W. Ivanow, "Ismailitic Manuscripts in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg" (in Russian), in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Russe des Sciences*, 1917, pp. 359-86. This paper has been reviewed at length in the *JRAS.* 1919, pp. 429-35, by Sir E. Denison Ross. One of the items described in that paper was edited and translated by W. Ivanow in the "Ismailitica", *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1922, vol. viii, pp. 1-76. Several short poems of the Ismailis living on the Upper Oxus were recently published, with Russian translations and commentaries, by A. Semenov in *Iran* and in the *Zapiski* of the Russian Orientalistic Society.

Very few of them have been so far published, and, besides, none of them gives such a clear and complete exposition of the system. In its terminology and teachings it coincides entirely with a much shorter work, *On recognition of the Imam* (*Dar shinākht-i-Imām*), which has already been published by me.¹ As the latter work was written not before about 1000/1592, it is obvious that the remarkable coincidence in terms, and occasionally in whole sentences, is due to the fact that the author perused Tūsī's treatise.²

It must be recalled that besides different sects which are more or less cognate to Ismailism, such as the ancient Qarmatians, the Druzes, the Nusairis, the Ḥurūfīs (i.e. Cabalists of Shi'ite extremism), the 'Alī-Ilāhīs, etc., the Ismailite doctrine proper is still represented by several different schools which are not less alien to each other than to any Shi'ite doctrine outside Ismailism. The most ancient phase of Ismailite doctrine is apparently represented by the *Wajh-i-dīn* of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw,³ which contains the teaching as adapted to the understanding of the inhabitants of a wild corner of the Islamic world, Badakhshān, as it was in the eleventh century A.D. There is little esoterism in it; and, if the poetical works attributed to Nāṣir-i-Khusraw are genuine,⁴ they give very little of it either. It is remarkable that the doctrines of the *Wajh-i-dīn* are still a living religion, that of the "Mullahs" of Badakhshān and of the Upper Oxus. But the esoteric doctrine is derived by the followers

¹ It forms the first part of the "Ismailitica", in the *Memoirs of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1922, vol. viii, pp. 1-49.

² All such cases of coincidence are noted in the corresponding places in the summary.

³ It was printed at the Kaviani press, Berlin, under the patronage of the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial Fund, in 1924.

⁴ The *Raushanā'ī-nāma* was edited and translated by the late H. Ethé in *ZDMG.*, vol. xxxiii (1879), pp. 645-65, and vol. xxxiv (1880), pp. 428-64 and 617-42. The *Sa'ādat-nāma* was ed. and translated by E. Fagnan, "Le livre de félicité," *ZDMG.*, vol. xxxiv (1880), pp. 643-74; notes to both by F. Teufel, *ZDMG.*, vol. xxxvi (1882), pp. 96-114. Both were lith. in Bombay (1333 ?). The *Zādu'l-musāfirīn* was printed in Berlin in 1922.

of the sect from another book, considered by them as the most sacred, i.e. the *Ummu'l-kitāb*, which contains a strange mixture of Cabalistic speculations, traces of Ismailite and ordinary Shi'ite beliefs, Zoroastrianism, and, perhaps, even of Manicheism and doctrines of some early Shi'ite extremist sects. It is of much later date than Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, however, though it is ascribed to the Imam Muḥammad Bāqir.¹

The sect called Bohras in India, with two chief sub-sects, the Dā'ūdī and Sulaymānī, represents the older tradition of the Fatimide, i.e. "Egyptian" Ismailism.² The Khojas, of whom the majority are the followers of the Agha Khan in India, follow, on the whole, the outlines of the doctrine of the Persian Ismailis, but with the addition of substantial Hinduistic adaptations and superstructures.³

¹ See W. Ivanow, "Ismailitic MSS. in the Asiatic Museum," *Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 1917, pp. 362-5. The work in its present form has little to do with Imam Muḥammad Bāqir, and most probably represents the product of a long evolution of the local tradition, perhaps ascending to some early sources.

² The literature of the Bohra sub-sects is fairly large, consisting chiefly of collections of prayers and poetry in Arabic. There are, however, also books in Gujrati, Hindustani, and even in Persian. Amongst these books there are: *Dīwān* of Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyid Hibatu'l-lāh b. Mūsā b. Dā'ūd ash-Shirāzī; *Diya'u'l-baṣā'ir*, by Sayyid-nā Idris; *Kanzu'l-ʿuld*, by Sayyid-nā Ibrāhīm; *Mūdāḥatu'r-rushād*, by Sayyid-nā Muḥammad b. Tāhir; *Kitābu'l-iṣlāḥ*, by Sayyid-nā Abū Ḥātim ar-Rā'ūsī (الراوي); *Ta'wīlu'z-zakāt*, by Sayyid-nā Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yamanī; *al-Mahajjatu'l-bayda'*, by 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Zaid al-Anasī; *aṣ-Ṣaḥīfatu'l-Yamāniyya*, by Malik Najmu'd-dīn b. Ṭayyib 'Alī; *Uṣūlu'd-dīn*; *Majālisu'l-hikmat*; *Sīratu'd-du'āt*, etc. The *Mawsim-i-bahār*, by Muḥammad 'Alī, is in Gujrati; also the *Majālis-i-Sayfiyya*; the *Akhbār-i-Sulaymānī wa āthār-i-withānī* is in Hindustani (lith.). Several other works are mentioned in the article on the Bohras in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, i, 738, where the scanty bibliography on the subject is cited.

³ The followers of the Agha Khan in India, the Khojas, rarely read in Persian or Arabic; they use in their writings either Gujrati or Sindhi; even the Qur'ān is transcribed in these alphabets, and translated literally into both languages. Their literature is, I was told, very poor, consisting of a few collections of sacred hymns and of prayers; there are some works of historical contents. The real dogmas and teachings have never been dealt with adequately, and all information to which writers on Ismailitic subjects usually refer is derived from the summaries of the legal proceedings at the

The present work, as also the short treatise *On recognition of the Imam*, mentioned above, and other works, such as the *Haft bāb*,¹ etc., represent what may be called "Persian" Ismailitic doctrine, probably descending directly from the teachings of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ.² We have no means of ascertaining how far his doctrine deviated from the original theories of the real founder of the sect, 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn.³ The latter's teachings have been often summarized, correctly or wrongly, by the orthodox Muhammadan historians, and seem, on the whole, to fit the doctrines of the present treatise very well, especially the detailed account by an-Nuwayrī.⁴ It seems unlikely that such a devoted follower of the doctrine

Bombay Court in 1866 and 1908. There are, however, many divergencies between the different sections of the community. While the more educated accept the works of the Persian and Upper Oxus Ismailis as genuine and belonging to their own doctrine, the less educated Indian followers, whose connection with Hinduism is still very strong, entertain many Hinduistic beliefs.

¹ See W. Ivanow, *Ismailitic MSS. in the Asiatic Museum*, pp. 368-71 sqq.

² He was the author of several works, cf. the *Fuṣūl arba'a* referred to in the *Kitābu'l-milāl wa'n-niḥāl* by Shahrastānī. There are references to Ra'is Ḥasan in the text published by me in the *Ismailitica*, and quotations from his poetry. It is difficult, however, to find whether Ra'is Ḥasan is the same as Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. It is obvious that his works were in no way "monumental", and probably were in the form of "epistles", or small treatises, because they have left very few traces in the controversial literature and tradition of the sect.

³ There is no doubt that there was some difference between the doctrines of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn and the teachings of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ, i.e. between the *maqālāt qadīma* and *maqālāt jadīda*, as emphasized by I. Goldziher in the preface to his *Streitschrift des Gazali gegen die Batiniyya Sekte* (Leyden, 1916, p. 12), who refers to Shahrastānī (Cureton, 150-2) and Ibn Khallikān (i, 168).

⁴ See E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 410-15, and O'Leary, *A Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate* (London, 1923, pp. 21-9), who refer to S. de Sacy's *Exposé de la religion des Druzes* (Paris, 1838, vol. i, pp. lxxii-cxxxviii), which is not accessible to me at present. It seems quite certain that the nine degrees into which Nuwayrī divides the progress of the spiritual education of Ismaili converts, are his own invention, an attempt at presenting things schematically in accordance with the medieval fashion of Muhammadan literature. They have nothing to do with either the ancient or the modern ranks of the initiated, and there is no trace of them either in the sectarian or in the controversial literature except Nuwayrī's work.

as Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ would go far beyond popularizing his patron saint's theories. The treatise which we are to review presently most probably represents the strictly "orthodox" tradition of Persian Ismailism. If it is by Ṭūsī, his somewhat dubious position would prevent him from introducing much of his own, and thus deviate from what was generally accepted. An author of a lesser calibre than Ṭūsī would also scarcely dare to interfere with the system, except in unessential details.

The Western ideas about Ismailism are all derived from writings of the enemies of the sect, chiefly of orthodox Muhammadan historians and theologians. These, quite naturally, used to tell their readers only all that they could find derogatory and objectionable about the hated heretics. Thus, it became almost a generally accepted point of view that Ismailism was something like a "swindle on a grand scale", a malicious intrigue for the subversion of the Baghdad caliphate and of Islamism in general. These ideas, first introduced by Hammer-Purgstall, were later on especially cultivated by the well-known Dutch scholars, Dozy and de Goeje. We scarcely need pay attention to them now, when genuine Ismailite works are becoming known. No religion, especially one so enduring and strong-spirited as Ismailism, can be started by rascality. We need not, in the least, suspect the sincerity and remarkable devotion either of the founders, or of the followers of a sect which succeeded in withstanding a thousand years of persecution. What seems to be far more appropriate in the case is to consider whether we have in Ismailism a great attempt at a reformation of Islam. It seems that 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn, and, perhaps, Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ, may claim in reality the recognition of their right to rank amongst the greatest thinkers of the Muhammadan world.

The study of the present work gives at once the key to the understanding of the secret of the appeal which the Ismailite doctrine exercised over its followers. The teachings give

a highly finished and consistent system of philosophical religion, and appear as one of the most daring attempts in history to build a popular religion on a thoroughly critical or logical basis, and to bring it into complete agreement with the science. In criticizing the system, we must not forget that the outlines of it were created over a thousand years ago, that the present, Tūsī's, work is itself over 700 years old, and that what appears to us now as mediaeval superstition was at that time the last word of "scientific research".¹ As the science at that time was chiefly based on Greek teachings, we need not be surprised to find in Ismailism all the familiar elements of Greek philosophy, its terminology and methods. Its esoteric, "full-sized" form may, perhaps, be appropriately called "Islam sieved through Greek philosophy", and deprived of much of its mysticism.² The open recognition of its double nature, esoteric and exoteric, seems to be an ingenious method, indeed; but there is scarcely any reason

¹ The ideas and scientific theories on which the present work is based form a system of philosophy similar to that of the famous *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwānu's-ṣafā' which were rendered accessible to Western readers by the works of the late F. Dieterici, and therefore some acquaintance with them may be taken for granted. It may be mentioned that the *Rasā'il* are still very popular amongst the Ismailis in Persia.

² It would be desirable to abandon for ever the (unfortunately far too familiar) sweeping generalizations as to the "idealistic" East, with its particular predisposition to mysticism, as an eternal antithesis to the "materialistic West". There is no superstition and misbelief which does more harm than this. A close study of different Eastern religions and civilizations reveals frequently, as in the case of Ismailism and many other Islamic sects, a decided predilection towards a flat, superficial and formal, rationalistic or logical materialism, a materialism so uncompromising and primitive that it leads often to complete atheism and amoralism. What appears to the twentieth century European as "mystic" is often simply childish "science", of the most materialistic nature. How many statements of Western science as it stands at present will be regarded as "mysticism" or superstition in a couple of centuries! Such things as cabalistic calculations, divination, magic, astrology, etc., are, and always have been, treated as *sciences*, on a perfectly equal footing with other disciplines which have retained their right to the title of "science" even nowadays.

to regard it as merely a vicious trick of the insincere spiritual leaders of the sect.¹

It will be best to give here a brief summary of every *taṣawwur*, or chapter, dwelling on its contents only in so far as they present something new or important. But before giving the details it will be useful perhaps to sketch the principles of the doctrine as the text does not clearly separate them from matters of detail.

The Ultimate Primal Unknowable Cause, the nature of which is beyond human understanding, may be only logically postulated.² Its pre-eternal, but ever-continuing act, or, perhaps, one of the aspects of its unknowable nature—the creation—is called the “Word of Truth” (*Kalimatu'l-Haqq*), an obvious attempt at rendering the Greek term *Logos*,³ which in this case, perhaps, may be more appropriately explained as “Divine Will”. This act of creation is inherently, consubstantially, and inseparably accompanied by the all-pervading “Reason”, i.e. rhythm, or self-stabilizing power of harmony of the Universe, its Platonic idea, the Primal Reason (*'Aql-i-awwal*).⁴ The three, i.e.

¹ It is remarkable that the system of revealing the religious doctrine gradually was always emphasized by the enemies of the sect as a special proof of its wickedness, while Sufism, in which exactly the same method is adopted, with its “stages” and “positions”, seems never to have been subject to accusations of this kind.

² It must be noted that in this treatise, as usually in the sectarian literature, the words Allah, Khudā, etc., are used only in quotations, and the Absolute is called invariably *ū ta'ālā*, i.e. “He, the Allhigh”. It may be added that this doctrine of strict *tanzih* was entirely an outcome of a struggle which lasted for many centuries, especially in circles inclined to mysticism, about the real meaning of the *tawhīd*, i.e. belief in the absolute unity of God; the early Sufis were especially pre-occupied with this.

³ This rendering of the term *Logos* by *kalimatu'l-Haqq* was most probably a concession to the orthodox Muhammadan teachings about the world being created by the verbal command of Allah. Instances of such concessions, or involuntary reminiscences, are very numerous in this work.

⁴ The author systematically avoids the use of the term which is frequently employed in similar contexts, i.e. *'Aql-i-kullī*. It may be added that the word “reason” does not adequately render the term *'aql*, which in this case has a distinctly verbal sense, and thus may be rendered by “reasoning”, or even with “reasonability”, or “logic”, or “logical order”.

the Primal Cause, the *Logos*, and the Reason, are but one, inseparably co-existent. The scheme is obviously based on the Neo-Platonistic system, and, perhaps, is not free from Christian influence.

The evolution of creation is based on the doctrine of "perfection", and the desire, or will, to attain it.¹ The material world is but an imperfect form of the spiritual. There is a gradual transition from the Creator and his creative will, through different general powers of nature and their laws (*aqls*),² their substrata, i.e. the general forms of life (*nafs*),³ etc., to the "top" of the created world, Man, who is the microcosmos in himself. The cosmic purpose, the position in the universe, etc., of Man is the highest in so far as he is endowed with knowledge, which is his "perfection" (*kamāl*), his way of salvation (*ma'ād*), etc.⁴ The source of his knowledge is the Imam. The latter is an ordinary man in whom the substance (*dhāt*) of the *Logos* is manifested. This substance *must* be manifested in the world, otherwise the latter cannot exist. And it *must* have its culminating manifestation in *Man*, because Man is the top of the creation. There is

¹ The author apparently is not a pantheist of Sufic or Neo-Platonistic type, nor does he recognize the doctrine of evolution in the ordinary sense, as may be seen further on. His evolution of the Universe does not proceed *in time*, but is apparently inherent in the same single act of creation, and is, therefore, pre-eternal. It is difficult under these circumstances to see why he separates the first links in its chain from the subsequent phases of it.

² It is remarkable that the author carefully avoids using the term emanation (*tajallī*) which is so common in the pantheistic systems of Sufic writers; here it is not found at all. This cannot be attributed entirely to occasional omission.

³ The difficulty of finding a term which may render adequately the meaning of this expression is here accentuated by the wide sense in which it is here used. The term *nafs* comprises here not only different functions of a living organism, such as metabolism, the activity of sensory and motor nerves, with their conscious and reflexive action, but also higher forms, of instinct, memory, perception, etc., in short, different functions of mind except its reasoning power and self-consciousness.

⁴ The *ma'ād* is explained philosophically in the text as the Neo-Platonistic "ascension" of imperfect things to more perfect ones, and has apparently nothing to do with the orthodox doctrine of resurrection of bodies.

apparently no trace of Docetism or Monophysitism, and this Divine Substance of Imamatus is transferred by physical birth only, to one son only, as a *naṣṣ*.¹ Therefore an Imam cannot remain childless—this would mean that he is not an Imam really. He only, by his supreme knowledge, can know which of his sons has received the *naṣṣ*—he *cannot* commit a mistake in this, otherwise he is not an Imam, as it shows that his knowledge is faulty, and, therefore, not Divine. This is why the Imamatus is irrevocable. His human nature and reason, with all the duties and obligations on the one side, and the rules of logic, etc., on the other, may be at any moment cancelled by his Divine element. He has no law (*ḥaqq*,² literally “truth”) binding upon him, because he is himself the source and the creator of *ḥaqq*.³ Therefore no strange and bizarre action on his part can be taken as a reason for doubting his genuineness. He is free to violate any prescription of *sharī‘at*, the law given by the prophets, who are conceived as something like chiefs of the police issuing their regulations in order to suppress lawlessness amongst men. The Imam, as the bearer of supreme authority, may alter or cancel at his pleasure any of these laws.

The real rôle of the *Hujjat*, who is the manifestation of the “Primal Reason” (*Aql-i-awwal*), is in this treatise left without

¹ The doctrine of the *naṣṣ* is much obscured by the different meanings given to this term by different authors, and by different sects of Shi‘ism. It appears as if the correct meaning of the term in Ismailism is succession by “the Mercy of God”, and not due to personal nomination of the Imam-father, as one often hears. The miraculous powers, which it is supposed to carry with it, are obviously of the same nature as, for instance, the supernatural powers attributed sometimes by superstition to kings; they are due to the “office”, not to the person of the Imam. Cf. f. 86: نص پاک نه

بسوی آن کنند که او امام باشد بلکه بسوی آن که تا مردم اورا بشناسند.

² The term *ḥaqq* is used in so many different senses, and is so confusing, that it is very often difficult to find an adequate expression for it in English. Here *ḥaqq* obviously means something like a “correct and consistent line of action”.

³ See *taṣāwūf* xxiv: او خداوند حق است و هوا و مراد اورا سببی نباشد زیرا که آنجا که اوست سبب و مسبب و مسببی هر سه یکی است.

sufficient details. Though he is, apparently, of the same double nature, Divine and human, as the Imam, there is nothing, as far as may be ascertained at present, about his *naṣṣ*, and about the hereditary transmission of it.¹ From the history of the sect we know that there may be long periods when there is no recognized Ḥujjat at all.² But, at the same time, we know that some sectarian works attribute to him a magnificent rôle, sometimes even that of a Demiurge.³

We may begin here the summary review of the *Rauḍatu't-taṣlīm*, in the order of its chapters (*taṣawwurs*).⁴

The preface is short; it contains only half a line of a doxology, and the statement that "the humblest slave of the Propaganda (*da'wat*), rightly guiding and showing the right way"—may God establish it firmly!—Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ṭūsī, addresses this pamphlet to his dearest brother in religion, Badru'd-dīn Ḥusayn.⁵ The work is to deal with "the beginning of things, and their return (*ma'ād*), ethics,

¹ The treatise published by me in the *Ismailitica* gives much more information on this subject. It appears as if the author of the present work purposely dealt with the matter in an evasive manner, dismissing it in common allegories about the Moon which takes the place of the Sun after the latter sets.

² At present there is no Ḥujjat. After the death of the last one who was still an infant at that time, it is supposed that Ḥujjat-ship has been transferred to, and united in one person with, the Imam, i.e. H.H. the present Agha Khan.

³ See the *Ismailitica*, pp. 32–6. His rôle is exceptionally emphasized in the mystic treatise *Ummu'l-kitāb*, where Salmān, who was a Ḥujjat, is regarded as the real creator of the world. Cf. also *Dar shinākht-i-Imām*, pp. 17 and 33.

⁴ It is difficult to see why the author has called the chapters of his work *taṣawwur*. This term is particularly often used in logic, in the sense of "conception, idea", as opposed to *taṣdiq*, "judgment." It seems probable that it is intended here in this sense, and not in that in which *taṣawwur* means simply "imagination", fantasy. Or was it a cunning, "diplomatic" ambiguity, purposely introduced in order that afterwards it might be used as a "way out" from accusations of heresy?

⁵ There is no indication as to who this Ḥusayn really was.

and good actions, so as to make it intelligible".¹ Then follows the mention of the title of the work, the usual requests to forgive and correct errors in the book, and the list of the headings of the twenty-eight *taṣawwurs* into which the work is divided. The present manuscript, as mentioned above, is incomplete at the end. It contains the beginning of the 27th *taṣawwur*, but its end is not genuine, and there may be reasons to think that the last pages belong to the last, the 28th *taṣawwur*, though the text has been so "corrected" as to create the impression of continuity.

Taṣawwur the First (ff. 3 v.-5 v.). Refutation of the statements of those who deny the existence of a Creator, or maintain that there are two gods, or two eternal principles, or that created beings cannot come to understand His necessity

تصور اول در کسر مقالات آنکس که نفی صانع جل و علی کند یا بگوید خدا دواست یا دوقدیم است و آنکه خلق اثبات (او تعالی) نتوانند کرد.

There is nothing beyond the usual syllogisms postulating the existence of a sole Primal Cause of the world, with the help of the usual "reductio ad absurdum".

Taṣawwur II (ff. 5 v.-11 v.). On the development of things from the Primal Cause (در صدور اشیا از علت اولی برسیل) (سوال و جواب).

The origin of the universe is the will (*amr*) of the Supreme Being, which is treated as a transcendent eternal

الله مفتاح الابواب، رب یسر و لا تعسر، اما بعد، غرض از تحریر این کلام و تقریر این پیام آنکه کمترین بنده کان دعوت با دین مهدیه ثبتها الله، محمد ابن حسن طوسی علیه الرحمة با برادر اعز بدر (?) الدین حسین حرسه الله، و نصرت بعد از سلام و تحیات، که خوانده باشد (و) بداند از تصورات که این ضعیف ترین بنده کان دعوت را در مبدأ و معاد و اخلاق و معاملات برحسب فهم و ادراکات عاجزانه با استاده است ثبتي کردم الخ.

“momentum” of absolute energy, the nature of which is beyond human knowledge. This *amr* in the form of the “Word of God”, *Logos*, implies in itself the “Primal Reason”, ‘*Aql-i-awwal*, and this is the source of the existence of the world as it is. The question whether the *Amr* was a single pre-eternal act, or whether it is as inherent in the Supreme Being as “light from light”, etc., is declared as being beyond human understanding. The Primal Cause became conscious of itself as the Creator,¹ and the creation appeared as necessary (*lāzim āmad*), and this act of consciousness was the First Reason, thus being “a single result from a single cause”.² This is supported by various logical constructions. When the First Reason becomes conscious of itself, i.e. of itself being a cause, the Second Reason, or the Reason of the Highest Sphere, has come into existence. When the latter becomes conscious of its own imperfection, as being dependent on something else (*wājib ba-ghayr*), the Universal Nature (or Life, *Nafs-i-kullī*) has come into existence; and so on, with the lower spheres and forms of substance and cosmic nature.

The genesis of the material world is described thus: the Universal Nature (*Nafs-i-kullī*) became conscious of the perfection of the Primal Reason, and, as a result, its own perfection became existent. But when it became conscious of its own imperfection, the *Hayūlā*, i.e. Plato’s ideas of individual things, which are imperfect, came into existence. So gradually the ‘*aqls*, or reasons (perhaps better called “orders”)³ of spheres appeared, up to that of the lowest sphere, the sphere of the Moon. This ‘*aql* is called ‘*aql-i-fa‘āl*,

¹ The author completely disregards the fact that by predicating to the Primal Cause the “consciousness” and “creatorship” he destroys his doctrine of the *tanzīh*, or “attributelessness” of the Deity.

² This principle, which greatly occupied the Neo-Platonist philosophers and all those who followed them, appears to be invariably accepted by different systems in spite of its being unprovable. The present treatise devotes to it a special chapter (*taṣawwur* iii), with not much success, indeed.

³ In this sense the term ‘*aql* may be explained as a sum of forces (*rūḥāniyyāt*) working consistently in accordance with a logical order, i.e. “law of nature”.

or immediate creator. The existence of things depends on their being capable of receiving the blessing (*qabūl-i-fayḍ*). What this *fayḍ* is, and whether it is existence only, is not defined. There is no explanation why there are nine spheres only, or twelve constellations of the Zodiac, four elements, etc.; all this is known only to those familiar with absolute Truth (*ḥaqq*)—"a prostration be due to their mention (*li-dhikri-him as-sujūd*)!" It may be perhaps known to their *dā'īs* and *ḥujjats*. But (apparently) the reason is some didactic purpose (*istifāda*). All these have their own hierarchy (*silsilat-u'l-wujūd*), the top of which is Man, as the most perfect being.

Taṣawwur III (ff. 11 v.-13 v.). On the principle: from a single (cause) one only (result) may proceed (در مسئله لا یصدر عن الواحد الا الواحد), i.e. from one (simple) cause only one effect may be produced. It deals with attempts to reconcile the plurality of things with the theory of the origin of the world from a single Primal Cause.¹ Quite naturally, these attempts have the appearance of mere sophisms, and the ultimate result is a recognition of the impossibility of reaching a final solution.

Taṣawwur IV (f. 13 v.). Definitions of the "First Reason", "Creative Reason", and "Universal Reason", which are three as regards the terms which are applied to them, but all are the same in reality (در عقل اول و عقل فعال) (و عقل کل که عبارت سه است و معنی یکی).

Taṣawwur V (ff. 13 v.-14). On the "Universal (living) Nature" (در نفس کلی).

Nafs is used (as mentioned above) in the sense of a complex of all biological, physical, and psychical processes which constitute animation, or the life of a living body. The term *Nafs-i-kullī* may therefore be understood as a summary of processes which constitute the life of the macrocosmos.

¹ Cf. above, *taṣawwur* ii.

Taṣawwur VI (ff. 14–15). On *Hayūlā*, or “Form” (در هیولی).

The term, “which is composed of two Arabic (*sic*) words,”¹ is used in four different senses: individuality (*h. ṣanā‘at*); species and genus (*h. ṭabī‘at*); material (*h. kullī*); and substance (*h. awṣal*).

Taṣawwur VII (ff. 15–16). On “Universal Physical Substance” or “Universal Body” (در طبیعت کل وجسم کل).

On the properties of what we should call “the inorganic world”. They form a part of *Nafs-i-kullī*, and consist of what is now regarded as forms of mechanical, chemical, etc., energy. These have special terms to distinguish one from the other. Such elementary powers, e.g. the force of gravitation, are called *rūḥāniyyāt*, literally “spirits” or “spiritualities”,² and are more general in their nature than force in particular moments, the *quwwat*, or “force” simply. Their higher forms, such as those of processes of psychic life, are called “angels” (*malā‘ika*, or *firishta*). These “angels” are the medium between the Universal Body, governed simply by the laws of nature (*Ṭabī‘at-i-kullī*), and the “Universal Nature” (*Nafs-i-kullī*), in the universal process of the movement towards perfection (*kamāl*).

Taṣawwur VIII (ff. 16–19). On human nature (در معرفت نفس انسانی).

The life of human nature consists of different forms of biological and other processes: *nafs-i-nabātī*, or, what we would call now, metabolism and the life of tissues; *nafs-i-ḥaywānī*, or the entirety of reflexive and automatic actions as well as instinct; and *nafs-i-insānī*, i.e. subconscious mind, with some other psychical powers (except reasoning and self-consciousness). The first two are divisible, but the last one

¹ As the author writes: و هیول دو لفظ عربیست که چیزی ازو بیفکنده اند.

² It must be recalled that the doctrine of “spirits” as equivalent to the more modern idea of “forces”, was much in vogue in the Middle Ages, and such theories were regarded as quite up-to-date “scientific truths”.

is an "eternal" (*abadī*) substance (*jauhar*), which cannot be divided or separated from the body. These are only the principal kinds of *nafs*, or forms of life. Others are *nafs-i-khayālī*, i.e. the imaginative power and memory, which is intermediary between the *nafs-i-ḥaywānī* and *nafs-i-insānī*, being on the one side connected with the "senses" and on the other side with the reason. These different forms of *nafs* are connected with the body, but they are not simply its physical powers (*quwwat*), and are not divisible.

Taṣawwur IX (ff. 19-21). On human reason (در معرفت عقل انسانی).

Human reason is a phenomenon of the same order as the different forms of *nafs*, and is chiefly the power of judgment. As distinguished from the former, it is not subjective and individual, but is subject to rigid laws of logic, which are universal. The reasoning power, however, is also liable to errors and fallacies with different individuals and varies in its strength in every case.

Taṣawwur X (ff. 21-26). On the purpose of connection of these partial forms of *nafs* with human bodies (در غرض از پیوستن نفوس جزوی باجساد بشری).

This purpose is the possibility of the progress towards perfection (*kamāl*). Man is a microcosmos, built on the same pattern as the macrocosmos. Human body and mind may be compared to a state in which reason is the king. There are several brief allegories also, regarding human psychology, anatomy, development of the foetus under the influence of different planets, growth of the child, etc.

Taṣawwur XI (ff. 26-27 v.). On principal specific qualities (در فضل ذاتی).

Every thing, or species, in the organic and inorganic worlds possesses some particular quality which belongs to it in a greater degree than to other things or species. The human *differentia specifica* is neither power of speech, nor mind,

but the capability of receiving knowledge, in accordance with (Divine) order, from superhuman sources, and of transferring its blessing, under Divine orders, to others (*'ilm az mā-warā-i-khūd ba-ḥukm qabūl hā-gīrad wa ba-mā-dūn-i-khūd ba-ḥukm adā-i-fayḍ kunad*).

Taṣawwur XII (ff. 27 v.-28). On the perfection which some special quality bestows on the thing to which it belongs, and on the perfection which the thing, to which the quality belongs, bestows on such quality (در کمالات که صفت موصوف را دهد و موصوف صفت را دهد).

Perfection depends on the latent predisposition to good. In man this means what is called "good character". The chapter seems too brief and incomplete to deal with the subject, and gives nothing from which we might form an opinion with regard to the author's views about free-will or the doctrine of predestination.

Taṣawwur XIII (ff. 28-29). On different forms of knowledge (در انواع علوم).

It gives approximately the same division as given in the introduction to the *Akhlaq-i-Nāṣirī*. Knowledge is divided into axiomatic (*ḍarūrī*), intuitive (*naẓarī*), indirect (*ta'tīmī*), and mystic (*ta'yīdī*).

Taṣawwur XIV (ff. 29-33 v.). On good and evil (در خیر و شر).

Good and evil are illusory and relative. The spiritual is always superior to and better than the physical. In man his reason is superior to other faculties of his soul (*nafs*), and the latter are superior (= better) to his body, which is the source of much evil. Mankind is divided into three categories: *ahl-i-waḥdat* (or *ahl-i-qiyāmat*), i.e. the Imam and saints; *ahl-i-tarattub*,¹ or "people of order", the true believers, and *ahl-i-taḍādd*, the people of enmity and disorder, i.e. the vile and inimical world outside the sect. Evil is like

¹ It is remarkable that though this term is so written in the present work, and in the treatise *Dar shinākht-i-Imām*, published by me in the *Ismailitica*, the sectarians always pronounce it *tartīb*.

dirty foam which sometimes hides the surface of water so that one cannot see it at all ; so one sees sometimes so much of evil that one cannot believe that there is any good in the world. Predestination (*qaḍā wa qadar*) is denied ; there are two "angels", the Sābiq and the Shahīd, who try to do their best in order that everything should turn to the best. Misfortunes, ill-luck, and evil are due to "veils" of stupidity, mistake, illusion, passions, etc. These cause us to deviate from the right way, not to notice it, without the help of the Teacher. Relativity of evil is illustrated by different examples, as by the case that water in a flood may be an evil, ruining the houses of poor people. But the evil would be incomparably greater if, by some chance, water should entirely disappear from the earth, dooming everything living to die of thirst, etc.

If every quality tends to develop to its perfection, i.e. its highest degree, and if the vile people have to be vile by their nature, why then should the "bearers of Truth" (*muḥiqqān, li-dhikri-him as-salām*) try to make the vile deviate from their own path, and turn towards good ? This is done in order to separate those who are good, but erring, from those who are completely bad. Those who obey God (*ḥaḍrat-i-Šama-diyyat*) are good, and those bad who do not do this : for this they are punished. But there is nothing like a Yazdān and an Ahrimān, i.e. the source of Light and Good on the one hand and the source of Darkness and evil on the other, as otherwise it would be necessary to admit the existence of two conflicting Primal Causes, which is absurd.

Taṣawwur XV (ff. 33 v.-40 v.). On Paradise and Paradises, on Hell and Hells, on Purgatories, and on *Širāṭs* (در بهشت و دوزخها و پراخ و صراطها).

Paradise, Hell, and Purgatory are explained allegorically, as psychical states of the individual ; the orthodox ideas of them (*'ibārāt-i-tanzīlī*) were intended only for the ignorant people, incapable of understanding abstractions. Immortality of the good will be "pleasure without pain, joy without grief,

and life without death ”.¹ The bad will be deprived of their sensuous pleasures by decomposition of the body, and after their present existence which is “neither death, nor life” (*na-murda wa az zinda uftāda*), they will get “eternal despair” (*nā-ummīdī-i-abadī*). Paradise is knowledge, and Hell is ignorance (in the religious sense, of course). Purgatory is interpreted similarly.

Širāt is of three different forms: *mankūs*, *maqlūb*, and *mustaqīm*. It is explained as difficulty of decision, the first in the case of one who is occupied only with matters of this world, the third—of one concerned only with future life, and the second—of one between these two.

Taṣawwur XVI (ff. 40 v.-45 v.). About Adam and Satan (در کار آدم و ابلیس).

The myth of Adam, Satan, Creation, the fall of Adam, etc., as given in the Qur’ān, is intended for unsophisticated people who are unable to understand abstractions. If we admit that there was a time when the world did not yet exist, we must admit also that there was a time when the Creator was not yet the Creator, and this is *kufr*. Neither eternity of the world, nor its being in existence only for a limited time, can be proved.² This is beyond human understanding. There were 18,000 worlds, i.e. cosmic epochs, after each of which the world was renewed.³ The six days of creation are six “historical periods” since Adam. Evolution, however, is denied, and there was no development of protoplasma (*in‘iqād*) into mankind, but the latter existed always (*naw‘-i-mardum min al-awwal ilā’l-abad būda ast wa bāshad*). In

ابدآدر لذت بی الم و سرور بی حزن و حیات بی موت بماند و همه آن باشد
که اورا باید.

کویم ما نه انکار قدیمی بر عالم کنیم و نه انکار محدثی اش.

³ Fantastic theories of this kind, with amazingly elaborate details, are very popular in Persia. They are usually attributed to the revelation of the Imām Ja’far Šādiq, and are supposed to be all contained in a “large book” by him. In spite of careful search for this book, I was unable to procure it.

this our period of seven thousand years the progenitor of mankind was Adam. Each period has its own law-giver at the beginning, i.e. the prophet. This is the time of *saṭr*. At the end of every seventh millennial period the Qā'im (i.e. the Imam in his full glory) appears to give the hidden sense of the *sharī'at*, and this is the *qiyāmat*, and the period of *kashf*. After seven times seven millennial cycles, i.e. 49,000 years, begins the *Qiyāmatu'l-qiyāmāt*, the great Resurrection.¹

Quite strangely in such philosophical context, the person of Satan (Ḥārith Murra'i, or Ḥārith b. Murra),² and the story of his refusal to admit the superiority of Adam, etc., remain without any allegorical explanation, though Adam's eating of the forbidden fruit is interpreted as divulging (to whom ?) the secret knowledge of *Qiyāmat*, which he himself learned from Satan.³ The Paradise, in which he was living, was his knowledge of Reality (Truth = *ḥaqq*), and he was never expelled from it.

Taṣawwur XVII (ff. 45 v.-50 v.). On different inconsistencies which may be observed in the world, and on the question as to which of these depend on the "bearers of Truth", or on the "bearers of Falsehood" (در اثبات خلافهای کونا کون) که میان عالم واقع میباشد و کیفیت آنچه از آنجمله تعلق بمحققان (و مبطلان دارد).

The influence of the stars on man in everything is traced. The purpose of the "Bearer of Truth" (*Muḥiqq*) is to show the right path, to combat vices, etc., even by making use of

¹ It is not clear whether the proclamation of the *Qiyāmatu'l-qiyāmāt* by Ḥasan 'Alī *dhikru-hu's-salām*, on the 17th Ramaḍān, 559 A.H., i.e. the 8th August, 1164, at Alamūt, was intended as the beginning of this 50th millennium.

² He is often mentioned under this name in the *Ummu'l-kitāb* (though his name is usually given as 'Azāzīl, or even Ahrimān). This designation, however, is not peculiar only to Ismailism; in some Sunnite works on *rijāl*, such as the *Tahdhibu'l-asmā'* by an-Nawawī (ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1847, vol. i, pp. 137-8), his name is given as Iblīs Abū Murra.

³ It is remarkable that some sectarian extremists believe that the last *sūra* of the Qur'ān, "say : God is one, etc.," contains the words of Satan.

physical force and of arms. Without him this right way cannot be found. Warnings are given against false teachers and pretenders.

Taṣawwur XVIII (ff. 50 v.-52). On the reason why the "people of Truth", i.e. the Ismailites, are so few compared with the "people of error" (در سبب اندکى عدد اهل حق) (و بسيارى اهل باطل).

The reply consists of platitudes about the paucity of the intelligent, and the multitude of fools in general, etc.

Taṣawwur XIX (ff. 52-52 v.). On the meaning of the terms *ḍīw*, *parī*, and *firishta*, or angel (در کار دیو و پری و فرشته).

They are explained not as imaginary beings (*wujūd-i-dhikhnī*), but as illusions of perception. Another explanation is given in allegorical style, in which *ḍīw* means a psychical phenomenon based on sensuousness; *parī* is connected with imagination; "angel" means an abstraction, an idea.

Taṣawwur XX (ff. 52 v.-53 v.). On progress from things belonging to the material world towards abstract and spiritual matters (در ترقی از جسمانیات بروحانیات و عقلانیات).

Explanations of the powers which enable one to begin in his search for perfection with things belonging to the body, and end with the highest social wisdom. The *nafs-i-ḥaywānī* prepares the way to the practical mind (*'aql-i-ma'īshatī*), which evolves the sense of law-abiding wisdom which, in its turn, makes one obey the dictates of religion.

Taṣawwur XXI (ff. 53 v.-61 v.). On the beginning of things and their return, on this life and the future, on (the purpose) of man's coming into this world, and (the purpose of) his going out, and on the question as to whence Man comes and whither he goes (در مبدأ و معاد و دنیا و آخرت و آمدن) مردم در دنیا و بیرون شدن از دنیا و آنکه مردم از کجا آمده اند (و بچه کار آمده و کجا خواهند شد).

There are four different types of human nature : *juz'ī*, in which the elements of Truth are mixed with those of Falsehood; *juz'ī ki rūy ba-kullī dārad*, i.e. nature with tendencies to spiritual progress; *kullī*, i.e. possessing clear discrimination between good and evil; and *bālā-i-juz'ī wa kullī*, i.e. the one possessing superhuman or divine gifts. The people of the first category have a "beginning", but no *ma'ād*, like false news, which is created, but not supported. The second category may have a *ma'ād*. The third category have the *mabda'* which is the same as their *ma'ād*. The fourth is above human understanding.

The terms *mabda'* and *ma'ād* are explained allegorically in different ways, as evolution of reason; evolution from evil to good, by different degrees; evolution of the "possibly existent" towards the "necessarily existent".

Human beings are either righteous (*muḥiqq*), or erring (*mubtīl*); the latter cannot attain the degree of *wujūb* (existence by inevitable necessity); they are the "weak" (*ḍa'īf*). The righteous are the "strong" (*qawī*).¹ Spirits, or souls in the religious sense (who apparently continue to exist after death), are submerged into a state of dream-like existence, pleasant in the case of the good, painful in the case of the wicked. *Ākhirat*, future life, is a state of certainty (*mubāyanat*), in which there is no right or wrong, truth or lies, good or evil, etc.

The purpose of man's coming to life is the knowledge of the realities of things (*ḥaqā'iqu'l-ashyā'*). The purpose of physical death is the overcoming of the "veil" of sensuousness, and seeing unperturbed the Truth. So long as man remains in his flesh he cannot free himself from knowing through physical perception which is subject to errors and illusions. The righteous, under the teaching of the "Bearer of the Truth" (*Muḥiqq*), attain their aim of *waḥdat*, i.e. the existence in which there is no individuality, no good, evil, etc.

The *ḥashr*, or "scattering of bodies", is explained as

¹ Cf. the *Ismailitica*, pp. 42-3.

abandonment, by different forms of reason, of their *nafs*, as after death all good qualities become "angels", and all bad—*dīws*.

The *qiyāmat* is the preaching (*da'wat*) of the Qā'im (*li-dhikri-hi's-salām*).

Taşawwur XXII (ff. 61 v.-71). On definition of rules of morality (در تهذیب اخلاق).

During life, perfection is attained by moral progress in accordance with the command of the Imam. This may be attained by Divine help (*ta'yīd*), either directly, or by means of the *ta'yīd* received by the teacher (*mu'allim-i-kullī*). The principal virtue consists in placing love and devotion to the Imam above self-love and above the instinct of self-preservation. Some ethical rules are further given in the form of prayers; they contain principles resembling very much those of Christian morals, such as not opposing evil with evil, etc. Asceticism is denounced, and mortification of the flesh is regarded as killing the horse without which the rider cannot save himself.¹ The chief vice is loss of self-control, leading to immoderation in anger, passions, etc. One must think over his actions properly, avoiding all that leads to evil.

Taşawwur XXIII (ff. 71-74 v.). On various forms of resignation of one's self (در اقسام تسلیم).

Every being in order to attain a higher degree of perfection, must surrender his own will to his superior (*mā-warā-i-khūd*). Every man has to obey his teacher, *pīr*, *dā'i*; his obedience must be complete. This is not only a rule in human life, but a law of nature in general, as every power is subjected to a higher one, and ultimately to '*Aql-i-awwal*. Thus *taslīm*

و مثل آن چنان است که یکی بر اسبی بنشیند و عزم مقصدی کند و¹ پیش از آنکه بمقصدی برسد در راه اسب را پی کند و ممکن نباشد که پیاده رفتن تواند و در راه حیران بماند و دد و دامش هلاک کند الخ.

may be of different forms: *darūrī*, *ṭabīʿī*, and *ikhtiyārī*, i.e. voluntary.

Taṣawwur XXIV (ff. 74 v.-93 v.). On the offices of the prophet and of the Imam; on workers of miracles, impostors, lunatics; also on the pupil, teacher, and the Ḥujjat (درکار نبوت و امامت و ذکر معجز و متنبی و مرور و ذکر متعلم و معلم و حجت).

This is the longest and the most important chapter in the book. In the world two principal tendencies are manifest. One, *taḍādd*, is that of disorder, destruction, chaos, and hatred. The other is that of *tarattub*, i.e. that of peace, order, and progress towards perfection. Man participates in either. The ideal orderly man is the prophet, the giver of law, or exoteric doctrine. The Imam is concerned with the esoteric doctrine of the supreme law of resurrection and future life. Prophets come at the beginning of each "initial" epoch, *dawr-i-mabda'*, while the Imam appears at the beginning of the epoch of "perfection" (*dawr-i-kamāl*). The Prophet is the ideal man, law-giver, and ruler. The Imam is the manifestation of the Logos (*Kalima-i-a'lā*), and his real nature in this capacity is beyond human understanding (*munazzah az taṣawwur wa taṣwīr wa muta'ālī az wuṣūf*). The Ḥujjat is a manifestation of '*Aql-i-awwal* (i.e. '*Aql-i-kullī*), while the prophet represents the *Nafs-i-kullī*. The Prophet receives his teachings from angels and the *ilhām*, transmitting all this to the people. But his *sharīʿat* is not meant literally for all, just as it would be wrong to give one single medicine to a crowd of men some of whom are suffering from different illnesses, while others are healthy. For this purpose of differentiation the *ta'wīl* interpretations are introduced.

Miracles and extraordinary acts may be performed by impostors and charlatans, or attributed to lunatics, who are taken by some for "inspired" ones. The real miracles are only spiritual, such as, for instance, the supernatural knowledge of the Ḥujjat.

Imāmat. The truth about the Imāmat cannot be given here in full in this epoch of *satr* and *taqiyya*,¹ i.e. necessary precautionary concealment of true beliefs. But it is with the "slaves of the rightly guiding and guided preaching" (*bandagān-i-da'wat-i-hādiya-i-mahdiyya*) that the truth is deposited, anyhow, and communicated to every one according to his capacities.

The Imam is physically similar to an ordinary mortal man, but his Divine nature cannot be understood. He is the centre (*Qutb*) of the Universe and performs all the functions of the Deity with regard to ruling the world. "He is dressed in the raiments of Divine Unity, to him is granted the eternity of Lordship; Divine names (i.e. attributes) and properties are granted to him, and in these he manifests himself. The lights of that name, and the influence of that attribute become manifest in this way. His word is the word of God the Allhigh, his actions are those of God the Allhigh, etc." ² Then come the usual Shi'ite *ḥadīths* alluding to the Divinity of 'Alī. He is the First and the Last, etc. "He has no beginning in the beginning, no altering in the middle, and no limit at the end. And, though (*sic?*) he is an eternal and permanent substance (*jauhar*), he is the cause and the origin of all beings, the Lord who gives life to all creatures. From the standpoint of the inner truth he is free from belonging to mankind and having human personality, but, on account of his connection with this bodily world, he belongs to both; his person is of a separate order by itself, and the 'species' to which he belongs is only his person, as both are one till the end of time.

درین حال که ثبت این تصورات کرده میشود روزگار ستر و تقیه است و¹
حضرت جلته تقیه میفرمایند و فرمان ایشان لذرهم السلام است که التقیه دینی
و دین آبائی الخ.

کسوت وحدت خود درو پوشیده و بقای سرمدیت خود باو ارزا نی داشته و²
از اسما و صفات خود اورا صفتی بخشیده که بآن ظهور میکند و انوار آن
اسم و آثار آن صفت ظاهر میگردد، و قول او قول خدایتعالی و امر او امر
خدایتعالی الخ.

The Word of (Divine) Unity is . . . hereditary and transmittable in one line of descent only, constituting, as it were, one substance, 'reborn in one after another,'¹ which will never cease to the end of eternity."²

The offspring of the Imam are of four kinds,³ i.e. "spiritual" (*rūḥānī*), or "in reality" (*dar ma'nī*), like Salmān Fārsī; bodily (*jismānī*, or *ba-shakl*), like Mast-'Alī⁴; both in spirit and in body, as Ḥasan (the second Imam of the Shi'ites); and bodily, spiritually, and in truth (*dar ḥaqīqat*), as Imam Ḥusayn. An Imam by necessity must be the son of an Imam. Various maxims attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib are cited in support. The transmitting of Imamāt is a mystery, and it is not purely physical. Imams are all of the same rank, there are no greater or lesser Imams; but the Imam's being is essential to the world, as there must be a "Perfect One" in it. A legend is told about Abraham, who, after having met Māliku's-salām (i.e. Melchisedech), who was the *Qā'imu'l-qiyāmat* of that time, was sure that the latter was the Creator of Earth and of Heaven (!). This is smoothed by an allegorical interpretation.

The Imam miraculously knows which of his sons is also an Imam. The Divine Substance resting in the Imam is always the same, in spite of his being a child, or an old man. It is also always the same in spite of the difference in the persons of the Imams.

Ordinary people cannot know the Imam as such, i.e. in his Divine substance, but can know him as a man amongst themselves. There are four different ways of knowing him,

¹ Cf. the Qur'ān, iii, 30.

² و کلمۀ توحید در نصل مقدس و عقب مبارک او متواتر و متناسل در یک نسل بلکه در یک ذات، ذریۀ بعضها من بعض، انقطاع نه پذیرد ابد الدهر الخ.

³ Cf. the *Ismailitica*, pp. 15, 28-9, where almost the same expressions are used as in the present text.

⁴ So it is written also in the treatise *Dar shinākht-i-Imām* (see the *Ismailitica*, p. 15 and note 36 on p. 29). Most probably we may read simply Musta'li, the name of the ninth Fatimide caliph (487-95/1094-1101), who is not recognized as an Imam by the Persian Ismailis.

each appropriate to a class of people according to their capacities.¹ The first is the knowledge of his person, and in this even animals can participate, not to speak about unbelievers. The second is the knowledge of his name and descent or genealogy. In this even enemies and unbelievers can participate. Neither of these is a form of the real knowledge. The third is knowing the Imam as such, believing in him, and obeying him. This knowledge may be received only through a teacher or guide, who possesses it. It is confined only to the followers of the Ismailite community, and enemies do not participate in it. The fourth is knowing the nature of his Divine substance in its full meaning. This form of knowledge is attainable by saints only.

The terms "*Imām*" and "*Qā'im*" have the same meaning, but commonly the second term is applied only to the Imam who is powerful politically. When the *Qā'im* manifests himself, i.e. starts his propaganda by actions, not only verbally, he is called "the Master of slaves" (*Māliku'r-riqāb*).² It is absolutely impossible to predict how the Imam will make his appearance, i.e. whether he will wish to give his followers peace and prosperity, or will allow great calamities to befall them. It is said sometimes that the Imam cannot manifest himself in these illusory forms (*akwān-i-iḍāfī*). But the manifestation of the Imam is for the purpose of giving to the world the possibility of attaining perfection. He himself is not confined to this world only, but belongs to the Universe. If he would not manifest himself in this form (i.e. as a man), it would not have a connection and relation to him, and therefore would disappear. It is for this reason that he assumes different forms, appearing as a child, or an old man, etc.

The Imam has no need to appear only as a pious man complying with the prescriptions of the *sharī'at*, and showing

¹ Cf. the *Ismailitica*, pp. 14-15 and 27-8, where again the passage resembles very much in its wording the corresponding place in the present work.

² The text in this passage is somewhat mutilated.

ascetic tendencies. He can do everything, so that one who does not know the real nature of Imamāt may be horrified and become mad when watching his actions, because he, the Imam, may order things that are beyond human understanding (*ḥukm az bālā-i-khīrad-hā-i-khalā'iq*). The right way follows him, not he the right way (*ḥaqq mutābi'-i-ū'st, na ū mutābi'-i-ḥaqq bāshad*), because he is the source and the measure of the truth. The standards of morality applicable to the ordinary men should not be applied to the Imam. He is not bound to the *taqiyya*. These peculiarities of the nature of the Imam must be remembered well. Many learned and eminent people came to grief by thinking wrongly when observing such irregularities in the behaviour of the Imam.¹

The people who accompany the Imam are of different classes: the pupils (*muta'allim*), the teachers (*mu'allim*), the *dā'īs*, the "gates of the Secret" (*Bāb-i-Bāṭin*), the "tongue of knowledge" (*Zabān-i-ilm*), the "greatest proof" (*Ḥujjat-i-a'zam*), and the "hand of power" (*Dast-i-quḍrat*), thus seven in all. The degree of the *dā'ī* and of the "*Bāb-i-Bāṭin*" is the same, also that of the *Ḥujjat-i-a'zam* and of "*Zabān-i-ilm*". Thus in reality there are only three degrees: pupils, teachers, and the *ḥujjat*, besides the Imam himself.² The pupil is one who seeks knowledge for himself only, without the right to transfer it to others. The teacher spreads it to others.

¹ Cf. the *Ismailitica*, pp. 15 and 28.

² These degrees are not exactly the same as those mentioned in the book *Dar shinākht-i-Imām (Ismailitica)*, pp. 13, 25), and as they are still used by the sectarians; the latter probably are a later development. It is clear, however, that neither these older nor the newer degrees are anything like masonic degrees, and that they are not connected with the progressive revelation of the "mystic" knowledge. In the Ismailitic community recognizing the authority of the Agha Khan there are special honorary degrees, or rather ranks, which are bestowed upon the followers for exceptional services, etc. Such are the following nine ranks in their descending order: *wārith*, *rā'ī*, *'ālī-jāh*, *i'timādī*, *ḥudūr-muk'hī*, *nā'ib-muk'hī*, *muk'hī*, *ḥudūr-kāmaḍiyā*, *nā'ib-kāmaḍiyā*, and *kāmaḍiyā*. All of them are connected with special offices in the community, which are concerned with administration, finance, etc., but not particularly with any religious duties.

The Ḥujjat has an inborn and miraculous knowledge, and does not need any instruction from anybody, depending on the light of Divine help (*ta'yīd*). The Ḥujjat is the manifestation of the '*Aql-i-awwal*', i.e. of its illumination (*ishrāq*).¹ He is like the moon, which derives its light from the sun, so, being an ordinary man, he derives his light of knowledge from the Imam. In the absence of the Imam he becomes his lieutenant (*khalīfa*), teaching the people about the Imam, and showing them the way unto him. The Ḥujjats (appearing at different periods) are in reality (*ḥaqīqat*), in their substance (*dhāt*), and in their essential meaning (*ma'nī*) the same, and there are no greater or smaller amongst them.²

The *Dast-i-qudrat* has punitive functions, appearing at the periods when the Imam "closes the door of repentance and blessing" to his followers and chastises them. He is as raging fire, destroying everything in his way. Its opposite is the *Zabān-i-'ilm*, the "Tongue of knowledge", which is smoothing and pacifying in its actions, bringing peace and prosperity.

The Imam may use any of these ways in his *da'wat*. And he himself may be called either the "Face of the Eternal One" (*Wajhu'l-Bāqī*) or the "Greatest Attribute" (*Ṣifat-i-a'zam*), i.e. the Great Name of God the Allhigh, or the "Manifestation of the Highest Word" (*Mazhar-i-Kalima-i-A'lā*), or the "Truth-bearer of his time" (*Muḥiqq-i-waqt*). He is still all without the creatures, but the creatures are nothing without him.³

Taṣawwur XXV (ff. 93v.-95v.). On the nature of speech, on the meaning of speaking, listening, and keeping silence (در ماهیت سخن و کویائی و شنوائی و خاموشی).

حجت اعظم او (امام) مظهر عقل اول باشد یعنی ظهور و اشراق عقل اول درو پدیدار آید الخ.

² The doctrine about the Ḥujjat occupies the central place in the *Dar shīnākht-i-Imām* (*Ismailitica*, pp. 16-23 and 31-42). In substance, however, both versions agree quite well.

³ او بی خلاق همه و همه خلاق بی او هیچ الخ.

The power of speech, as usual in the philosophical systems of Muhammadan thinkers, means here the capability of transmitting *logical thought* only. Human beings differ in their capacity. The Imam himself does not preach. This is done by his Ḥujjat, or Nāṭiq, who is the "absolute eloquence" when he speaks what he ought to speak, and "absolute silence", in so far as the guarded mysteries of the Imam's real nature are concerned.

Taṣawwur XXVI (ff. 95v.-112v.). On the epochs of the six prophets, on Imams, and the appearance of the preaching of the Qā'im (امامان) در ادوار شش پیغمبر اولو العزم علیهم السلام (حق تقدس ذکرهم وظهور دعوت قائم).

The usual doctrine about six millennial periods, at the beginning of which a prophet appears (cf. above, *taṣawwur* xvii), together with a manifestation of the Imam.¹ In the sixth, that of Muḥammad, the doctrine of *sharī'at* has reached its perfection, and after this there had only to be a place for the teaching about *Qiyāmat*. This had to be revealed in the middle of the sixth millennium, and the revelation has been made by Ḥasan of Alamūt. In accordance with the Persian Ismailite tradition, the Imam in the time of Jesus Christ is called Ma'add.² After Abraham, "as some people say," the glory has passed to two families (*baṭn*), one glory, of worldly power, remaining in the family of Ishāq, and that of the religious kingship hidden in the family of Ismā'il. Jesus was the last in the line of Ishāq. In Muḥammad the prophetic and kingly offices were united.

¹ Cf. E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 408 and sqq.; also O'Leary, *A Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate*, London, 1923, pp. 25 sqq. Both accounts, as also those given in other works dealing with the matter, give different versions, representing, most probably, local or temporary teachings on the subject; besides, many of them are, indeed, obviously adulterated by the hostile authors whose principal aim was purely controversial. The version in the present text coincides with that in the *Haft bāb*.

² So also in the *Haft bāb*. Ma'add, which was adopted as personal name by several Fatimide khalifs, was probably the name of some pre-Islamic Arab deity.

The prophets mentioned above had their "adversaries", as is well known. Amongst them it is interesting to find that the adversary of Noah was called Naṣr, and of Jesus Yahūdānī.

Allegorical explanations are given for these six periods and their symbolism in the material world, human body, etc. The six days of creation mentioned in the Qur'ān are an allusion to this. The real *Muḥiqq* is the Imam, who is absolutely necessary for the being of the world.

The principal prescriptions of *sharī'at* are explained in accordance with the *ta'wīl*: (1) *Shahādat* is to know God as God, i.e. in agreement with Ismailitic doctrine; (2) *Ṭahārat* is to pass beyond (*gudhashta*) custom and *sunnat*; (3) *Namāz* is to speak always of the knowledge of God; (4) *Rūza* is to observe the *taqiyya* and not divulge the religious secrets; (5) *Zakāt* is to give to others what God has given to thee; (6) *Hajj* is to take off the hands from this abode of frailty and to seek the abode of eternity; (7) *Jihād* is to make one's own self non-existent (*ma'dūm*) in the Substance of God (*dar Dhāt-i-Khudā*). Lengthy comments follow, explaining various details of formulas of prayers (cf. "*Allahu akbar*" means "God is greater than any glory that may be attributed to Him"), rewards for piety, punishment for sins, etc. Further on there are questions about the Qur'ān and its *ta'wīl*. The latter is only approximate, because the real and ultimate meaning of the Qur'ān no one knows except God Himself.

The reason why Abū Bakr and others were caliphs before 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is the same as in the case of night which precedes dawn.

Strange traditions are narrated, attributed to 'Abdu'l-lah b. 'Abbās, about 'Alī's divinity manifested in the "battle of the Camel". Some of his prophecies and promises (*bishārat*) are given, apparently containing allusions to the state of things contemporary with the author: "I will raise a *minbar* at Cairo, and will capture Damascus. Then I will go to Dailam, making its rocks soft, and executing those who live near and those who live far, and then getting to

those peoples who live behind it, i.e. those of Māzandarān, Gilān, and Mūqān. Then I will make war in India, China, and Asia Minor," etc.¹

The reward of piety is Paradise, and this has been discussed above. Here are given additional allegoric explanations as to what is meant by the "four streams of Paradise". They are forms of knowledge. The promise that "all sins will be forgiven" means that when all that was connected with Truth becomes Truth itself, and when all "possible" (*mumkin*) things drown themselves in the "necessary being" (*wujūb*), which is "pure light" (*nūr-i-mahd*), then there will be, obviously, no place for sins or punishments.

After another note on the Qur'ān and its *ta'uīl* being accessible only to *Ahl-i-ḥaqq*, there are some more prophecies of 'Alī derived from the *Munājāt* which, in different versions, are usually ascribed to him. The most important "prophecy" is that 500 years after Muḥammad there will be the "Noon of Faith", when the *da'wat* of the *Qā'im*-'l-*Qiyāmat* will be started. This is said to have happened in the time of Mustansir bi'l-lah (the Fatimide caliph). The first blast of the trumpet of Resurrection has been blown by Sayyid-nā, who was his *Hujjat-i-a'zam*, and then forty years later by the *Qā'im* himself.²

Taṣarwūr XXVII (ff. 112 v.-120 v.). On idolaters and the refutation of their doctrines (در کار بت پرستان و کسر مقالات) (ایشان).

بصر منبر بر نهم و دمشق بستانم پس ازان بدیلمان روم و کوهستانش را
نرم بکنم و پس ویش را دارها بزنم و آن امتانرا که پس ایشان باشند
یعنی مازندران و کیلان و موقان بهم برسم و بعد ازان بغزای هندوستان و چین
وروم بروم الخ. (This is a Persian translation; the Arabic passage is full
of mistakes and misspellings.)

نفخ صور اول دعوت حضرت سیدنا قدس الله روحه و نفخ صور دوم دعوت
قائم علی ذکره السلام از مشرق انتظار طلوع کند، علی ذکره السلام حکم
بظهور معنوی فرمودند و فیض انوار دعوت و رحمت بر جهانیان بتافت و کسترانید
الخ.

This final portion of the work seems to have been substantially mutilated. As mentioned above, most probably the scribe has done his best to mask some lacunas in the text by adjusting sentences.

In the beginning there are the usual theories about the forms of idolatry, i.e. the worship of the Creator in an image supposed to portray him; the worship of stars, as "first intermediaries" (*mutawassit-i-awwalī*), etc. The author has no doubt about the influence of stars on human fate and nature, and ranks high the spiritual forces (*rūḥāniyyāt*) which govern their movements. But in his opinion man is a more perfect creature than all of them, and naturally, if there should be any abode for Supreme Reason in the Universe, it must be in human form. There are long discussions concerning the planets, their favourite metals, the symbols and images associated with them, etc.

In conclusion it will be useful to add here a few notes on philological peculiarities of the work.

The scribe of this manuscript¹ is a Badakhshānī, Sayyid Munīr (b.) Muḥammad Qāsim. He is the author of an Ismailitic dogmatical treatise in Persian, *Khayr-khwāh-i-muwahhid-i-wahdat*, lith. in Bombay, 1333. In the latter work his orthography and his Arabic are also very far from being up to the standard. But though the language of his own work shows clear traces of Badakhshānī, and generally of Central-Asian influences, it is quite different from that of

¹ The copy is written on ordinary foolscap paper, 15 by 8 inches. The text, 14 lines to a page, occupies 9 by 5 inches. Large, unelegant Bukhārā *nasta'liq*. There are 120 leaves, but every page is numbered, with several mistakes in numeration. Dated the 26th Ramaḍān, 1342 A.H., i.e. the 1st May, 1924. The orthography is very bad in Persian parts, and Arabic passages are often so mutilated as to become almost unintelligible.

the *Raudatu't-taslim*. The diction of the latter is full of genuine archaisms which could not have been introduced by a modern scribe. Some expressions are so archaic that it would be possible to suggest an earlier date for the work than the middle of the thirteenth century, if there were no clear indications in the treatise itself as to the approximate earliest date at which it could have been composed.

Here these peculiarities are briefly summarized. In the nouns the form of the plural is used very often in cases where the more modern language prefers to use the singular. Sometimes the suffix of the plural is used to show small separate quantities of a material, as in *āb-hā*. The old prefix of the oblique case, *mar-*, is occasionally used, sometimes even without its supplement, *-rā*, as in *mar qaumī ki*, etc. *Farā* instead of *ba* is occasionally used. The plural forms of the pronouns are very common, especially *khūd-hā*. There are also *ū-hā*, but, on the other hand, *māyān* instead of *mā-hā*.

In verbs there are many cases of the use of what is called "Second Future". Perfect and pluperfect are often used with modal prefixes *mī-* and *bi-*. In the present and imperfect tenses these prefixes are very often used together, both in positive and negative forms, as *bi-mī-*, or *bi-na-mī-*, etc. The use of the suffix *-ī* "of duration", or rather of verbal correlation, is extremely frequent. The old form of the modal prefix *mī-*, i.e. *hamī*, may be observed in several cases. But the most peculiar feature of the text is the frequent use of an apparently dialectical prefix *hā-*, especially with verbs: *istādan*, *nihādan*, *dāshtan*, *kardan*, *giriſtan*, etc. Cf. *chūnān hā istand ki* . . . ; *ānjā ham hā na istad* . . . ; *ū-rā ba-ijmā' hā dārand*, etc.¹ In fact, such instances might establish a sort of rule, if it were possible to be certain that *hā* standing

¹ This prefix most probably is the same as *har-* which is common in Kurdish and in some Central Persian dialects. It is often, in fact, pronounced simply as *ha-* or *hā-*, and is used in exactly the same sense as in this text, i.e. as an equivalent of the ordinary Persian verbal prefix *bar-*.

between a noun and a verb is a verbal prefix, and not the suffix of the plural of the noun. It would be most interesting to find out whether any Persian manuscript dating from the thirteenth century possesses this peculiarity. As usual in the old language, the forms *bāshad*, *buwad*, *āyad*, etc., are used where in the modern language one would expect *shawad*.

July, 1930.

Notes on Some Pali Words

By E. H. JOHNSTON

SOME apology is perhaps needed for publishing these notes, which are not the work of a professed Pali scholar, and I would plead in extenuation that, apart from a few cases suggesting new interpretations of certain difficult terms, most of the words have been chosen for discussion because of their interest for Sanskrit lexicography and other general Indian subjects and that I have avoided Buddhist technical terms.¹

Akukkuccakajāta. See *PD.* s. *kukkuka*.—This is a stock epithet used with *mahant*, *uju*, and *nava* at *M.* i, 233, and *S.* iii, 141, and iv, 167 of a *kadalikkhandha*, and at *A.* ii, 200 of a *sālalatthi*, the form of the word being very doubtful according to the MSS. at the three former passages. Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith in the first fascicule of their new Pali dictionary with some hesitation force a meaning out of it from *kukkucca* “grown without fault”, which is hardly within the bounds of possibility. *PD.* suggests *akukkukajāta* as read by Trenckner at *M.* i, 233, deriving it from *kukku* (= Skr. *kiṣku*, 24 finger-breadths according to *PW.*), and explain it as “not measurable by the *kukku* measure” and so “of enormous height”; this is also unconvincing. Kern accepts the form *akukkajāta*, taking

¹ I use the following abbreviations: *PW.*, Böhlingk and Roth's St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary; *PWK.*, Böhlingk's shorter Sanskrit Dictionary; Schmidt, R. Schmidt's *Nachträge* to the preceding; *KA.*, *Kaṭṭhīya Arthaśāstra*, ed. Jolly and Schmidt (quotation by chapter and sentence numbers); *MBh.*, *Mahābhārata*, Calcutta ed.; Grierson, G. Grierson's *Bihar Peasant Life*, Calcutta, 1885; Kern, H. Kern's *Toeroegselen*, Amsterdam, 1916; *PD.*, Rhys Davids and Stede's *Pali-English Dictionary*. References to Pali works are given in the same way as in the latter, and the quotations from the Nikāya commentaries, when not available in P.T.S. texts, are taken from the Bangkok editions. For Jaina words I have used the *Abhidhānarājendra*, Rutlam, 1913-25, which I indicate by *AR*.

kukka to mean "crooked"; but is there any authority for *kukka*? The number of variants suggests that we have here a very old mistake; they include *akukkujjaka*° at *M.* i, 233 (and *akukkuta*° in the commentary), *akukkujaka*° at *S.* iii, 141 (and commentary thereon), and *akukkujata*° and *akkuja*° at *S.* iv, 167. The tradition in favour of a *j* in the word is strong and the appearance of *ta* twice may be significant, if the mistake is old, since *ja* and *ta* are much alike in Brahmi script. These considerations point to the correct form being *akujjaka*° "not grown crooked", forming a doublet to *uju* in accordance with a regular principle of Pali style, or, perhaps more accurately, "not having bosses growing on it." The corruption could be accounted for by the syllable *ku* having been written twice by the copyist in the archetype.

Adhiccāsamuppanna.—There are curiously few recognizable references to other Indian philosophical systems in Pali. Buddhaghosa refers in the *Vism.* and elsewhere to some of the orthodox systems, but *PD.* omits mention of them under *aṇu* for the Vaiśeṣikas (Andersen and Smith equally omit *Vism.* 509, 544), and under *pakati*, *padhāna* (*Vism.* 511, text wrongly *padāna*) and *purisa* for the Sāṃkhyas. The *issaravāda*, frequently mentioned, may mean the Yoga school or the Naiyāyikas or the theistic sects generally. Of the unorthodox systems, however, we can identify the one represented by *adhiccāsamuppanna*. The meaning of the word is made fairly clear by the sentence at *D.* iii, 138 : *asayaṃkāro ca aparaṃkāro ca adhiccāsamuppanno attā ca loko ca*; that is, it signifies something which comes into being without being self-caused or caused by another; similar phrases occur at *S.* ii, 22 (not 223, as in *PD.*), *Kvu.* 53, and elsewhere. The commentary on the *Brahmajālasutta* confirms this by glossing it with *akāraṇasamuppanna*, an explanation supported by the commentary at *J.* v, 171, on *adhiccaladdham parināmajan ti*, which has *adhiccaladdhan ti ahetunā laddham*.

This passage is important as *pariṇāmajam* explains how a thing arises, which is neither self-caused or caused by another. Similarly we find the originator of the view in the *Brahmajālasutta* saying at *D. i, 29, amhi etarahi ahutvā sattattāya pariṇato*. Now there is a philosophy, mentioned in Sanskrit literature from the *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad* down to the Jain commentators as well as by Buddhaghosa at *Vism. 511*, which is known as the *svabhāvavāda* and whose leading principle is precisely that stated above. F. O. Schrader (*Indische Philosophie zur Zeit Buddhas und Mahāvīras*, p. 30) gives its definition by a Jain commentator as *vastunaḥ svata eva . tathāpariṇatibhāvaḥ*, a remarkable parallel to the last of the Pali passages quoted above, while we are reminded of the first passage by the description of the *svabhāvavādins'* views in the commentary on *Tattvasaṃgraha* (Gaekwad's Or. Ser. xxx), 110, *ta evam āhur na svato nāpi parato bhāvānām janma*. The matter is clinched by the *Mahabodhijātaka*, one of the five heretical views in which is called the *ahetukavāda*, corresponding to the *ahetuvāda* of the *Jātakamālā* version, where at xxiii, 17, it is definitely identified with the *svabhāvavāda*. The commentary on verses 16–18 of the Pali version (*J. v, 237*) describes the system by *ayaṃ loko saṃgatiyā c'eva sabhāvena ca anuvattati pariṇamati*. Verse 39 again says of its exponents *Y'āhu n'atthi viriyan ti hetuñ ca apavadanti Ye parakāraṃ attakāraṃ ca Ye tucchaṃ samavaṇṇayum*, recalling the phrase with which the discussion started.

Whence then comes the expression, *adhiccasamuppanna* "produced by natural development"? Clearly it is modelled on *paṭiccasamuppanna* "produced in dependence on something else", and is therefore to be referred to *adhi* and the root *i*, not to Skr. **adhrtya*, as is done by *PD.*, following Childers. Now in this conception of *pariṇāma* there is a kinship between the *svabhāvavādins* and the *Sāmkhyas*; the latter, in fact, give *svabhāva* as the cause why *prakṛti* comes into action on contact with *puruṣa* (*Sāmkhyakārikā*

27 and Gauḍapāda thereon, and cf. *MBh.* xii, 8034 ff., which is definitely Sāṃkhya as against xii, 8690 and 8716-17, and xiv, 1360, rejecting the *svabhāva-vāda*). Further it has been pointed out by Jacobi (*Die Entwicklung der Gottesidee bei den Indern*, 1923, pp. 11-14, 71 and 113), that the scriptural authority for the *pariṇāma* theory was found in a materialistic interpretation of the sixth *prapāṭhaka* of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, and it is precisely there that we find *adhi* used in the manner required to explain *adhicca*, namely, vi, 2, 3, *tejasa eva tad adhy āpo jāyante* and 2, 4, *adbhya eva tad adhy annādyam jāyate*; *adhi* may be a preposition here or joined with *jāyate* (v. *PW.* s. *jan*, *adhi* +),¹ but in either case it has the sense required and explains the Pali term.

The word *adhiccāpattika* at *M.* i, 443, should properly be explained on similar lines to mean a person committing an offence unintentionally, but the commentary takes it as standing for an occasional (*kadāci āpajjati*), as opposed to *abhiññāpattika*, a habitual offender.

Apasavya.—This word is the opposite of *padakkhina* and should be restored at *Kvu.* 472 and *Ud.* 50. It is of frequent occurrence in the *MBh.* in the sense of “widdershins”, going round an object with the left side to it, i.e., the opposite way to the sun. The significance of the action lies in its magical efficacy; thus it is used of the movements of animals, etc., which constitute bad omens, e.g. ii, 2648; iv, 1463; v, 4849; vi, 5209; vii, 205; ix, 544; and xvi, 2. So a warrior makes similar circles round his foe, not merely to express contempt, but also to cause him bad luck, e.g. iii, 760-1;

¹ The former explanation is perhaps more likely, for the Brāhmaṇas use *ātmano'dhi* with *nirmā* for creation by evolving out of oneself (H. Oldenberg, *Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, p. 171). This leads to expressions like *MBh.* v, 2189-90, *Gāṇḍeyah Śāntanor adhi | jājñe*. The connection of *adhi* with the idea of evolution goes back to the Veda; thus in the famous creation hymn, *RV.*, x, 129, 4, we have *kāmas tad agre sam avartatādhi*, and there seems to be a definite contrast between *adhi* and *pari*, the latter governing the material out of which a thing is made.

vii, 8462 and 8600 ; and viii, 4085 and 4117. At v, 4703, *apasavyam bhū* means “be contemptuously disregarded”. Everything that is ordinarily done *pradakṣiṇa* is done *apasavya* at funeral ceremonies, e.g. xiii, 7776. As used in the two Pali passages quoted it may mean not more than an expression of disrespect, and with *Kvu.* 472, should be compared the use of *padakkhiṇa* in the corresponding passage, *ib.*, 478.

Ājava.—Occurs in an enigmatic passage at *Sn.* 945 :—
Gedham brūmi mahogho ti ājavam brūmi jappanam |
Ārammanam pakappanam kāmapaṅko duraccayo ||

*Nd.*¹ 479 takes the six words in the first three pādas to be synonyms of *taṇhā*, the text reading *ācamam* with *ājavam* as a variant. *SnA.* has *ājavam* and *pakampanam*. *PD.* accepts *ācamam*, a word for whose existence no corroboration can be quoted. The *ti* of the first pāda suggests that we have a parallel between *taṇhā* and a river ; *gedha* is the *mahogha*, the “great flood” of the river ; *jappana* its *ājava*, *ārammaṇa* its *pakampana*, and *kāma* its *paṅka*. If this is on the right lines, *pakappana* seems impossible, and I accordingly read *pakampana*. It might mean the “quaking” of quicksands ; anyone who has had much experience of fording Indian streams and seen the sands shake will appreciate its applicability. Or it might mean “wind”, a sense certified by *Śīsupālavadhā*, i, 61. The form *ājava* I would refer to the root *jū* “speed on”, “urge on” (*ājavanatthena ājavam*, *SnA.*), quoting in support the word *ājavamjava*, whose repeated use in the *Yasastilaka* as equivalent to *samsāra* is quoted by Schmidt, and which is well authenticated in Buddhist Sanskrit. At *Buddhacarita*, xii, 41, according to the old MS., we should read *ājavamjavatām hitvā*, while *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (Bibl. Buddh. xxi), p. 6, l. 10–11, has *samsaranam samsāra ājavamjavābhāvo janmamaraṇaparamparā*. *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās* (Bibl. Buddh. iv), xxv, 9, has *ājavamjavābhāva* explained by

Candrakīrti as *āgamanagamanabhāvajānmmamaraṇaparamparā* and it occurs again in the commentary, *ib.*, p. 218 (see the editor's note thereon).¹ The precise shade of meaning seems to be the "continuous hurrying on" of beings from birth to death, to fresh birth and fresh death, for countless periods. I would suggest therefore that *ājāva* in this passage of the *Sn.* means the continuous "speeding on" of the river, i.e. its current, so that it is a synonym of *vega*.

Ādiyati.—*PD.* divides this into two verbs only, corresponding to Skr. *ādīyate* and *ādīryate*, but there is a third one, corresponding to *ādriyate*, of which the gerundive forms, *ādīyitvā* and *anādīyitvā*, are used frequently in the same way as *ādrīya* and *anādrīya* in Sanskrit (several instances attributed to the first-mentioned *ādīyati* in *PD.*). I have also noticed from this verb *ādīyanti* with genitive at *D.* iii, 203-4; and *ādīyi* at *Vin.* iv, 225; while its derivation is clearly recognized at *ib.*, iv, 218, *anādarō nāma saṃghaṃ . . . nādīyati*.

Udu.—At *D.* iii, 167, we read *yaṃ pi . . . Tathāgato . . . pubbe manussabhūto samāno na viṣaṭaṃ na ca viṣācitaṃ na pana viceyyapekkhitā uju tathā paṣaṭaṃ udumano piyacakkhunā bahujanāṃ udikkhitā ahosi*, and on the next page *uju tathā paṣaṭaṃ udumano*. *Udu* does not occur elsewhere and, though explained by the commentary as equal to *uju*, seems to be a quite impossible word.² Surely we have here a commentator's blunder in the division of the words and presumably we should read in both cases either *paṣaṭaṃ mudumano* or *paṣaṭamudumano*, as one word. *Paṣaṭa* here is apparently equivalent in form to Skr. *prasṛta*

¹ The same word probably also occurs in *Kāśyapaparivarta*, ed. v. Staël-Holstein, Shanghai, 1926, p. 221, in the mutilated word . . . *dajavajavitā*.

² I exclude as too far-fetched the possibility of any connection with the rare Vedic word *ṛdu*, known only in compounds and of uncertain meaning (see Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Ṛgveda*, s. *ṛdūdara*).

and in meaning to *praśrita* “deferential”, “modest” which is frequently found written wrongly as *prasṛta* (many instances in *PW.*). But it could also be explained as a regular formation direct from *praśrita*, in view of Prakrit analogies, e.g. in the Girnar version of the Tenth Rock Edict *usaṭa* = Skr. *ucchrīta* (but otherwise Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. lvi, n. 4), the Rummindei pillar’s *usapāpita* = Skr. *ucchrāpita* and the similar later examples in Pischel’s Grammar, § 64. *Visaṭa* in this passage seems to be the opposite of *pasāṭa*, but I know of no Sanskrit parallel to the use.

Udrabhati.—The form is uncertain, the variants being *udrahati* and *uddhahati*, and no tenable explanation of the word has been given. At its only place of occurrence, *M.* i, 306, the commentary attributes to it the meaning “eat”, but “pick up”, “glean”, would suit the context rather better. I would connect it with the Skr. root *udhras* (*Dhātupāṭha* 9, 52, and 10, 202) in the sense *uñche*; there is a doubt whether the initial *u* belongs to the root or is mute, but the entry of it in Appendix IV, p. 343 and p. 352, of B. Liebich’s edition of the *Kṣīratarāṅginī* (Breslau, 1930) shows the balance of opinion to be strongly in favour of the root being *dhras*, not *udhras*. It seems to occur only in Halāyudha’s semi-lexicographical work, the *Kavirahasya* (ed. Heller), which illustrates the meanings of verbs. The longer recension, 208, runs:—

nodhrasnāti naraḥ kaścit subhikṣe tasya maṇḍale |
param udhrasayanty eke ye bhikṣāvratācārīṇaḥ ||

The shorter recension, 163, substitutes for the first line *nodhrasnāti jano vittam yasya rāṣṭre samṛddhimān* and *udhrāsayanty* in the second.¹ It is hardly necessary to go through the many variants and the commentaries on these lines, but they point to the correct forms being *uddhrasnāti*

¹ *Udhrasnāti* in the first line means “steals”.

and *uddhrāsaying*, rather than those given in the text. This also corresponds to the form of the root known to the Pali grammarians; for in the *Saddanāṭi* (ed. Helmer Smith), the *Dhātumālā* section has 1261 *uddhasa* (*uñche*), *uddhasnāṭi*, and 1645 *dhasa* (*uñche*), *dhāseti dhāsayati*. I conclude that at *M.* i, 306, we should read *uddhaseyyum* or *uddhāsaseyyum* and translate “glean”, “pick up”.

Udraya, uddaya.—*PD.* takes this to Skr. *udaya*, which, though the usual solution, has obvious difficulties; its only use is in phrases such as *sukhodraya*, for which the Sanskrit is not only *sukhodaya*, but also *sukhodarka*, which corresponds more closely in sense to the Pali use, and I would propose to take it to the latter through an intermediate **udraka*.

Upalāpana.—It is best to clear the way to a discussion of the meaning of this political technical term, whose form according to the variants and Pali usage should probably be *upalāpanā*, by settling first the meaning of *upalāpeti*. Leaving aside for the moment its use in a political sense at *S.* i, 102, it is used at *Vin.* iv, 140, in the sense of “speak kindly to”, “encourage”, and *ib.*, i, 119, and iii, 90, joined with *saṃgaṇhāti* in a slightly more developed sense of “talk someone over”, so as to make him favourably disposed to the person talking. *Ib.*, iii, 21 and 62, and *PvA.* 36 and 46, it is joined with *āmisena* in the sense of “talk over”, “tempt”, “persuade”, to do something wrong. It goes further at *J.* iii, 198, 265, and iv, 56, to mean “talk over”, “persuade”, someone to do something to his disadvantage, in fact almost “cozen”. *J.* iv, 215, in *PD.* is a wrong reference and the context shows that *upalāpentī* at *PvA.* 276 is a mistake for *upalālentī*. In Sanskrit the verb is only used once, at *Jātakamālā* xix, 18, where the slave wishes as the worst possible fate for the unknown thief that he may be reborn as a *grāmaṇī* who should be *strīṇṛttaḡitair upalāpyamānaḥ*. Speyer translated it “exhilarated”, a

meaning accepted by *PWK.* and Schmidt, but the Pali examples show that it should be rendered "seduced", "led away".

Turning now to the political sense, we get *upalāpana* as one of the reasons at *Miln.* 117, for which Vessantara did not give gifts; the context leaves the exact sense uncertain (*Miln.* 115 in *PD.* is a wrong reference). Again at *D.* ii, 76 (= *A.* iv, 21) we are told that the Vajjis are so united that it is impossible for Ajātasattu to conquer them except by *upalāpana* and *mithubheda*. There is a parallel to this at *S.* i, 102, where among the ways a king may use to overcome his enemies are the *mantayuddha* (*mantenabhedayitum*) and the *dhanayuddha* (*dhanena upalāpetum*). The commentary on *D.* ii, 76, explains *upalāpana* by *upalāpanā nāma—alam vivādena pi, idam samaggā homa ti hatthiassara-thahiraññasuvannādāni pesetvā saṃgahakaraṇam. Evam hi saṃgaham katvā vissāsenā sakkā gahetum, and mithubheda by aññamaññam bhedaṃ katvā pi sakkā ete gaṇhetum.* The commentary on *S.* i, 102, runs: *upalāpetum ti aññamaññam bhinditum. Yathā dve janā ekena maggena na gacchanti evam kātum. Bheda* is a well-known political term in Sanskrit, meaning the causing of dissension among enemies, particularly if the enemies consist of allies or of a king and his feudatories, and is used in Pali thus at *Mhvs.* 36, 44. The case under discussion deals not with a league of allies, so that *mithubheda* cannot = *mittabheda* as suggested by *PD.*, but with a tribal confederacy. *Mithu* is not to be explained by the Vedic *mithu* but by Sanskrit *mithaḥ* "mutual", as is also to be inferred from the commentary, so that *mithubheda* means the causing of mutual or internal dissension among the members of the confederacy. *Mithobheda* occurs, in fact, in the general sense of "dissension" several times in the *MBh.*, e.g. ii, 2111; iii, 14417; v, 3322, 4890, and 5838; viii, 4408, and xii, 5323. Seeing that *upalāpeti* and *upalāpaya* mean "tempt", "seduce", and that *upalāpana* involves the giving of money, it can hardly mean anything else

than gaining over to one's own side members of an enemy confederacy by bribes; in other words, subornation. This device is well known at all periods of Indian history and in Sanskrit was called *upajāpa*, a word very common in *KA.*, where according to Shamasastri's *Index Verborum* it occurs as noun or verb over 40 times. The earliest uses of the word in this sense outside *KA.* are *MBh.* xii, 2633 and 5311, and *Manu* vii, 197, and ix, 275; all probably later than *KA.* It looks as if the word had been invented in this sense by Kauṭilya, who is fond of such euphemistic expressions. But whether we ought to read *upajāpana* and *upajāpeti* in the Pali passages or whether we are to assume that they retain an older term and that the *KA.* is subsequent to them, I am unable to determine.

There remains the question whether we are to derive the word from the root *lap*, as is done for *upalāpaya* by *PWK.* and Schmidt, or from *lī*. For the first alternative we have the analogy of *upajāpa* and the use of *upalāpeti* in Pali with the suggestion that the idea of talking lies behind it. Against it we have no other recorded use of *lap* compounded with *upa*. But *lī* is used once with *upa*, as a simple verb at *MBh.* viii, 4170-2, in the sense of "cling", "resort for support to", and *upalaya* is found in a somewhat uncertain sense ("resort", haunt") at *Jātakamālā* xviii, 20, while the *PW.* shows that Indian grammarians gave to the causatives of *lī* alone, as well as compounded with *ud* and *apa* the sense of "deceiving" (cf. *Pāṇ.* i, 3, 70, and *Mahābhāṣya* iii, 37, 19-22¹), though it prefers to take these formations to *lap*. There is, in fact, no certain occurrence of the causative of *lap* till a very late date, except doubtfully at *Chāndogya Up.* iv, 2, 5, where I prefer the traditional text to Böhtlingk's emendation and take *ālāpayiṣyathāh* as the causative of Pali *alliyate*, i.e. "attract", "win over". On the whole, I think, the word comes from *lī* in the sense

¹ Cf. the use of *apalāpya* by the commentary on *Kāmasūtra* (Kashi Sanskrit series. No. 29), vi, 2, 19.

of causing to resort to oneself and so of seduction, later Pali use reading into it by a mistaken derivation the idea of talking.

Upavāsa.—This word is used in a sense not noticed by *PD*. at *A.* v, 40, where *papikā issā* is illustrated by the feelings that the underlings (*dāsa* and *upavāsa*) of a wealthy man might entertain towards him. The commentary glosses it, not very illuminatingly, with *nissāya upasamkamitvā vasanto*. The exact meaning is made clear by its only occurrence in Sanskrit in the same sense, viz. at *KA.* iii, 10, 15 (cf. J. J. Meyer's translation of the *KA.*, p. 775, Zusatz on p. 270, l. 46), where the context requires it to mean the undertenant of a field, probably of the semi-servile class known as *ardhasītika*. As an attempt has recently been made with some success to explain away Megasthenes' reference to the absence of slaves in India by showing that the Greek conception of slavery differed radically from the Indian (B. Breloer, *Kauṭaliya Studien II. Altindisches Privatrecht bei Megasthenes u. Kauṭalya*, Bonn, 1928), it is worth while pointing out that Pali uses *dāsa* to indicate "slaves" in the Greek sense at the well-known passage *M.* ii, 149, where it is stated that in the Yona, Kamboja, and other foreign countries only two classes of men are known as against the four castes of India, viz. masters (*ayya*) and slaves (*dāsa*).

Ummagga.—*PD*. omits a curious use of this word, spelt *ummaṅga* in this sense in the Siamese editions, which is briefly considered by Kern, though I cannot trace his reference to *A.* ii, 219. At *A.* ii, 177, and *S.* v, 16 and 171, it is said in praise of one who has asked a question that is very much to the point, *bhaddako ummaggo bhaddakam paṭibhāṇaṃ kalyāṇī paripucchā* and at *A.* ii, 189, it is joined with *abhinīhāra* and *pañhasamudācāra* according to which one may gauge the intelligence of the questioner. The

meaning of the latter triad is illustrated by a simile ; the person questioned is like a man who sees a fish rise and gauges its size by *macchassa ummaggo*, *ūmighāto*, and *vegāyitattaṃ* (this last omitted by *PD.*). In the commentaries it is defined at *A. ii*, 189, by *pañhummaṅgo*, *S. v*, 16, *pañhāpañhavīmāṃsanaṃ pañhagavesanaṃ* and *ib.*, 171 *pañhamaggo pañhagavesanaṃ*. But on *A. ii*, 177, we have *ummaṅgo ti ummujjanaṃ paññāgamanan ti. Paññā eva vā ummujjanattaṃ ummaṅgo ti attho*, where *paññā* is evidently a mistake for *pañha*. The same mistake occurs at *SnA.* 50, which classes *ummagga* with *ussāha*, *avattāna*, and *hitacariyā* as forming *catasso buddhabhūmiyo* and explains it by *ummaggo paññā pavuccati*, thus making nonsense of the classification. The inference from these passages is that *ummagga* in this sense is a doublet of *ummujjana* (just as Sanskrit has *sammārga* and *sammārjana* from *mṛj*) and means the emergence of a desire for knowledge leading to questioning.¹

This throws some light on some curious words occurring in Buddhist Sanskrit ; for *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, p. 4, has a parallel phrase, *udāraḥ khalu ta unmiñjo bhadrikā mīmāṃsā kalyāṇaṃ pratibhāṇam*, where Max Muller reported the Chinese translators to understand *unmiñja* as meaning “question”. It occurs again in the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (ed. J. Rahder), p. 18, *sattveṣu mahākaruṇonmiñjaḥ sambhavati*, the Tibetan taking it to mean “development”, “spreading out” ; *unmajjana* is used somewhat similarly as equivalent to *utpāda* at *Abhidharmakośa* (tr. by L. de la Vallée Poussin), II, p. 66. The same sūtra, p. 39, has *unmiñjita* and *nimiñjita*, which the Tibetan translates by *brkyaṅ* “stretching forth”, “putting out”, and *bskum* “drawing in”, “contracting”, respectively. The latter reminds us at once of the Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit *sammiñjana*, *sammiñjati*, *sammiñjayati*, used of “contracting”, “drawing in” the arm, of which the current explanation (*sam* and *iñjayati*) is far from satis-

¹ The Jain term *ummaggadesanā* has perhaps the same origin.

factory. Further *Mahāvvyutpatti*, 244, 41, in a sentence describing the Buddha's smile which I cannot discover in the descriptions in extant works, uses *unmiñjita* and *nimiñjita* of the emergence of the rays from the Buddha's mouth and their return to it; the phrase is suggestive of the Pali expression *umnujjanimujjam karoti*. Now the root *miñj* is known to Sanskrit grammarians but not in any sense that fits. But both Pali and Prakrit have the form *miñjā* for Skr. *majjan*, and I would suggest on that analogy that *miñj* is a Prakrit form of the root *majj* adopted in Buddhist Sanskrit and Pali in a specialized sense, as is so often the case with the rarer of the two forms of a doublet. This seems to me the only explanation that covers all the facts.

Kudrūsa, *kudrūsaka*.—This is *paspalum scrobiculatum*, known in Sanskrit as *kodrava* and *koradūṣa*; so far as I can ascertain, while Pali has no form from *kodrava*, the modern Indian vernaculars as well as Singhalese know only forms from *kodrava*. *AR.* has the forms *kodūsaga*, *koḍūsaga*, and *koḍūsaka*. *Koradūṣa* according to the *PW.* goes back to *Suśruta* and the *MBh.* (add *Mārkāṇḍeya Purāṇa* 49, 68 to the references), and, if it is right in dividing it into *kora* and *dūṣa* ("articulation-spoiling" ?), the presumption is that the word was derived from some non-Aryan tongue and underwent a modification of form by popular etymology, so as to refer to the well-known poisonous properties of this grain, when not specially prepared. I quote the word in case someone reading this article may be able to refer me to a derivative surviving in any of the modern languages of India; if its use could be assigned to any particular part of India, it would be a pointer to the three passages of the Canon in which it occurs not having been written till the sect from which the Pali Canon derives had settled in that part of India.

Kubbara.—All the dictionaries, following tradition, agree in taking Skr. *kūbara*, Pali *kubbara*, to mean the pole of

a chariot whose proper name is Skr. *īṣā*, Pali *īsā*, though Taranatha Tarkavacaspati adds the meaning of *rathikasthāna*. That this is wrong is shown by *A.* iv, 191, where it is clearly distinguished from *īsā*; in one case a vicious horse breaks the *īsā* by pushing with his flank against it and in another he lashes out against the *kubbara* and breaks the *tidāṇḍa*. The latter can hardly be anything else than the part called *triveṇu* in Sanskrit; these were apparently three poles (or possibly a framework of three sticks or pieces of bamboo) on the front of the chariot to hold the pennons. At *MBh.* ix, 443, we have *triveṇudāṇḍakāvṛtā*, while *MBh.* viii, 4077, and *Bhāgavata Pur.* iv, 29, 18, refer to the flags (*dhvaja*) being three in number. *MBh.* xiv, 2447 has *patākādāṇḍeṣu* (i.e. more than two) of a single chariot and at *MBh.* iii, 12294, the *kūbara* is a mountain, of which the axle is the foot and the *triveṇu* the bamboos on it, i.e. projecting above, or fitted on to, the *kūbara*.

Next consider *Vv.* 64² which runs :—

sovaṇṇamayā te rathakubbarā ubho
phalehi aṁsehi atīva saṁgatā |

The commentary explains : *rathakubbarā ubho ti rathassa ubhosu passesu vedikā. Yo hi sobhanatthañ c'eva upari thitānaṁ guttatthañ ca ubhosu passesu vedikākārena parikkhepo karīyyati, tassa purimabhāge ubhosu passesu yāva rathīsā tāva hatthehi gahaṇayoggo rathassa avayavaviseso, idha so eva kubbaro ti adhippeto. Ten'evāha : ubho ti. Aññatha paṇa rathīsā kubbaro ti vuccati. Phalehi ti rathupatthassa dakkhinaṁvāmbhedehehi dvīhi phalehi. Aṁsehi ti kubbaraphalehi patitthitehi hetthimaṁsehi.* In this passage I read the variant *rathupatthassa* for the text's *rathupatthambassa*, because in Sanskrit *upastha* is the name of the platform on which the occupants stand and the Pali equivalent *rathapañjara* at *Vv.* 83¹ is glossed *rathūpattha* by the commentary; *upatthamba* is meaningless in the context. This statement shows that the *kubbara* is the heavy curved top or rail of the framework which ran round the front and two

sides of the platform of the car to protect the occupants standing on it; this rail is a very obvious feature in the chariots pictured in the Sanchi basreliefs on the north, west and south gateways of the main stupa. The *aṃsa* is the panel which fitted into the rail at the top and the big beams (*phala*) at each side of the platform. Almost every word of this explanation can be illustrated from Sanskrit literature. For instance, in similes the *kūbara* is compared to something which is double (*MBh.* xii, 8653, and *Bhāg. Pur.* iv, 29, 19). On the stage the actor indicates that he is on a chariot by grasping a bow in one hand and taking hold of the *kūbara* with the other (*Bhārataṭīya Nāṭyaśāstra*, ed. Grosset, xiii, 88); the latter action is shown on several of the Sanchi basreliefs and Bhīṣma does it, when hard hit, at *MBh.* iv, 2084. Again at *Buddhacarita* iii, 60, the Buddha, on hearing of death, feels faint and leans with his shoulder against the *kūbarāgra*; obviously he would not get out of the chariot and go round to the horses' heads to get support. So in the *MBh.*, when a warrior is knocked out but not so severely as to cause him to fall on to the floor of the chariot, he leans against the *kūbara* (vii, 5704) or more commonly against the flagpole (vi, 2862, 4630; vii, 7428, 9328, and 9355); this recalls the association of *kubbara* and *tidanḍa* in the first Pali passage quoted above. For *vedikā* I may cite *MBh.* viii, 4707, where Karna's chariot with its wheel sunk into the ground is compared to a *savedika caitya*; cf. also iv, 1825, and vi, 660. For *phala* I would invite attention to Grierson, § 178, and the illustration opposite p. 32, showing that the similar boards in a modern cart are still called *phar* in Bihar.

The similar rail on a Greek chariot is called *ἄντροξ*, whose primary meaning is "rim" and for which Liddell and Scott give several quotations; e.g. *Iliad* v, 262 and 322, the reins are tied to it. *Ib.*, v, 728-9, of a chariot, "the body is plaited tight with gold and silver thongs and two rims there are that run about it" (A. T. Murray's translation

in the Loeb classics) ; an exact parallel to the double *kubbara*. Ib. xi, 535, as Hector drives over the dead, " with blood was all the axle sprinkled beneath and the rims round about the car, with the drops that smote on them from the horses' hooves and from the tires." Sophocles also uses the word in the plural.

Dhammapāla, it will be noted, knows the real meaning of *kubbara* but states that it was generally understood to mean the pole, as given in modern dictionaries. How are we to account for this ? The obvious explanation is that chariots had gone out of use by his day. In the *MBh.*, which reflects a more ancient state of affairs than prevailed at the time the accounts of the battles took their present form, the heroes invariably fight in chariots and it is only the secondary characters who ride on elephants, and that only in obviously late episodes. By the time of Alexander's campaigns kings ride elephants in battle but chariots, holding six persons, were still the mainstay of Porus' army, according to Curtius, and Megasthenes mentions chariots holding three persons. Khāravela's inscription (Acts of Sixth Intern. Congr. of Or., part iii, sect. 2, pp. 133 ff.) seems to imply that chariots were still an important element in his army, if not so prominent as elephants, while the Sanchi sculptures depict chariots in their illustrations of old legends as used for riding in but not apparently for purposes of war. The latest inscription known to me that mentions chariots is that of Rudradāman (*Ep. Ind.* viii, p. 44, l. 13), while the Amaravati sculptures, according to the available photographs and the remains in the British Museum, do not show any at all. The Gupta inscriptions never refer to chariots and Bāṇa describes Harṣa's army as consisting solely of elephants, cavalry, and foot. The inference is that the chariot began to decline in favour as soon as it was found practicable to train elephants to fight (not in general use, perhaps, more than a couple of centuries before Alexander's time) and that by about A.D. 200, or soon after, their

use had entirely ceased.¹ Now in the *Amarakośa* *īṣā* is given as applied to ploughs only, despite countless passages in the epics and earlier works, showing that its chief meaning is that of the pole of a chariot, while *kūbara* is defined by the synonym *yugandhara*, which is taken to mean the pole. But quite possibly *yugandhara* originally meant "that which holds the pair", not "the yoke", and referred to the *kūbara*'s function of holding the panels on each side in place.

I am not competent to enter into a discussion of the derivation of the word,² but should like to suggest for consideration that in view of its curved shape as depicted at Sanchi, it may be connected with forms like *kubja* "crooked", "humpbacked", and Hindi *kūbar* "hump".

Gayaphaggu.—The commentator on *Th.* I, 287 and 345, in his ignorance of Bihar topography, takes this word to mean a feast at Gaya in the month of Phaggu (cf. *Psalms of the Brethren*, pp. 181 and 197, and *Deśnāmamālā*, ed. Pischel, p. 210, l. 15, *phaggū vasantotsavaḥ*). Actually it is the name of the river which flows past the town of Gaya and is still known as the Phālgu. It is formed by the junction of the Nilājan and the Mohāna two miles below Bodhgaya (v. *Gaya Gazetteer* by L. S. S. O'Malley, pp. 8–9), and at the town of Gaya runs below a rocky bank with many ghats, where it is very sacred. That it is a river, not a feast, explains why at the latter of the two passages quoted above reference is made to the Brahman ritual of three bathes a day, which took place daily, not merely at feasts.

¹ If this argument is sound, it is of some value in dating the *KA.*, which on other grounds I suggested in the *Journal* for 1929, pp. 77 ff., should probably be placed somewhere in the first two centuries A.D. For it knows various uses for chariots, but displays no enthusiasm for their use for military purposes as compared with elephants and cavalry; this seems to corroborate the view I then expressed.

² It is not necessarily of Indo-Aryan origin; the Vedic equivalent seems to have been *skambha*, though it was presumably of a different shape, to judge from *RV.* i, 34, 2, *trayaḥ skambhāsaḥ skabhitāsa ārabhe*, which recalls what I have said above about holding on to the *kūbara*.

Gāmillā.—Occurs at *DhsA.* 279, in the sense of “villager”; *gāmillaka* on the following page. The corresponding Prakrit formations in *-la* and *-lla* have been discussed by Pischel in his grammar at § 595 and, as their sporadic appearance in Pali has escaped *PD.*’s notice, I give a list of such as I have noted. In *-alla*, *-āla*: *mahallaka* from *mahant*, which still preserves its original meaning of “great” at, e.g., *Vin.* ii, 120, 166, and iii, 156, and *Vv.* 64¹, as has *mahālaka* in the Aśoka edicts, though in the Seventh Pillar Edict the compound *vayomahālaka* marks the transition of meaning to “old”: *sukhallika* probably: *sukhumāla*, though belonging in sense to *sukumāra*, either comes from *sukhuma* or has been influenced in form by it. In *-illa*: *aṭṭhilla* (to *aṭṭhi* rather than to Skr. *aṣṭhīlā*): *pisācillikā*: *divilla* (= *divya* at *Dpvs.* xvi, 14): *sammilla* in *sammillabhāsin* from *samma* or *sammā*. In *-ulla*: *duṭṭhulla*: *padulla* in *padullagāhin* at *Th.* i, 1217, belongs here probably but is hard to explain. Reading, as suggested by the variants, *padullabhānī* one could take it to *pada* in a pejorative sense, “speaking wild words,” which would suit the context, or is it a copyist’s inversion for *dapulla*° or *dappulla*°, the latter being a known Prakrit form for *darpin*?

Ghātā.—Is used of a cow at *S.* iv, 196, where it is printed twice as *ghātā*, twice as *ghatā*. *PD.* gives the reference under *ghata* but does not explain the sense, and Woodward, reading *ghātā*, translates it “forehead” on the strength of the commentary’s “between the two horns” and of the analogy of *kumbha* for an elephant; but a cow, unlike an elephant, has no protuberance on the forehead which could be compared to a pot. It is evidently the rare Sanskrit word, *ghātā* or *ghāṭa*; *PW.* quotes the former from *Śūsṛuta* in the sense of “cervical ligament” and both forms from the Indian lexx. in the sense of “neck”. *Gaṇapāṭha* 13, 8, gives *ghātā* only, but Böhtlingk’s index to it gives both forms, while *Mahābhāṣya* i, p. 208, l. 4, associates *ghāṭa* with

tunḍa as a stock instance. *AR.* has both forms, explaining by the indefinite *mastakāvayavaviśeṣe*, and Bengali has *ghāṭā* and *ghāḍa* meaning "nape of the neck". As the context and the commentary both show, this is the meaning in the Pali passage and it is presumably connected with the word *ghāt* of the modern vernaculars, meaning a passage connecting two places such as "a mountain pass", "a ford", "a way down to a river or tank (for bathing)"; the French *col* gives the same transition of meaning from "neck" to "mountain pass". There is, however, another sense of the word, whose origin is perhaps to be found in the same analogy, at *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (Bibl. Buddh. xxi), p. 90, l. 16, where *ghātābhyantare* is glossed by *ghātā nāsāpuṭī*, the context in the *bhāṣya* showing this explanation to be correct.

Caṅgavāra.—Only occurs in similes, but at *J.* v, 186, the commentary explains it as something which a *rajaka* uses to hold *khāra* in. I would connect it with the word *caṅgerī* which is found in most Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. in Buddhist Sanskrit at *Mahāvastu* ii, p. 19, l. 3 (where Senart reads the otherwise unknown *śaṅgeriyo* but the MS. authority is for *caṅgeriyo*), in the *Pañcadaṇḍacchattraprabandha*, a late Jain Sanskrit work full of Guzerati words, in Hindi, Bihari (also *caṅgelī*, Grierson § 44) and Bengali (*cāṅgārī* and *ceṅgārī*)¹; the meaning is a straw or wickerwork tray or flat basket for carrying grain or flowers. Jain Prakrit has both *caṅgavāra* and *caṅgerī*, *AR.* defining *caṅgavāra* as *kāṣṭhapātri* and the other as *mahatī kāṣṭhapātri*. Seeing how prevalent it is, we need have no hesitation in restoring it at two hitherto unexplained passages in classical Sanskrit. At *Cārudatta* p. vii, 26 (ed. Morgenstierne), the stage direction reads *Nāyako Viḍuṣakaś c-āṅgerikāhastā ceṭī ca*, which should evidently be . . . *Viḍuṣakaś ca cāṅgerikāhastā* . . . ; the word is used to emphasize the poverty of *Cārudatta*, who

¹ See now also Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*, s. *caṅerā*.

is reduced to a poor man's tray for his *bali*.¹ Again in *ucchvāsa* 2 of the *Daśakumāracarita*, where Wilson (p. 88, l. 3) and Bühler in his first edition read *peṭṭikām*, the latter in his later editions read *vāṅgerikām*, which the commentators explain as *vetrapuṭṭikā* and *jhāmpī* in *bhāṣā*. Grierson gives § 45 *jhāmpā* as a large basket and *jhāmpī* § 657 as a travelling box or basket for carrying on a sling bamboo. The context shows that a small closed box or basket is meant and that it was made of gold; for it was sealed and is called *hemakaraṇḍaka* a few pages later (p. 92, l. 5). The MS. readings given by Bühler suggest *cāṅgerikām* as the correct form; this is also to be expected, as *c* and *v* are frequently confused, and I know of no analogy to a form *vāṅgerikā*. The slight difference of meaning in this passage recalls the allied Pali form, *caṅgota* and *caṅgotaka*, which is used, when made of gold, for carrying relics, valuables, etc. (in e.g. *Mhvs.* i, 35; xvii, 25; xxxi, 39; *J.* iv, 257. *Mhvs.* iv, 106, is a wrong reference in *PD.*), but when the material is not specified it is usually associated with the carrying of flowers. At *Vism.* 173 it is a synonym for *karaṇḍaka* and is evidently an open flower basket. This form is perhaps connected with Bihari *caṅgor*, a large basket, Grierson, § 45, *r* and *ḍ* being often interchanged in that dialect. It looks as if *caṅga* were the name of some kind of wood from which wickerwork articles of two sorts, a kind of tray and a box, were made; the shape of the latter would be imitated by goldsmiths who would describe the gold box by the same name as the wickerwork one. The same element appears again in *cāṅgerī* given in the *Amarakośa* as one of five kinds of an astringent medicinal drink. I cannot connect this word with anything; for *chingar* which Watts gives under tamarind as the name of a cooling anti-bilious drink prepared from the tender leaves and flowers of the tamarind tree is reported only from Madras. We require a plant used for wickerwork

¹ Woolner and Sarup in *Thirteen Trivandrum Plays*, 1930, vol. i, p. 76, read *cāṅgerikā* and translate "wood-sorrel" (since altered in vol. ii to above).

and medicinal purposes ; the only one I know of is the tamarix, but I can find no form suggesting any association of *caṅga* with it and must leave the origin of the word still in the dark.

Ciṅgulaka, ḍiṅgulaka.—At Sn. 239 we have *sāmākaciṅgulaka-cīnakāṇi* (ed. Fausböll), but Andersen and Smith's edition reads °*ḍiṅgulaka*° and records a variant, °*ḍaṅgulaka*°. *Sāmāka* and *cīnaka* are the well-known millets, *panicum frumentosum* and *miliaceum*, which are eaten by the poorer classes and therefore suitable for acceptance as alms ; the next verse gives rice as the food of the rich and so unsuitable for alms. *Ciṅgulaka* must also be a food of the poor. There is another similar crop, *settaria italica* or *panicum italicum*, known in Sanskrit as *kaṅgu* or *kaṅgunī*, and its earliest mention in Pali under this name according to PD. is Vin. iv, 264, which is much later than the passage under consideration. All the vernaculars record similar names, but in south Bihar it is called *tāṅgun* or *taṅgunī* (Grierson, § 988) and Watts (s. *settaria italica*) notes a variant, *tāṅgun* (for *tāṅgun* ?), from the North-West Provinces (i.e. roughly the present United Provinces, excluding Oudh). There are a few instances of changes of *n* to *l* in Pali (Geiger, *Pali Literatur u. Sprache*, § 43) and none of initial *t* ; so it is possible that the correct reading here is *ḍaṅgulaka* from an original **taṅgunaka*, now represented by *taṅgunī*. If this identification is correct, it is of some interest. For it would show that the poem emanated from a tract where this form of the name prevailed ; as also the poem clearly belongs to a district where rice is the staple food of the richer classes, the greater part of the North-Western Provinces is excluded, and we are left with the probability that the poem was written in Magadha. Further it would be some evidence of what is otherwise probable, that the *Suttavibhaṅga* dates from a time when the sect from which Pali Buddhism emanated no longer had its headquarters in Bihar.

A less probable explanation is to equate it with Santali *ciṅgul*, given in Campbell's dictionary as a kind of rice-plant ; I have been unable to find out what kind it is, but it is not impossible that Santali cropnames might have been adopted in Magadha. There is perhaps slight evidence for this identification in a parallel, but much later verse at *J.* v, 405, *sāmākanīvāramatho pi cīnakā*, where *nīvāra*, wild rice, is substituted for the word under discussion, but this is negated by the commentary on *Sn.* 239, which describes *ciṅgulaka* as having a head like a *kaṇavīra* flower.

Tulā.—At *Vin.* ii, 122, this means the swing lever, the commonest means of lifting water in India, consisting of a long bamboo balanced on a forked upright at a point near one end ; the short end is weighted and the bucket is attached to the longer end by a rope, which the man working pulls down to bring the empty bucket into the water and lets go again for the weight to pull the full bucket up (Grierson, § 928 ff. and illustration, and *Hobson Jobson*, s. *picotta*). It is remarkable how seldom this contrivance is referred to in Sanskrit literature ; the only certain one that I have a note of (it has been misunderstood hitherto) is in *Harṣacarita*, ch. vii (ed. Kane, Bombay, 1918, p. 65 ; Cowell and Thomas' translation, p. 221), *tulāyantrasyeva paścātkṛtagauravasya toyārtham api namataḥ*, where the simile means "like a swing lever with a weight attached behind (i.e., to the short arm) that swings down to lift up water".

Paddhagu.—This doubtful word has for variants *paccagu* and *patthagu*, and the meaning clearly is "one who goes after someone else", "follower". In determining the form, no notice seems to have been taken of the fact that, while only *piṭṭha* and *piṭṭhī* are recorded in Pali from Skr. *prṣṭha*, in Prakrit (v. Pischel, § 53) this is one of several words in which *r* becomes *a*, *i*, and *u*, and Hemacandra recognizes the form in *a* as alone correct at the end of a compound.

The phrase *pr̥sthato gam* is common enough in Sanskrit, which has also *pr̥sthānuga* and *pr̥sthānugāmin* as well as their opposite *agregā*, and Pali uses *pit̥thito* similarly. As the absence of a form in *a* is remarkable in Pali, we are justified in holding that it is present here and that the correct form is *pat̥thagu* = **pr̥sthaga*.

Punṇapatta.—Skr. *pūrṇapātra* is used of the specially munificent gift presented to the bearer of good tidings, such as of the birth of a son (cf. Cowell and Thomas' translation of the *Harṣacarita*, p. 109, n. 2, and the commentary on *Kāmasūtra*, vi, 2, 50, *diṣṭivṛddhyā snigdhanena yad uttarīyam ucchidya grhyate tat pūrṇapātram*). It is used in the same way in Pali, e.g. the point of its use should be brought out in translating *Th.* ii, 325, where the wife expresses her extreme joy at hearing that her husband has entered the order and obtained the threefold knowledge by giving the messenger who brings the good news a *punṇapatta*. Other references are *J.* iii, 535 (note commentary thereon), vi, 15 and 528. It may have the same sense in the epithet *lāvaṇṇapunṇapatta* applied to the Buddha in the Prakrit verse quoted in the *Dṛṣṭāntapañkti* or *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (ed. Lüders, p. 45).¹

Bhasmantāhuti.—Occurs only in a well-known cliché as an epithet of the bones of a corpse that have been burnt. Modern translators, following Buddhaghosa in taking *anta* in the sense of *avasāna*, have failed to make much sense out of it. In my opinion *anta* has a collective sense here; it is thus used with various shades of meaning both in Pali and in Sanskrit, the *PW.* describing some of the latter.

¹ Surely the word *sirīra*, which puzzled Lüders in the same verse, in the expression *vinayasamuttejitasirīram* is a mistake for °*sirīkam*, as indicated by the Chinese ("la majesté du souverain excellent", Huber); the difference between *ka* and *ra* is little more than a cross-stroke which would be easily omitted, and the fragments of the Buddhist dramas have *nissirīka* and *sassirīka*.

The commonest use in Pali is to give a collective generalized sense to a word; thus *vananta* "the jungle", "jungly country", generally, as against *vana*, any particular forest. So in order to express that a *bhikkhu* ought not to sleep "in a village" at night, idiomatic Pali would prefer *gāmate* to *gāme*. In this view *bhasmanta* means "ashes" generally, and as oblations are cast into a living fire, to cast them into ashes, i.e. into a dead fire, has no value at all; "oblations cast into ashes" are accordingly a symbol of something valueless. This interpretation fits the context perfectly and is confirmed by Sanskrit. The stock illustration to *Pāṇ.* ii, 1, 47, is *bhasmanihuta*, and *PW.*, s. *bhasman*, quotes *Manu* iii, 168, which lays down that an oblation is not to be given to a Brahman who does not study, because that would be like casting it into ashes, and *MBh.* iii, 15686, which describes the giving of something valuable to a worthless person as like giving a sacrificial ladle full of the best ghee into ashes.¹ An earlier reference to the same idea is *Chāndogya Up.* v, 24, 1, *sa ya idam avidvān agnihotraṃ juhōti yathāṅgārān apohya bhasmani juhuyāt, tādrk tat syāt*. The idea has possibly some connection with the instruction in the ritual literature, *bhasmānte nirvapet*, though the commentators, perhaps wrongly, take *bhasmānte* to mean "near the ashes" in that case. In *Brh. Ār. Up.* v, 15 (= *Īśā Up.* 17) *bhasmāntam śarīram* may mean "a heap of ashes", not "ending in ashes" as usually translated.

Vaḍḍhamāna.—At three places this is the same as Skr. *vardhamāna*, which denotes a certain lucky figure and is applied to anything made in that shape or supposed to resemble it, such as amulets, ritual vessels (*MBh.* xiii, 3263, 4243; and xiv, 1927, 2539), veinings on an elephant's tusks when cut (*Brhatsaṃhitā* 94, 2), houses of a particular type

¹ There is a difference of nuance between the Pali word and the Sanskrit phrase, which latter comes to mean proverbially casting pearls before swine (cf. *Brhatkathāślokaśaṃgraha*, x, 26).

with no door on the south, the unlucky, side (P. K. Acharya's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* s.v.), the north, the lucky, gate of Hāstinapura (*MBh.* i, 4905 ; iii, 10 ; xv, 443), a particular evolution of a horse or troop of cavalry (*KA.* ii, 30, 38) or a technical term in dancing (*Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra*, ed. Grosset, iv, 273). Its shape appears to be no longer known in India ; for I do not find it in dictionaries of the modern vernaculars and in the Hindi commentary of Baladevaprāsād Miśra's edition of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (Bombay, 1897) it is explained as an earthenware bowl at the passage referred to above, showing that it was not understood. The form it took as a vessel, however, is still known, for it occurs among the eight lucky figures of the Jains (v. W. Hüttemann, *Baessler Archiv* iv, *Miniaturen zum Jinacarita*, p. 54, fig. 1 and description, p. 52 ; illustration reproduced by Coomarasvamy, *Journal of Indian Art*, 1914, p. 88, and H. v. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, pl. 20) ; but it is difficult to deduce the original pattern from this picture.

The two later occurrences of the word in Pali are in the list of lucky objects presented by Asoka to Devānaṃpiya (1) at *Dps.* xi, 32-3 :—

Gaṅgodakam ca bhīṅkāram saṅkham ca sivikena ca ||
Nandiyāvattam vaddhamānam rājābhiseke pesitā |

(2) and at *Mhvs.* xi, 30-1 :—

Anotattodakājam ca Gaṅgāsahilam eva ca |
saṅkham ca nandiyāvattam vaddhamānam kumārikam ||
Hemabhājanabhaṇḍam ca sivikam ca mahāraham |

Compare with these the list of lucky objects seen or touched by Yudhiṣṭhira, which include at *MBh.* vii, 2930, *svastikān vardhamānāms ca nandyāvartāms ca kāñcanān* and of the lucky figures seen by **Sujātā** in the milk, *Lalitavistara* (ed. Lefmann), ch. 18, p. 268, *śrīvatsasvastikanandyāvartavardhamānādīni māṅgalyāni* ; the juxtaposition in all these cases seems to suggest some resemblance between *svastika*, *nandyāvarta*, whose full form consists of four *svastikas*, and

vardhamāna. The meaning of *kumārikā* in the *Mhvs.* passage is doubtful, though certainly not "maiden". The natural course is to suppose a corruption and to amend to *suvaṭṭhikā*, whose omission in both passages is curious. Alternatively *PWK.* gives *kumārikā* and *kumārī* in the sense of "small flagstaff" set up by Indra's banner at his feast. Again *KA.* ii, 3, 39, has *kumārīpura*, some sort of a room in the wall of a fort, and *ib.*, ii, 31, 2, describes the elephant stables as having *kumārīsaṅgraha*, where the commentator glosses *kumārī* with *tulā*, which is far from clear.¹ The sense of "small sacred flagstaff" would suit both these passages as well as the *Mhvs.*

The earliest occurrence, which raises several problems, is in the description of the marks on the Buddha's feet at *Bu.* 1, 37, *cakkalakkhaṇam . . . dhajavajirapatākam vaddhamānāṅkusāvitaṃ*; *āvita* is glossed in the commentary by *alaṃkataṃ parivāritaṃ* and, if not a mistake for *ācita* or *aṅkita*, is a very unusual form for Skr. *āvṛta* usually represented in Pali by *āvṛṭa*. The *dhaja*, *patākā* and *vaddhamāna* figure among the marks on the Buddha's feet described from late sources by Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 622 ff., and the *aṅkusa* is to be found among a series of lucky emblems at Sanchi (Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. xxxix, figs. 15 and 16, symbol marked *m*), in a similar series at Junagadh (Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawar and Kacch*, pl. xviii, 3) and among the markings on the hands of statues at *Pratimāmānalakṣaṇa* 54 (Punjab Oriental Series, No. 18, text wrongly *aṅkura*, but see notes and translation).² The Sanchi sculptures depict the Buddha's feet with the mark

¹ The explanation is perhaps that given in *AR.*, *tulā grhāṇām dārubandhakāṣṭhe*. This is the sense accepted by J. J. Meyer in his translation, p. 217, n. 2; *tulā* properly is an upright used to support a crosspiece, as in a pair of scales or the swing lever (above, p. 586), or in *tulāvā* (Grierson, § 167, etc.).

² For the *dhvaja*, *patākā*, and *aṅkusa* the original idea was perhaps that only kings used them and would have their hands marked by them, as is recorded of Duryodhana at *MBh.*, v, 4226.

of a wheel, and nothing else, on them.¹ But the remains at Amaravati have Buddha's feet (cf. British Museum, pieces No. 43 and 57, and Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati*, p. 98, fig. 30, and pl. lii, fig. 6 and 8, and pl. liii, fig. 1) with wheels, svastikas, lotuses, what seem to be *vajras* and two unidentified symbols, namely a *triśūla*(?) over a wheel, which Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 627) conjectured to represent the *vardhamāna*, and a curious figure more or less oblong in shape with a pointed top flanked by two rolls or cusps, a similar roll on each side and a rounded bottom. The Sanchi gateways had the latter figure enclosed in the arms of the *triśūla* of the former one placed on the top of each pillar, and it is also to be found there in the collection of lucky ornaments already referred to (marked *c* in Maisey's figure). It also appears at the side of Khāravēla's inscription referred to above, p. 580. I do not know of its occurrence elsewhere, but this evidence is sufficient to show the veneration it enjoyed among Buddhists.

It would seem probable that one of these two symbols is the *vardhamāna*; the question is which. It seems unlikely that it could be the *triśūla* and wheel; for that pattern could not easily be used for the various purposes already mentioned; it has no connection with the *svastika* and *nandyāvarta* and I do not see how the Jain lucky figure could have developed out of it. Now the *AR.* quotes various meanings for *vaddhamānaya*, including a statement attributed to some that it is a *svastikapāñcaka*; no definite authority is given but, if we could rely on it, it would perhaps enable us to identify the other figure with the *vardhamāna*. The pointed top and the four rolls would each represent a *svastika*, rather as in the shortened form of the *nandyāvarta*, and the general shape is not unlike that of the Jain lucky figure. Moreover the rounded bottom would, if the figure were

¹ The statements about the Sanchi and Amaravati sculptures here and under *kubbara* above have been verified as far as possible by reference to such photographs as are available at the India Office.

made the ground plan of a house, seem to indicate a building with no door on the south side. The evidence is inconclusive but justifies the identification provisionally.

The *Buddhavaṃsa* is generally agreed to be a late work (Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, ii, p. 131) and the comparison of this passage from it with the Sanchi and Amaravati sculptures leads us to infer that it is not earlier than the Amaravati stūpas and may well be later, say the second or third centuries A.D. This is corroborated by the language and style which are closely allied to those of the *Dīpavaṃsa*, and it is a result of some importance if we can suggest an approximate date for a work which the Ceylon Buddhists consider canonical.

Vardhamāna was explained by Kern (*Histoire du Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1903, ii, p. 209), who accepted Burnouf's conjecture without discussion, as indicating the crescent moon which might be represented by the *triśūla*. Having regard to the analogy of *svastika* and *nandyāvarta*, however, I imagine it to mean merely "lucky", "prosperity-bringing", the root *vr̥dh* being regularly used in salutations of congratulation on good fortune (*diṣṭyā vardhase* and the like).

A New Factor in the Problem of Sumerian Origins

By S. LANGDON

THIS year M. L. Ch. Watelin, director of excavations for the Oxford Field Museum Expedition at Kish, has found another seal of the early Indus Valley civilization at plain level, 9 metres below the surface of the soil. According to our stratifications at this site, the object should be pre-Sargonic, but it was found with a stone pommel bearing an inscription clearly not earlier than Sargon of Agade. Both objects, therefore, may have fallen from above.

It is wholly impossible to explain the presence of this ancient Indian script on a press seal of 2800 B.C., unless it be admitted that the script was known in this period. The Indus seal found by Mackay lay below the pavement of Samsu-iluna,¹ and one found at Susa is clearly pre-Sargonic, judging from the Elamitic-Sumerian animal file *motif* on it. In other words, native Indian seals with the characteristic bull with head over an undefined object occur in the age immediately before Sargon; the script was known in Sumer in the early period only, and remains absolutely unchanged. Now several hundred of these seals have been excavated at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, in the Indus Valley, and they also show no evolution in epigraphy, although found at different levels. This is not the place to discuss the still unpublished results of studies on the Indus Valley script. The signs on the press seal occur with great frequency on the Indian seals.

But all this raises the question as to whether the Sumerians are not really the Indus Valley people themselves. If the pictographic script as found at Jemdet Nasr, Kish, and other early sites is not of Sumerian origin (although it is apparently

¹ *JRAS.* 1925, p. 697.

always used to write the Sumerian language), then the Sumerians themselves may have introduced this Indian script into Mesopotamia and at a time when some other civilization had been long established there. Let us admit for the moment that this is true, then how can the difficult problem about the sudden abandonment of the small rectangular brick in favour of the clumsy plano-convex brick be explained? The people of the advanced culture of painted ware and pictographic writing used the rectangular brick. So did also the prehistoric people of the Indus Valley. The same painted ware was made in India as in Mesopotamia in the early period of the rectangular brick. All this early and brilliant civilization suddenly disappears throughout the whole of Mesopotamia. It is succeeded by a civilization soon after 3500 B.C. which introduced the plano-convex brick, and this type of brick is used for over a millennium, through over 25 feet of debris at Kish, and by a people who were undoubtedly Sumerians. The problem is again complicated by the inlay friezes of the plano-convex palace at mound A at Kish. See my *Excavations at Kish*, vol. i, plates xxxvi-xxxix. These figures of triumphant kings, of bound prisoners, all have the "pig-tail" tonsure, and a form of dress totally unlike anything known as Sumerian or Semitic. This palace belongs to the age of the buildings found by Watelin at Hursagkalamma in deep levels, almost on water level. Who are these strange masters of the land at the time of the introduction of the plano-convex brick? A people capable of making the fine inlay found with these figures. Assuming the Sumerians to have come from India, it follows that they introduced the rectangular brick of the painted ware period, and were the first people to build brick walls in Mesopotamia, at least in the Kish area. Then it follows that the Jemdet Nasr civilization is the original Sumerian civilization, and came from India, bringing a script which they almost entirely abandoned in favour of one found already in the land, the so-called Sumerian pictographic script, of which I gave a sign list in *OECT.* vii. This early

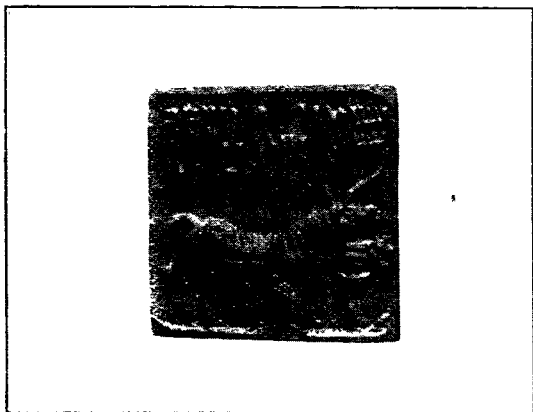
Sumerian culture, on this theory, was destroyed by another invasion and another civilization, or by the recrudence of the indigenous civilization which introduced the plano-

A.



A press seal found at the temple site, Hursagkalamma, Kish, at plain level. Trench C 9.

B.



convex brick, human sacrifice in the burial of distinguished dead, and continued the use of the pictographic script now gradually becoming cuneiform, and the Sumerian language.

All these hypotheses may be the very opposite of the truth.

It is possible to assume that the Sumerians are the people who introduced the plano-convex brick, that the painted ware civilization came from India and found the Sumerian people in the land, the real inventors of the pictographic script, as seems most probable. And still the strange "pig-tail" people of the palace confronts us and demands an explanation. Also the problem arises as to why Sumerians, for a time submerged in the higher civilization of India, abandoned the useful rectangular brick in favour of the clumsy plano-convex.

All this new material calls for explanation, and there is none, none at present. Early Mesopotamian racial and cultural origins are at present in a hopelessly obscure tangle. There is also the mathematical factor in the problem. The pictographic script has a trace of the pure decimal system in its mixture of the decimal and sexigesimal system. Apparently the Indian script has a decimal system, but this is uncertain. The Sumerian system is by origin undoubtedly sexigesimal. Until more definite and explainable facts are available I, for my part, can see no advantage in constructing any far-reaching theories on the origins of civilization. Facts and facts only must be published until some reasonable and defensible history can be based upon them.

Photo A is taken directly from the seal. Photo B is from the impression which has the text in its proper order. Taking the order of signs on B and reading from right to left, as I have read all the Indus Valley inscriptions in chapter xxiii of *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, edited by Sir John Marshall, the last sign on the left is the one constantly occurring at the end of a great number of the texts, certainly an inflection or a post fixed determinative. Numbering the signs right to left, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, they are in my list: 1 = 16, 2 = 220; 3 = accent H added to No. 220; 4 = 266 (three perpendicular strokes); 5 = 175 (fish sign); 6 = 6; 7 = 96 (similar to Sabæan Hhā); 8 = 87.

Two Notes on Indian Head-dress

By C. L. FÁBRI, Ph.D., Leyden

THE importance of the history of costumes and fashions cannot be emphasized enough. Concerning India practically nothing has been published in this line, barring some discussions on the costumes of the Mughal period. A thorough examination of small details would possibly yield very valuable results, and the following two brief notes may be considered as a modest contribution to such a study of Indian head-dress.

I. THE HAIR CURL OF A PRINCESS AT BĀMIYĀN

In their precious volume on the Buddhist antiquities of Bāmiyān,¹ the members of the French mission in Afghānistān, Mme. and Mons. Godard and Mons. Hackin, point out with great knowledge of the artistic products of Īrān, Tūrān, and India, the affinities of the Bāmiyān frescoes with those of the surrounding territories. It becomes quite evident, after reading their discussions, that the wall paintings of Bāmiyān represent a mixture of Indian, Īrānian, and Central Asian elements.

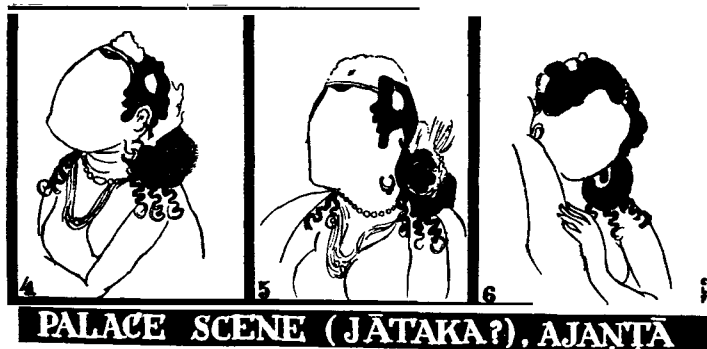
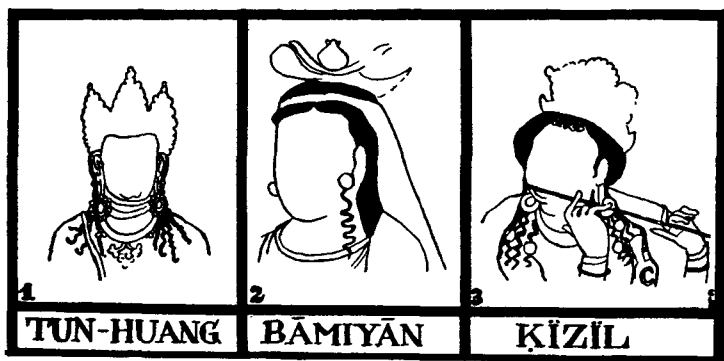
In their plate xxiii, fig. b, 10, we see what the authors call a princess, whose head-dress "se termine par des mèches frisées, particularité que nous retrouvons très fréquemment en Asie Centrale" (p. 24). From this I understand that the authors consider the curl of hair combed in this manner a special peculiarity of Central Asian art.

It is quite true that this kind of hair press is very common in Central Asia, especially in Kučean paintings. I have even found some instances in Farther Serindia, in Tun Huang. To make a comparison easy I publish here a drawing of these. Fig. 1 is a copy from plate lxxxvii of *Serindia*, vol. iii, by Sir

al

¹ *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, Paris, Van Oest, 1928.

Aurel Stein ; Fig. 2 is the "Princess" of Bāmiyān ; Fig. 3 is from Professor Grünwedel's *Alt Kutscha*, plates iii-iv, 1. It is evident that there is much in common in the coiffures of these three figures. It would, however, be utterly wrong to consider this kind of hair locks as a fashion peculiar only to Central Asia.

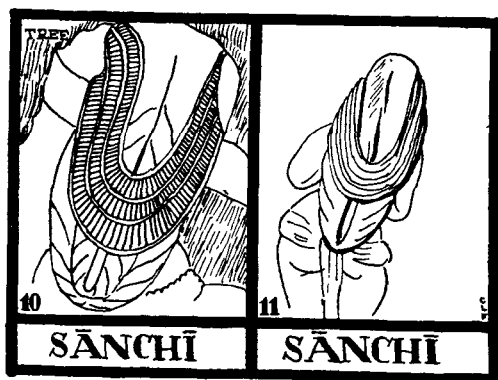
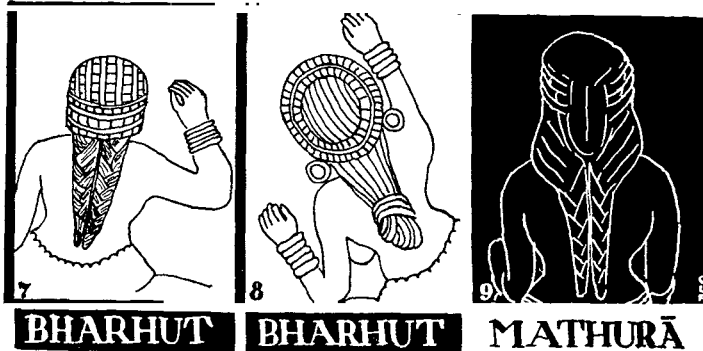


In another drawing we illustrate the fact that the same manner of dressing the hair was in use in India too. Figs. 4, 5, and 6 are from a mural painting of Ajanta, copied from a new colour photograph. They show exactly the same kind of curls. Moreover, we must add that they are not the only instances of this hair fashion ; the Ajanta Album of the India Society bears ample evidence that this was the usual common fashion in the fifth to the sixth century A.D. In one of the plates

there are not less than eight ladies with these curled locks on the shoulders. Even men are seen with the same hair curls.

II. HEAD-DRESS OF WOMEN IN EARLY INDIA

There seems to be a distinct development of the female head-dress from Bharhut to Sānchī. As the dates of these two monuments are fairly well established, this difference is very important.



In Bharhut two long plaits of hair hang down on the back, while a turban or a kerchief (?) covers the upper part of the head. The plaits either (1) hang separately and singly, as in Fig. 7, or (2) are united in a simple knot, as in our Fig. 8.¹

¹ Cunningham, *Bharhut*, plates xv, xxx. Cf. also xxviii, xxxi, xl.

In Sānchī, however, the female head-dress has a quite different form. The two plaits are united at their ends, and a garland always hangs in *oval* shape from the back of the head,¹ as shown in Figs. 10 and 11. The kerchief is often joined on the top of the head or somewhat sideways in a kind of knot.²

How useful such a distinction may be when fixing the date of a sculpture may best be proved by looking at Fig. 9. This drawing is a detail of a terra-cotta fragment of a "Mother and Child" type which has been given to me by Imre Schwaiger, Esq.,³ who informed me that he acquired it in Mathurā. A comparison with what has been said above will suffice to establish fairly definitely the date of this terra-cotta. Undoubtedly it must be older than Sānchī (later pieces are still more elaborate), and may be of about the same date as the Bharhut sculptures. It being a small terra-cotta figurine, the technique of the material is, of course, somewhat cruder than that of the stone. But other indications (form of "bead-girdle", etc.) corroborate the identification and show the value of the history of fashions.

Another instance of the value of this distinction is very important, as it enables us to fix the date of Caves IX and X of Ajaṇṭā more accurately than has formerly been done. The general ascription is "about first or second century B.C.", but Dr. Coomaraswamy dated the two caves as "about 175 B.C." Plate lvii of V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*,⁴ as well as the few plates of Griffith,

¹ Fig. 10 is from the British Museum *yakṣiṇī*, and 11 after Maisey, *Sānchī*, pl. xxiv. No better photograph was at my disposal.

² Maisey, pl. xiv.

³ I have already drawn attention to the valuable collection of Mr. Schwaiger, London, in my paper "A Græco-Buddhist Sculpture representing the Buddha's Descent from the Heaven of the thirty-three Gods", in *Acta Orientalia*, vol. viii, 1930, p. 291, note 2. A discussion of the hair in many small spiral curls will be found in my paper to be published in the *Études d'orientalisme Linossier*, Paris.

⁴ In the new edition (1930) unnumbered fig. on p. 103. Cf. also: *Archl. Survey of West. India*, No. 10, plate facing p. 67.

furnishes us with reliable, if not ample, material, to correct this date to "*about 50 B.C.*" The head-dress of the ladies shows unmistakable similarity to that of the Sānchī *torāṇa* figures, and is quite different to the earlier Bharhut forms. We intend to publish a study of several of the Ajāṇṭā coiffures, in which paper a more detailed discussion will follow.

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Where the Rainbow ends

(AN INTRODUCTION TO THE DRAGON TERRESTRIAL
AND THE DRAGON CELESTIAL)

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE V.)

1. Among the less common Chinese decorative or symbolic themes is one whose norm may reasonably be regarded as a semi-circle terminating at each end in an animal's head. But arcs of the circle both less and more than the half are perhaps more frequent, and the curvature is likewise bent, as the applicational needs demand, into other modes of arch or loop. Instances of penannular bracelets and torques in other lands are perhaps also derivatives when their terminals are thus enriched.

This decorative theme is sometimes found also in Siberia, on the shores of the Bosphorus, and in S. Russia.¹ What was its primitive meaning? What did it symbolize?


2. There is in the Chinese written language a character 虹, standing for a word pronounced usually *hung*, and meaning Rainbow. It is, *mutatis mutandis*, written in the same way in the Lesser Seal, and falls under the Phonetic Compound group, having 工 *kung* for the sound, and 虫 *ch'ung* "creeping thing" for its Determinative or "Radical". That seems a simple enough matter certainly, and 出了虹 *ch'u liao hung* is the ordinary expression in Chinese for "There is a Rainbow". Let us leave it there for the moment, remarking merely on the odd inappropriateness of applying the Deter-

¹ See Laufer, *Jade*, p. 200, in "Girdle Pendants"; pp. 186-7, in "Jade Images", 璫 *lung*. Rostortzeff, *Animal Style in S. Russia and China*, plate xviii, fig. 1, in "Gold Torque from Siberia": Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 411, fig. 298, in "Gold and Chalcedony gem and Carnelian"; p. 64, in "Golden Bracelet, from the Golubinskaja Stanitz". Pelliot, *Jades archaïques de Chine*, plate xviii, figs. 1-3, "Segment de cercle se terminant à chaque extrémité par une tête de dragon." Dalton, *Treasure of the Oxus*; numerous examples of armlets with animals' heads, but all are penannular.

minative for snakes or other creeping things to a phenomenon of such rare loveliness of form and colour as the Rainbow. What could have been the reason for this rather parasitic augment?

3. This same word, *hung* 虹, forms part of the phrase 宛虹 *yüan hung* "curving rainbow" used metaphorically in a verse of the poet Ssü-ma Hsiang-ju (died 117 B.C.) to describe a Dragon. This figure of speech is cited by Kanghsi from the 字彙補 *tzü hui pu*, or *Supplement to the Tzû Hui*, which briefly defines it as 龍也 *lung yeh*, a Dragon. Again, how came the Chinese Poet to choose the Rainbow to connote a Dragon?

4. In what follows I advance a conjectural answer to the three questions put above. It is a conjecture that could not have been framed before the discovery of the Honan Find in 1899, and the partial publication of the results by Lo Chên-yü and others since then.



Among the most striking of the new archaic characters revealed on the exhumed miniatures and bone fragments, is that illustrated below. Three examples (possibly four) are published by Lo Chên-yü,¹ and, as usual, have been beautifully reproduced by Takada in his *Ku Chou P'ien*.² The original of this Figure is selected partly because it is unusually large and clearly cut, and partly because of the nature of the text of which it forms part, and which I venture to claim supports my conjecture as to its identity as well as the symbolism of its design. Here then is the Figure in question, .

What should we see in this simple but striking image? We should, I now feel sure, discern a Rainbow terminating in two animal heads. But of what animal? Certainly of the Dragon, must be the answer. For the design of the character

¹ One, from which my figure is copied, is on p. 4 of Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tsing Hua*; one from his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. vii, p. 7; and one from *ibid.*, p. 43.

See ch. xi, p. 21.

is, in the main, naturalistic, in so far as it is clearly modelled on the semi-circular Bow in the sky, but symbolic through the addition of two heads, for where the Rainbow ends, there the Dragon begins !

And that these animal heads are those of the Dragon will hardly be disputed if they are compared with the head of one of the contracted archaic forms of 龍 *lung* cited by Lo Chên-yü in his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih* (pp. 38-9), where in  he expressly states that  is the head, misunderstood and misdescribed by the author of the *Shuo Wen* as 肉 *jou* "flesh".

Still, my imaginary obstinate and sceptical critic may object, what reason is there for associating the Chinese Dragon with the Chinese, or any other, Rainbow ? I might reply to this in the alleged Scots manner, by another question, Why has the ordinary character for Rainbow, 虹 *hung*, been written with the Determinative 虫 *ch'ung* for reptiles and insects ? However, the argument could not of course stop there, and the following considerations are those that, when reinforced by the curious text inscribed on a large shoulder-blade, perhaps that of an ox, reproduced on Plate V, and published in Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tsing Hua*, p. 4, led me to the conclusion expressed in paragraph 4 above.

Now every schoolmaster knows that in China when drought afflicts the land, the Dragon is besought to send down the needful rain, and in due course does so. And Schlegel¹ figures an asterism of seventeen stars, known as the Chariot, 軒轅 *hsien yüan*, which the author of the 星經 *Hsing ching*, or Book of the Stars, says is "in form like a mounting Dragon", 形如騰龍, and shows indeed a markedly zigzag course. And as de Visser writes, p. 111, "ascending dragons cause rain." But this brings us to another atmospheric portent, the Chinese explanation of which is probably less familiar, I mean the Rainbow.

¹ *Uranographie Chinoise*, vol. i, p. 453.

It is the belief of the Chinese that the appearance of the Rainbow is at once the herald and the cause of the cessation of rain and the return of clear skies. This is no doubt much more accordant with the regular seasons of the Far Eastern mainland than with the jazzy meteorology of our own climate. Hence the saying quoted in Giles' Dictionary (under the word 虹 *hung*), 不霁何虹 *pu chi ho hung*, "How can you have a rainbow without a clearing sky?"

Now, if by his own volition, when mounting to the upper air, the Dragon could beget the rolling thunder and the drenching rain-storm, how should he not be able also, in descending, to cause the rain to cease, and the face of the blue sky to clear?

And that is why I conjecture and suggest that the early Chinese must have seen in the Rainbow one avatar of the wonder-working Dragon as conceived by their animistic mentality. That would likewise explain why to the arching bow seen with their bodily eyes they added the Dragon heads beheld only by the eye of faith.

This would equally give the necessary point to the Chinese Poet's figure of speech when he described a Dragon allusively as a "curving rainbow", 宛虹 *yüan hung*.

Further, it is part and parcel of my thesis that before the Lesser Seal character existed, the latter being, as stated in the *Shuo Wen*, a Phonetic compound, there had been current an earlier and pictographic form, which I believe I have identified in the hitherto unknown character, the problem of this paper. As in hundreds of other instances, awkward or too elaborate pictures were discarded, and a new synthesis introduced, consisting of a Determinative (Karlgren's "Signific", or "Radical" in the old and misleading terminology), and some character that was homophonic. And thus when, in the case of *hung* the Rainbow, this drastic reform was effected, the reformers with a certain reminiscent piety conceded to the neologism the character 虫 *ch'ung*, "reptile" or "insect", vice the Dragon figure deposed.

Before appending a modern Chinese transcription, and the English rendering of the inscription reproduced on the Plate, I must not fail to bring to the reader's notice the very different view held by the learned Japanese scholar, Tadasuke Takada, of my conjectured Rainbow character (*Ku Chou P'ien*, ch. XI, p. 21).

Under the character 錠 *ting* he cites one of the three examples of the form under discussion,¹ and uses the words, 別亦一字, "another different scription" of 錠 *ting*. Takada first gives a transcription in modern Chinese of fifteen characters of the inscription (to some of these I cannot subscribe), among which is a design that the student should note does not correspond, nor can the author intend that it should, with the original form on the scapula, nor to any modern character at all, but represents Takada's reconstruction of an archaic heater or kettle. To this transcription he adds the following note :—

"The text before this is defective and cannot be deciphered. But on scrutiny of the archaic character, the element 𪚩 rather resembles a modified form of 龍 *lung* 'Dragon', with the right and left ends connected, and making one single figure (以爲一文), which is certainly a separate character. Hence I conclude as follows: The *Pê Ku T'u* contains a vessel described as a 錠 *ting*, and the *Hsi Ch'ing Ku Chien* has one likewise.² The shape of it is thus—



resembling a 鼎 *ting* with three feet; above is an independent kind of shape³; the inscription on the vessel in the *Pê Ku* runs 'The bronze rainbow lamp heater of Mr. Wang' (王氏銅虹燭錠), where the 虹 *hung* 'rainbow' refers to the loop, 𪚩, while the word 'lamp' does not convey the archaic significance." After discussing the terms *ting* and

¹ The original is in Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, ch. vii, p. 43.

² See the latter work, ch. xxx, p. 27, and the former, ch. xviii, p. 41.

³ Which, however, does not appear in P. K. T.'s illustration, though it seems to be necessary. The vessel is there ascribed to the Han era.

têng for four columns in which we need not follow him, he concludes by saying, "In view of these facts, (we see that) this character (viz. the one found on the Honan Bones, which I am arguing is the ancient character for Rainbow), is the original character for *hung ting* 虹錠, a rainbow-heater," for which, he adds, a homophone, 錠 *ting*, with a different meaning, was afterwards substituted.

On the next page Takada reproduces the example shown in my Plate, and finding the text difficult to reconcile with his view of the character, dismisses it on the strength no doubt of the previous word 出 *ch'u* "to come out", as 地名也 *ti ming yeh* "name of a locality". Mr. Takada is not the only student of old and troublesome texts who flies to such "localities" as a refuge of the destitute. Most of us have been there!

It is obvious that Takada's view and mine are irreconcilable.

It will also be apparent on reflexion that the value of my foregoing thesis hinges on the rightness or the error in my identification of the archaic character under discussion with the long current but more recent compound 虹 *hung*. That identification itself must be justified, or else ultimately disproved, by the nature of the texts in which the character appears. I have accordingly selected the longest of the three available, which is virtually complete, for photographic reproduction on Plate V, have added what I believe to be an approximately correct transcription in modern Chinese, and an English rendering to the best of my powers, for even an imperfect translation cannot fail to disclose the general nature of the inscription.

But at this point it is right to admit that a quite different and highly sophisticated explanation of the Rainbow and other atmospheric effects had been propounded by the scholars of later ages. Under their systems the Rainbow had to adapt itself to the schematic symmetries of Chinese ontological speculation. It was, they declared, one of the results flowing from the struggle of the Dual Forces, the Yin and the Yang,

that was fought out at the Summer Solstice, and in particular was the visible expression of their sexual excesses (淫爲虹霓, *yin wei hung i*, the *hung* being the primary and male, the *i*, the secondary and female Rainbow).¹ But these were the elaborations, if not the refinements, of a later period, of a more studious temperament, of a more accomplished philosophy. Under the Shang Dynasty in the Second Millennium B.C., men were of simpler minds and held more childlike views, not much unlike perhaps Pope's "poor Indian whose untutored mind, Sees God in clouds or hears him in the wind". We have to do with a mentality that inferred from the display of every natural force the causation of some conscious and superhuman energy.

Transcription in modern Chinese of inscription on Plate V.

(Columns and the number of characters in each are as in the original)

Col. 3.	Col. 2.	Col. 1.
士 shih	格 kê	王 wang
出 ch'u	雲 yün	占 chan
虹 hung	自 tzü	曰 yüeh
自 tzü	東 tung	士 shih
北 pei	宦 huan	求 ch'iu
𠄎	母 mu	八 pa
于 yü	昃 tsê	日 jih
妣 pi	夜 yeh	庚 kêng
乙 i		戌 hsü
		士 shih

Tentative translation of archaic Chinese inscription on Plate

"The Royal interpretation of the omen says, (𠄎) Having scrutinized and offered prayers. On the 8th day, Kêng hsü, (𠄎) discovered that there arrived clouds from the East, the Lady of the Bedchamber towards evening (𠄎) discovered a Rainbow that appeared from the North, (and ? the King) offered a libation to (his) late Mother I."

¹ See the whole passage, cited in Schlegel's *Uranographie Chinoise*, vol. i, pp. 455-6.

Notes

王占曰 *Wang chan yueh*. This formula constantly occurs on the Honan relics.

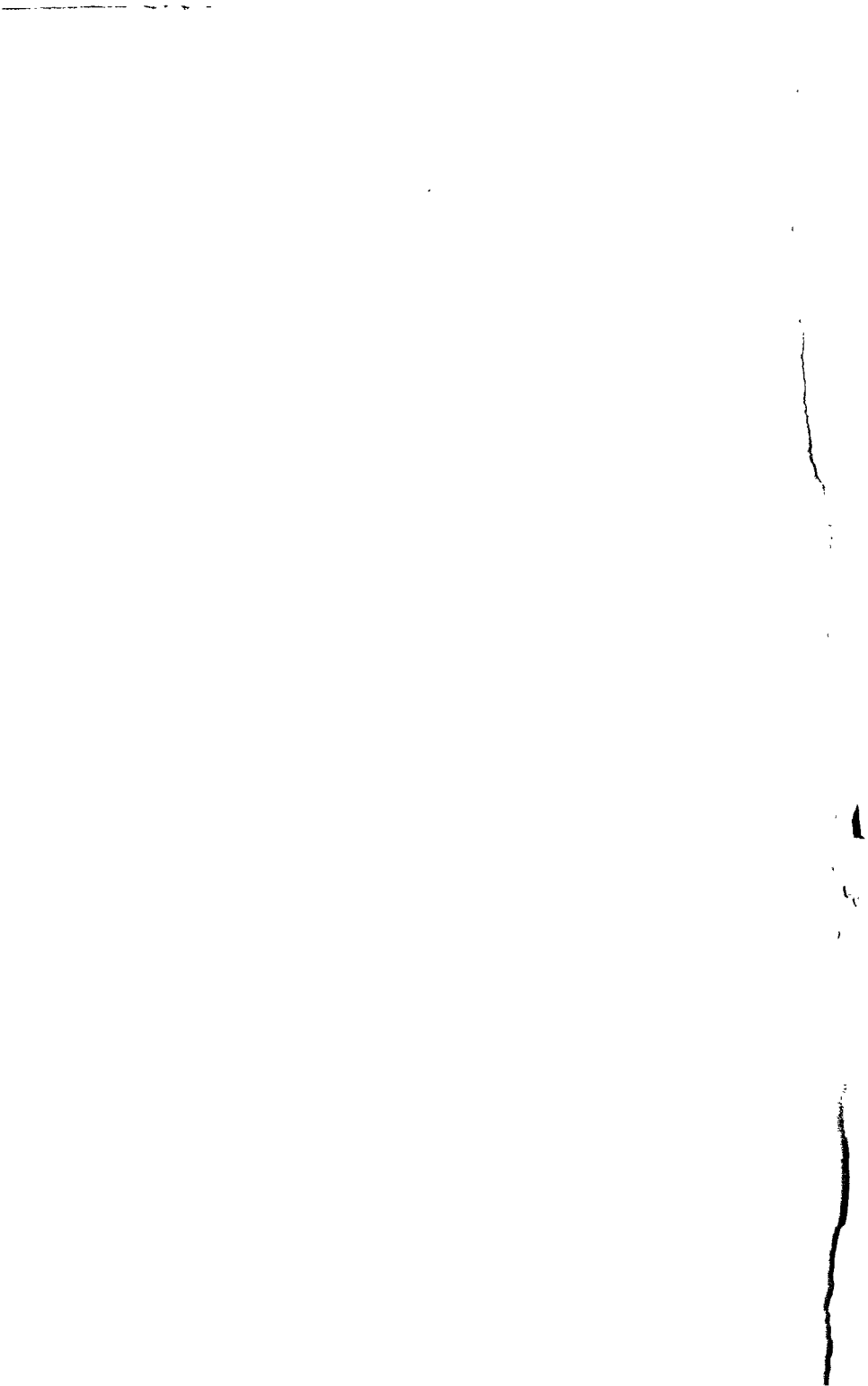
𠄎 = 之 *chih*, according to both the Chinese and Japanese authorities on these inscriptions. I regret I am not able to accept that view, despite the weight of their authority. I may explain why. In the first place, Lo Chên-yü, in his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, under the character 之 *chih*, p. 57, gives only 𠄎 as the Honan Find form, not 𠄎. Yet in the latter part of the volume, where he transcribes a large number of bone inscriptions into modern Chinese, he inconsistently renders 𠄎 by 之 *chih*, especially in the common 𠄎于 * *. See for instance p. 80, column 6, and very many others, where he understands 之 in its old sense of "going". Strictly, in form, the modern version is 𠄎, not found alone, but appearing in a few compounds, e.g. in 告 *kao*, "to announce" or "to ask for". But again 𠄎 might easily have become 士 *shih*, indeed it has done so in such compounds as 志 *chih*, under which Kanghsi inserts "古文𠄎", *ku wên chih*, "ancient form" as the third character. Now few competent scholars probably will desire to deny or be able to doubt Karlgren's statement,¹ in reference to 仕 *shih*, "Etymology same word as last [士 *shih*]; character enlarged by 人" (man). And as one sense of 仕 *shih*, Kanghsi gives 察 *ch'a*, to scrutinize, to find out. The argument is not, of course, conclusive as to the true identity of 𠄎, but it seems to be justified as a working hypothesis, while if we read 之 *chih*, to go, I do not see how an intelligible rendering of the text can be made.

"On the 8th day, *Kêng hsü*." The eighth day was presumably the eighth day of the current denary cycle, and as these Bone records show, the usual date for inquiry as to matters to occur during any of the ten-day cycles, was the last day of the preceding one, which in this case would have been the day 癸卯 *kuei mao*.

¹ *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, p. 259, No. 877.



WHERE THE RAINBOW ENDS.
Shoulderblade inscribed in archaic Chinese characters



"There arrived clouds from the East." Following stringently the face value of these first two archaic characters, we should get 各 云 *kê yün* "each says". But they here stand for the words now written 格 雲 *kê yün* "arrive clouds". A comparable sentence occurs in Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. vii, p. 26, where the modern text would be 格 雲 自 北 *kê yün tzu pei* "there arrived clouds from the North", but the first character is there written as 各 *kê* augmented by 女 *nü*, woman, a word not included in Kanghsi. Neither Lo, Wang Hsiang, or Takada have noted that 云 (viz. 𠄎 on the Bones) is the archaic form of 雲 *yün* "clouds".

"Lady of the Bedchamber" 宦 母. For the first character, see also Wang Hsiang in *Fu Shih Yin Ch'i Lei Tsuan*, vol. i, p. 6, and p. 36. Takada treats it as the old form of a rare character, composed of 穴 *hsüeh* "cave" above 目 *mu* "eye", and read *yao* "sunken eyes". On the whole I prefer the former, 宦. A very similar expression 宦 女 *huan nü* occurs in the *Tso Chuan*. (See Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol. v, part i, p. 172.)

晷 夜 *tsê yeh* "Towards evening". The second character in the original is in form 亦 *i* "also", here and elsewhere on these relics written for its then homophone 夜 *yeh* "night". Neither Lo nor Wang Hsiang have remarked on this fact. Takada, though he cites one instance of 亦 *i* with this value from a Bronze, under the character 夜 *yeh*, gives none from the Bones there, but he recognizes the fact when he quotes (ch. xlvii, p. 4) part of the very inscription we are considering.

"A Rainbow that appeared from the North." It will surely be allowed that it is a strange coincidence that two out of the only three known inscriptions containing the character I have ventured to claim as the archaic form of 虹 *hung* "Rainbow" should exhibit the same sequence of the four crucial words in both. But so it is. A fragment, unfortunately very imperfect, shown in Lo's *Y.H.S.K.*, ch. vii, p. 43, has 出 虹 自 *ch'u hung tzu*, then comes a fracture, and on the

right in another column the legend continues with 于 妣 乙 *yü pi i* "to (his) late Mother I", as in the inscription under consideration. Moreover, the broken fragment shows the remains of the character "clouds", and the expression "towards evening". It is plain that in both cases we have to do with a forecast of the weather, and that an evening Rainbow counted for much in the science of the meteorological diviners.

"Offered a libation to (his) late Mother I." It will be noticed that in the third column the sixth character from the top has been left without a modern equivalent. The context, especially the three words that follow, make it practically certain that whatever was the sound of the syllable involved, the sense must be more or less as rendered above. Takada, in his *Ku Chou P'ien* (ch. lxxvi, p. 35), has conjectured the modern (but very rare) equivalent to be a character pronounced *lan*, and written with the determinative 酉 *yu* "spirituous liquors", and 監 *chien* (*kam* in Cantonese), "as the phonetic," according to the *Shuo Wen*. ["There was an archaic *kl-* or *gl-* somewhere in this group," writes Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, p. 132.] Takada *may* be right about this, though a fairly plausible case might also be made for 酌 *cho* "to pour out spirits".

The last two characters 妣 乙, which to one unfamiliar with the tricks of the Shang Dynasty scribes, appear to be one, are examples of what Chinese epigraphists call 合文 *ho wên*, or "conjoint characters".

The Plate is reduced from the original figure of about 11 inches in height.

Varuṇa, god of the sea and the sky

By JEAN PRZYLUŠKI

IN a previous article ¹ I have connected Sanskrit and Pali *bharu* "sea" and Pali *maru* "desert", "sand-desert", and have shown that these words were probably borrowed by Indo-Aryan from one or several non-Aryan languages. Malay *baroh* denotes "low-lying country", "sea-shore", "sea". The dialects of the Malay Peninsula have *baruh* "plain", "flatland", *baruk*, *barok* "shore", and *bāruh* "sea". Sometimes the initial is reduced. In Bahnar *ār* denotes "marsh", "swampy district", or "low-lying damp terrain near to watercourses".² Annamite has preserved the initial, but the final liquid has become *i*: **bar* > *bai* "coast", "shore", "strand".

Since in Indo-Aryan we find two corresponding forms, *bharu* and *maru*, it is tempting to join with them Sanskrit *maryā*, *maryādā*, Pali *maryādā* "boundary", "limit", "shore". At first I had been put off by the current opinion, which professes to explain these words by the Indo-European name of the sea, Latin *mare*, Irish *muir*, Gaulish (*arē*-) *morica*, Gothic *marei* and *mari(-saiws)*, Lithuanian *mārės*, Old Slavonic *morje*. But M. Meillet called my attention to the fact that the words *mare*, *muir*, etc., which range from the Italo-Celtic as far as the Old Slavonic, belong to the north-western Indo-European dialect (*Les dialectes indo-européens*, p. 22), and that the presence of the words *maru*, *maryā*, *maryādā* in Indo-Aryan, i.e. in the south-east, continues to give trouble. The hypothesis of a loan from the Austro-Asiatic languages removes all difficulty.

It is true that *maru* and *maryā* have different finals. It seems that this variation should be placed to the account of the vowel-permutations frequent in the Austro-Asiatic

¹ *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, 1930, pp. 196 sqq.

² M. Jules Bloch calls my attention to the fact that with Bahnar *ār*, or, we can connect Bengali *haor* "delta marsh-land".

languages, and that we must posit a single radical with two distinct finals, *maru* and **mari*.

The problem is further amplified if we pursue the inquiry on to the Semitic domain. After reading the article summarized above Father Paul Jouön was so good as to communicate to me the following observations:—" *Bharu* recalls to a Semitist the well-known Arabic word *baḥr* 'sea' (and also 'large river', like the Nile, always called *baḥr* by the natives). Th. Nöldeke (*Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, 1910, p. 93) gives as the primary sense 'depression' (rather than 'surface'; cf. *aequor*); whence (1) 'sea', (2) 'land', 'low-lying land', etc. A feminine form *baḥret* has the sense of 'pool', 'basin', 'fish-pond', and also 'land', 'country-side'. Between *bharu*, *maru*, and *baḥr* we have, therefore, in addition to the phonetic similarity, a quite curious accord in a double meaning, 'sea,' 'low-lying land,' or the like. Should not the word *baḥr*, which does not belong to the Semitic in general, have the same origin as Sanskrit and Pali *bharu* ? "

In whatever manner *bharu* > *baḥr* made its way into the Semitic domain,¹ we may admit that *bar(u)* is very ancient. In fact, the Austro-Asiatic word has, as frequently happens, an equivalent in Sumerian.² Delitzsch³ cites a root *bar*, to which he assigns the following values: (a) "on the outside," "outside," "without," whence, through extension of the root, *bara* "out", "away"; (b) "free space," "desert," in contrast with human settlements, whence three derivatives, *gu-bar-ra* "free space", "steppe", "desert", *ur-bar-ra* "jackal", *sigga-bar-ra* "wild goat".

The agreement of the Austro-Asiatic languages and the Sumerian entitles us to posit a Palæo-Asiatic radical *bar*. It must have originally designated what lies outside of

¹ M. Marcel Cohen calls my attention to Guèze (Classic Ethiopian) *baḥr* "stretch of water" and Amharic *baraha* "desert".

² On the analogy of Sumerian and Austro-Asiatic words, cf. *BSL.* vol. xxvii, fasc. 3, p. 227; Rivet, *Sumérien et Océanien*.

³ *Sumerisches Glossar*, pp. 64-5.

groupings of human beings, and, consequently, uncultivated lands, wild animals, steppes, deserts, sea-shores, marshes, the sea itself. All these senses are definitely attested in the vocabularies which we have taken into consideration.

In Sumerian the root *bar*, sometimes enlarged to *bara*, does not modify its initial, and it retains a rather general sense. In the Austro-Asiatic languages the radical assumes different shapes, and such and such a word is specialized in a particular sense. To the Austro-Asiatic languages go back probably the loan-words in Semitic and Indo-Aryan. Of these *bharu* and *maru* are attested only rather late and appear mainly in proper names. *Maryādā* alone goes back to the Vedic period, and its meaning, "confines," "limit," is correspondingly near to the original purport of the root (cf. Sumerian *bar*, for which Delitzsch gives, in addition to the above posited sense, also that of "enclosure", "side"). We shall have to examine whether there do not exist in Vedic, in Hittite, in Mitannian, still more ancient loans.

* * * * *

The *Voyage of the Arab Merchant Sulayman in India and China*, composed in 851,¹ after mentioning the mouths of the Indus and the town of Daybul, adds: "It is there that the coast of western India joins the Barûc territory, where are manufactured the lances called *barûcî*." Evidently we must connect with Barûc the ancient name *Bharukaccha*, the *Bapýaζa* of Ptolemy and the modern Broach. The non-Aryan word *bharu*, like its Sanskrit synonym *kaccha*, signifies "low-lying land", "shore", "swamp"; and, in fact, the compound *Bharu-kaccha* designates a region adjoining the sea and the capital of that region.

Bharu(kaccha) and *Maru(bhūmi)* form part of the geographical nomenclature of the *Mahābhārata*.² Analogous terms are found in the *Dig-varṇana* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the related texts. After the *ūrthas* of the Sindhu the "Bengali" recension names Maru and Anumaru, referring probably to

¹ Trans. G. Ferrand, in *Les Classiques de l'Orient*, vol. vii, p. 26.

² *Bull. de la Soc. de Linguistique*, 1930, p. 198.

the deserts near the lower course of the Indus.¹ In the different recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the description of the western regions ends with the mountain Asta "the sun-setting", where is erected the palace of Varuṇa.² This curious indication is in perfect agreement with the "Geographical Catalogue of the Yakṣas in the Mahāmāyūrī" (ed. Sylvain Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, i, pp. 35 sqq.). In verse 17 we read—

Bharuko Bharukaccheṣu . . .

that is to say—

"The Yakṣa Bharuka dwells among the people of
Bharukaccha."

Now one of the two Chinese translators of this catalogue has rendered *Bharuka* by *shoei t'ien* "god of the water", which suggests Varuṇa.

In the Pali *Jātaka*, ii, pp. 169 sq., a king Bharu (we may also understand "king of the sea") reigns in the Bharu country, and his realm is ultimately engulfed in the ocean.

An analogous legend is probably the source of the story of the foundation of Bharukaccha in the *Divyāvadāna*.³ That city is stated to have been founded by Bhīru, one of the two ministers of the king of Rauruka, who had managed to escape in a vessel, when the capital was destroyed. Professor Lüders has recently shown that the ancient site of Rauruka named in the *Divyāvadāna* must be sought not in Turkestan, but in the country of the Sindhu-Sauvīras, that is in the region of the lower Indus.⁴ It appears that the legend of the destruction of Rauruka alludes to the same mythical cataclysm which had overwhelmed the dominions of king Bharu.

Bharu being a non-Aryan name, the legend of King Bharu is probably non-Aryan. Among the foreign princes who

¹ Sylvain Lévi, "Pour l'Histoire du Rāmāyaṇa," *Journal Asiatique*, 1918, i, p. 117.

² Ibid., p. 122.

³ The beginning of *Jātaka* 463 renders it apparent that Bharukaccha was a city of the Bharu kingdom.

⁴ *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan*, pp. 45 sq.

in the *Mahābhārata* bring presents to Yudhiṣṭhira are mentioned (ii, 1830) the Śūdras of Bharukaccha. Everything indicates that we are concerned with a world extraneous to the Brahmanic civilization, and that the traditions relating to the foundation of Bharukaccha by Bhīru sought to explain the non-Aryan origin of the inhabitants.

The facts underlying the brief allusions of the Brahmanic and Buddhist texts may be represented as follows :—The non-Aryan tribes peopling the Indus delta and the neighbouring regions believed that beneath the sea lay the realm of the king of the waters, and that king was revered as a great god. He it is who in the Pali *Jātaka* is called Bharurāja, in the *Mahāmāyūrī* Bharuka, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* Varuṇa. But, whereas the Buddhist tradition situates his realm at the bottom of the waters, and fixes his devotees at Bharukaccha, the compilers of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in whose view the gods necessarily dwell upon a mountain, would have this extraneous Varuṇa enthroned upon the Sunset mountain.

Hence we can better explain certain somewhat embarrassing glosses scattered about in the lexicons. *Uṇādi*, i, 7, would explain the word *bharu* by means of *bhr̥*, and Ujjvaladatta remarks, “*bharati bibharti veti : bharuḥ svāmī.*” The *Siddhānta-kaumudī* adds *Haraś ca*, and the Calcutta edition even gives *Harir Haraś ca* in place of *svāmī Haraś ca*. According to *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa* 46 *Bharu* denotes also Śiva. In Bāṇa’s *Kādambarī* (Introduction, stanza 4) we read—

namāmi Bharvoś caraṇāmbujadvayam.

Mahādeva considers *Bharvoḥ* as a dual form, denoting Hari and Hara.¹ It seems that, after being identified with Varuṇa, the non-Aryan god of the sea had been in later times equated with Śiva or even with the pair Hari-Hara.

Thus we are led to propound the following problem :—Since a non-Aryan god of the sea (*baru|bharu*) has been identified with Varuṇa, cannot the name of the Vedic god be explained as a development of *baru*? Here I may appositely

¹ Cf. H. Lüders, *ibid.*, p. 28.

recall the fact that I have already had to answer an analogous question. While studying not long ago the non-Aryan word *patana* "city", "capital", I was able, with the support of the Sumerian and the Austro-Asiatic languages,¹ to go back to a Palæo-Asiatic root. The difficulty was to explain the final member *-na*. To account for this I brought in the Assyrian form *bitanu*. It seems that for Varuṇa the problem takes the same form. We start with an ancient root *bar* enlarged to *bara* (Sumerian) and *baru* (Austro-Asiatic), and by addition of the same suffix *-na* we get *baruna*, which is close to the Vedic *Varuṇa*.

We may even take a fresh step. So long as *patana* remained isolated, it seemed necessary, in order to explain it, to bring in a Semitic intermediary. But *patana*, *Varuṇa* are the first terms of a series, of which I can say already that in the sequel it will grow. We are therefore at liberty to reason independently of Semitic support and to infer the existence of a suffix *-na* in the Palæo-Asiatic period. In other words, nothing appears to forbid our forming from a Palæo-Asiatic root *baru* a derivative **baruna*. It remains to examine whether that non-Aryan derivative can be the source of the Vedic name *Varuṇa*.

* * * * *

We know that the Boghazköi excavations have yielded two documents in cuneiform writing which go back to the fourteenth century, being two redactions of a treaty concluded between the Hittite king Subbiluliuma and the Mitanni king Mattiwaza. In the copy issued by Mattiwaza the Vedic god is named *Aruna*, whereas in Subbiluliuma's copy the same god is named *Uruwana*.

In a brilliant essay which appeared in 1926² Professor Kretschmer sought to explain these names by starting from the word *aruna*, which in Hittite denotes the sea. Actually in the literature posterior to the *Veda* Varuṇa is the god of

¹ *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, v, pp. 174 sqq.

² "Varuṇa und die Urgeschichte der Inder," *WZKM.*, 1926, pp. 1-22.

the sea, and already in the *Rg-Veda* he is in relation with the waters. So we should have in Varuṇa a god of the sea, named by the Hittites *Aruna* and borrowed by the proto-Indians from the populations of Western Asia. The form *Uruwana*, of the treaty of Subbiluliuma, as well as the Vedic *Varuṇa* would be explained as corruptions due to the play of popular etymology. In *Uruwana* Kretschmer would find the Indo-Aryan *urú*, "broad", "large"; but he is undecided in regard to the constituent *-wana*. In *Varuṇa*, he believes, *ar-* has been replaced by *var-*, which in Indo-Aryan suggests the epithets "broad", "large".

In fine, Professor Kretschmer wishes to connect with Hittite *aruna* "sea", the three names *Varuṇa*, *Aruna*, and *Uruwana*. This method leaves unexplained the enigmatic *Uruwana*. On the other hand, the characteristic of what is called "popular etymology" is a tendency to replace an unintelligible word by another which has a meaning, even if inappropriate. Now *aruna* "brown", "red-brown", has a meaning in Indo-Aryan, whereas *Varuṇa* is obscure. Far from complying with the requirements of popular etymology, the substitution of *Varuṇa* for *Aruna* would be contrary to the procedures of such etymology. Lastly, the origin of the Hittite word *aruna* remains undetermined.

The explanation which I propose takes account equally of contacts between Aryans, Hittites, and Mitannians; but my starting-point is different. Given a Palæo-Asiatic root *bar*, enlarged in the Austro-Asiatic languages to *baru*, and capable of meaning "sea", etc., we obtain by the addition of the suffix *-na* a derivative capable of explaining not only the Indian name of the god of the sea, *Varuṇa*, but also the Hittite or Mitannian names *Uruwana* and *Aruna*, and finally the Hittite name of the sea, *aruna*.

Let us dispose first of an initial difficulty. If *Varuṇa* is derived from an ancient *baru*, why is the initial already modified in Vedic, whereas in Sanskrit and Pali *bharu*, the occlusion is retained? The answer to this question is furnished

by the examination of a particular case. In a first essay on non-Aryan names in Indo-Aryan¹ I have shown that the word *kambala* is formed from an Austro-Asiatic root *bala* "hair", preceded by the prefix *kam*. The same root has given in Sanskrit *vāla* and *vāra* "hair", "horse-hair". The two last forms are attested in Vedic, and *vāra* belongs even to the vocabulary of the *R̥g-Veda*, whereas *kambala* does not appear prior to the *Atharva-Veda*. It seems that the most ancient loans are also those which depart the most from the Austro-Asiatic models; and this seems confirmed by the antithesis between the very ancient *Varuṇa* and the more recent form *bharu*.²

If *Varuṇa* represents an ancient *baru* followed by the suffix *-na*, we can at the same time explain the Hittite *aruna* "sea", and the name of the god *Aruna*, who in the treaty of the Mitanni king occupies the place of *Varuṇa*. In studying the pair *bharu*|*maru* I have shown that in certain Austro-Asiatic languages the initial undergoes complete reduction, e.g. Bahnar *ār*, *or*. The non-occlusion of the initial, which passes from *b* into *v* and finally into zero, accounts for the series *baru*-, *Varuṇa*, *aruna*.

Previous interpreters have been seriously embarrassed by the variant *Uruwana*, contained in the treaty of the king Subbiluliuma. The name of the other party to the contract, king Mattiuzza, is presented also under the form Mattiwaza,³ which shows plainly that the redactors of the treaty were used to doublets characterized by the equivalence *wa* = *u*. Further, M. Benveniste announces to me that in Hittite the writings *-u-* and *-uwa-* are equivalent and that he himself

¹ *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, 1921, pp. 207-8.

² As concerns the hesitation between the initials *b* and *v* note, for example, the root *barh*. *RV.* has *b* in the forms with *ni*, *v* when the root is preceded by *ā*, *ud*, *pra*, while *TS.* and *Sat.-Br.* always have *b* with *ā* and *v* with *ud*. Cf. *PW.*, s.v.

³ For an attempt at an interpretation of this name cf. W. Porzig, *ZII.*, pp. 265 sqq., and A. B. Keith, in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume* (1930), pp. 81 sqq.

proposes to prove it shortly. The result is that *Varuṇa* could take the form *Uruwana*.

The preceding observations enable us perhaps to comprehend another word, the enigmatic *marianni* of the Mitanni treaty. We have already recognized in *-anni* a Mitanni final. *Marianni*, which designates a people, has been brought into connection with Vedic *márya* "young man", "hero".¹ But the context makes us expect a term of less vagueness. The Austro-Asiatic root **mari*, equivalent of *maru*² and origin of the Sanskrit *maryādā*, may have designated the peoples of the borders, of the desert, and the vicinity of the sea. *Marianni* recalls the *Marukaioi* cited in Ptolemy's *Geography*.³ If this connection is not illusory, we can recognize here derivatives of variants *maru* and **mari*.

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In the preceding discussion, I have assumed provisionally, along with Pischel⁴ and Kretschmer, that the Indian belief which makes Varuṇa god of the sea, far from being late, as certain writers believe, can go back to the beginning. It is true that in the Veda Varuṇa appears mainly as a god of the sky. To explain this double character Kretschmer supposes that the religion of the Aryans developed in two opposite directions. One section adopted the Hittite Aruna, god of the sea; these are the ancestors of the Indians, who during post-Vedic times continued to recognize in Varuṇa a sea-god. As for the Indians who practised the Vedic religion, they amalgamated Aruna and Asura, the god of the sea and the god of the sky. The worshippers of the sea-god regarded as heretics those who made Varuṇa an Asura, and in the end their belief prevailed after the Vedic epoch.

This theory has recently been criticized by A. Berriedale Keith.⁵ This scholar regards as improbable a scission

¹ Discussion in Kretschmer, *WZKM.*, 1926, pp. 8 sqq.

² *Supra*, p. 614.

³ *Ptol.*, vi, 11, 6; cf. *Plin.*, vi, 16, 18.

⁴ Cf. *Ved. Stud.*, ii, 124, 214; *Kultur d. Gegenwart*, i, 7², p. 173.

⁵ *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume* (1930), pp. 81-94.

between the Aryans who worshipped the god of the sea and those who confused Varuṇa with Asura. He does not see any reason for supposing divergences in the ancient Aryan religion and prefers to hold to the views expounded in *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*: the Aryans had already, from the most ancient period, a god of the sky, who subsequently became Asura, the Lord *par excellence*.

This controversy takes a new aspect, if we assume that the name of the god Varuṇa is derived from a Palæo-Asiatic root. *Baru* denoted originally that which is outside human society. In the eyes of maritime peoples the zone exterior to the tribe is the marsh, the inundated area, and, by extension, the sea. I have shown earlier the pre-eminence of sea spirits in the Austro-Asiatic mythologies.¹ But for the continental Aryans the sea could not have the same importance as for their neighbours. In the Vedic religion a sovereign deity could not reside at the bottom of the ocean; he had to be enthroned on high, in the light, on the top of the world-mountain. It was therefore inevitable that Varuṇa should attach himself to Asura, god of the sky, and be confused with him. Nothing forbids us to affirm that a section of the Aryans always remained faithful to the Austro-Asiatic Varuṇa, god of the sea.

At the close of the Vedic period the Aryan colonies of northern India were situated principally in the midway valleys of the Indus, the Ganges, and their affluents, while the deltas and coasts were still peopled by tribes fundamentally non-Aryan. The increasing influence of these latter shows itself in religion by the development of Buddhism, Jainism, and other less known sects. Among the men of Madhya-deśa Varuṇa is still worshipped as god of the sky. For the peoples of the sea he is principally a sea god. The introduction of this new divinity into the Aryan mythology marks the weakening of the Brahmanic orthodoxy and the entry of recently assimilated populations upon the scene.

¹ "La Princesse à l'odeur de poisson et la nāgī," in *Études Asiatiques*, ii, pp. 281 sqq.

Mathara and Paramartha

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IT has been suggested by Dr. Belvalkar¹ that the original commentary on the *Sāṃkhya Kārikā*, which was translated by Paramārtha into Chinese, was none other than the *Māthara-Vṛtti* and that such differences as there are between the two are not different in kind from the variations between different recensions, such as the Chinese and the Japanese. He cites several instances of agreement between the Chinese commentary and the *Māthara-Vṛtti*, one of the most notable of these being the initial story of how Kapila came to impart the teaching to Āsuri. A closer examination of the two commentaries would, however, seem to reveal certain doctrinal differences of some importance, variations such as seem not to be susceptible of being explained away on the basis of differences of version. These differences throw considerable doubt on the possibility of the *Māthara-Vṛtti* having been the original translated by Paramārtha. It is the object of this paper to set out the results of a fairly full analysis made by the present writer. While no positive conclusion is possible, it would appear that Professor Keith's suggestion of both commentaries having drawn from some common original is, perhaps, the most plausible view.

It is proposed, in the first instance, to note the main points of difference between the *Māthara-Vṛtti* and Paramārtha's commentary as we have it in M. Takakusu's translation.²

(a) The commentary on the very first verse seems to show a great similarity between the two, such a similarity as would suggest a borrowing. This is in respect of the story of Āsuri's initiation by Kapila and the first promulgation of the Sāṃkhya. The similarity is not, however, as close

¹ *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, 171-84.

² *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, iv, 978 et seq.

as it might be, and it loses a great part of its force when it is noted that the story figures in the *Jaya-maṅgalā*, a commentary of unknown date and authorship, which seems to have preceded the *Sāṃkhya-tattva-kaumudī*, in any case.¹ Kapila, according to the (French translation of the) Chinese version, merely asserts Āsuri's enjoyment of the householder's life in the first instance. Only to a second inquiry did Āsuri respond, saying that he did enjoy that life. Some time later Kapila returned, repeated the same words and received the same reply. Kapila then asked him : "Canst thou keep thyself pure and lead the life of a *brahma-cārin* ?" "I can," said Āsuri, and thenceforth began to lead an ascetic life. In this version, the story makes little sense. The *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* tells us that Āsuri was asked three times if he delighted in the householder's life, each time after a thousand years of that life. On the first and the second occasions he said he did enjoy the life, but on the third he replied that he did not. Being asked why, he replied : "Because of the three-fold misery." Kapila promised to teach him the remedy therefor, if Āsuri could lead a *brahma-cārin's* life. Āsuri replied that he could, gave up his wife and children, followed Kapila, and became his beloved disciple. The difference between the assertive and interrogative forms of Kapila's address may be due but to a difference of idiom. But the Chinese version nowhere gives expression to Āsuri's dissatisfaction with the householder's life ; the later question about capacity to lead a pure life and the subsequent renunciation are thus unintelligible. The account given by the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* is very clear, and it is difficult to imagine how the Chinese account could have been so scrappy, if based on that of Māṭhara's. The supposition seems not improper that both drew from a rather cryptic original, of which Māṭhara made better sense than Paramārtha. It has to be noted that the *Jaya-maṅgalā* account is also

¹ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, V, iii, 416-31.

unintelligible, in that Āsuri is represented as discontented with the householder's life from the first. Here at least one may take it that Kapila came a second and a third time to test the strength of non-attachment before initiating his pupil; the Chinese variation has no such merit. The *Jaya-maṅgalā* account has the further merit of occurring where one might properly expect it, i.e. in the commentary on verse 70, which gives the history of the propagation of Sāṃkhya teaching. In any case, it seems more likely that Māṭhara and Paramārtha drew from a common original, than that the latter drew from the former.

(b) The next point of difference is of considerable importance and occurs in the commentary on verse 3. "The five subtle elements," says Paramārtha, "proceed from *aham-kāra*; they are products; but they produce the five *mahā-bhūtas* and the *indriyas*; they are productive; that is to say, the subtle element of sound produces ethereal space and the organ of hearing, the subtle element of odour produces the earth and the organ of smell," and so on. The doctrine of the origination of the *indriyas* from the *tan-mātras* is foreign to the Sāṃkhya of the *Kārikās*, as expounded by any known Samskr̥t commentator. It has great affinities with the Vedānta account of evolution. The account given by Paramārtha here is not an isolated lapse, since it occurs elsewhere too, in the commentaries on verses 8, 10, 26, and 56, and is implied by the commentary on verse 34. Thus, commenting on *mahad-ādi tac ca kāryam*, Māṭhara says (and with him Gaudapāda): "*mahān ahamkāraḥ pañca tan-mātrāṇy ekādāśe-'ndriyāṇi pañca-mahā-bhūtāni ca*"; while Paramārtha, probably expanding a similar original, goes into greater detail and says: "Nature produces *mahat*, *mahat* produces *aham-kāra*, *aham-kāra* produces the five subtle elements, the five subtle elements produce the sixteen others, that is to say the eleven organs of sense and of action, and the five gross elements." Again, in commenting on verse 10, he says: "The sixteen categories,

i.e. the five organs of sense and the others have for cause the five subtle elements," while according to Māṭhara and others the five *tan-mātras* and the eleven organs have *aham-kāra* for their cause. The commentary on verse 26 enumerates the ten organs and their mode of functioning. "The organ of hearing proceeds from the subtle element of sound and is related in nature to the gross element, ether; it perceives, then, sounds alone. The organ of touch proceeds from the subtle element of touch and is related in nature to the gross element, air; it perceives, then, contact alone. The five organs of action have five functions. The organ of speech, combined with the organs of sense,¹ is capable of articulating names, phrases, and letters of the alphabet. The hands, combined with the organs of sense, are capable of taking, holding, etc., or accomplishing any mechanical act whatever." In verse 34 we are told that each of the organs of action, except speech, has a five-fold content. "The hand," says Paramārtha, "which is composed of five objects, is capable of seizing the five objects, as when it seizes a pot of water. As the hand, so the other organs of action." This view seems to be definitely committed to the doctrine of *pañcī-karaṇa*. This apart, what are the five objects of which the hand is composed—the *tan-mātras* or the *mahā-bhūtas*? Māṭhara seems to mention the *tan-mātras*,² but either supposition is difficult to justify on his view that the organs evolve from *aham-kāra*, independently of the *tan-mātras* and the *mahā-bhūtas*. Māṭhara's view would, therefore, seem to require some account of evolution like that of Paramārtha's, which makes the organs of sense and action develop after and in dependence on the *tan-mātras*.

Again, in commenting on verse 56, Paramārtha, like Gauḍapāda and unlike Māṭhara, gives a résumé of the evolution of the *tattvas*; and here, too, Paramārtha says

¹ Combiné avec les organes des sens.

² *Pāṇis tāvāt śabda-sparśa-rūpa-gandha-yuktah.*

that *aham-kāra* produces the subtle elements which, in their turn, produce the eleven organs and the five gross elements.

It has to be noted that verses 22 and 25 of the *Kārikās* seem to contain a distinctly different teaching about the order of evolution. In commenting on these Paramārtha seems to lay no stress on the order mentioned; and he cannot be taken to have contradicted the order that he expressly lays down at least in four different places. Presumably, these verses are to be treated as not teaching a definite sequence or as not primarily intending the sequence mentioned. It must be remembered that, when one speaks of Paramārtha commenting, one has to understand the commentator whose work Paramārtha translated; for there are places where Paramārtha speaks in his own person, either amplifying the commentary (as in verse 51) or disagreeing therewith (as in verse 8).

The sequence of evolution adopted by Paramārtha has some affinities with the account given in the Tamil classic, *Maṇi-mēkalai*, which again has affinities with the epic account of the Sāṃkhya in the *Mahā-bhārata*.¹ Here the organs of sense evolve from the *mahā-bhūtas*: "From ether (proceed) the evolutes called the ear and sound, from air the evolutes called the skin and touch," and so on. As in Caraka's account, the *tan-mātras* are not separately recognized. The origin of the organs of action is a little obscure, being indicated by the phrase *ivarrirrokku vikāramāy*; this may mean that they are modifications of the skin (*tvak*), or that they result from a combination of the sense-organs and their sensations, already mentioned; or, with some straining of the text, it may mean "being evolutes, functioning in combination with these (organs of sense)". Such an interpretation as the last would make that account identical with that of Paramārtha, which

¹ See "The Maṇimēkalai account of the Sāṃkhya," *Journal of Indian History*, viii, 322-7.

speaks of each organ of action as capable of this or that function, *combined with the organs of sense*. Whatever be the precise meaning, it seems clear that there was an earlier account of the evolution of the *indriyas*, which was different from that of the orthodox expositors of the Sāṃkhya of the *Kārikās*. And Paramārtha (that is to say, his original) seems to have been indebted more to this account than to a more usually current account like that of Māṭhara. The hypothesis that such accounts are due to a later attempt at syncretism (between the Vedānta and the Sāṃkhya) is not very plausible; for the attempt must have been made before the fifth century A.D., and it is strange that it should not have been utilized by such professed Vedāntist commentators as Vācaspati (and presumably Gauḍapāda and Māṭhara). With this we shall pass on to note other points of difference.

(c) The account of *Śeṣavat* inference in the commentary on verse 5 agrees with that given in the *bhāṣya* on *Nyāya-Sūtra*, I, i, 5, and in the *Jaya-maṅgalā*. It is inference from the effect to the cause, not from the part to the whole, as both Gauḍapāda and Māṭhara make out, citing the inference from the brininess of one drop of sea-water to the similar taste of the rest. Inference from effect to cause is included in *pūrvavat* inference, according to Māṭhara. Paramārtha's original seems to have greater affinities with Vātsyāyana than with Māṭhara.

(d) Exhibiting the resemblances between the *pradhāna* and *puruṣa*, Māṭhara says that the latter, like the former, is one; and Gauḍapāda makes the statement even more explicitly.¹ Paramārtha differs and says that in one respect *puruṣa* is *unlike* the *pradhāna*, in that the former is multiple. This difference is noted by M. Takakusu.²

¹ *Yathā vyaktād visadrśam pradhānam tathā pradhāna sadharmā puruṣaḥ. tathā hy ahetumān nityo vyāpī niṣkriyā eko 'nāśrito 'līngo niravayavaḥ svatantra iti (Māṭhara). Anekam vyaktam, ekam avyaktam, tathā ca pumān apy ekaḥ (Gauḍapāda).*—Verse 11.

² *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, iv, 994.

(e) The co-operation of the three *guṇas*, mentioned in verse 13, is explained by Paramārtha on the ground that, *pertaining to one identical soul*, and not being independent, they are capable of doing something together. There is nothing corresponding to the words italicized in the commentaries of Māthara, Gauḍapāda, or Vācaspati.

(f) In the introduction to verse 14 Paramārtha agrees with Vācaspati, but not with Māthara or Gauḍapāda. Being composed of the three *guṇas* has been explained in the case of both Nature and its evolutes. What about *avivekitva*, etc. ? These, too, are shown to be common to both in the next verse. Thus Paramārtha ; while Māthara says that *triguṇatva*, etc., are explained of the *avyakta* in verse 14, having been shown earlier in the case of the *vyakta*. This difference is not of much import.

There is also a difference in the exposition of the phrase *tad-viparyayā-bhāvāt*, because of the non-existence of the contrary. This is how Paramārtha understands it : “ *avivekitva*, etc., follow from being composed of the three *guṇas*. Knowing that the six characteristics are in the evolved, we know that they exist in Nature too. ‘How do you know that ?’ If the contrary were the case, then they would not exist at all ; in other words, if we suppress the six properties of the cause, i.e. of Nature, the six properties of the effect cannot exist any longer”. This is akin to Gauḍapāda’s comment : “As, where there are threads, there is cloth ; the threads are not one thing, and the cloth another. Why so ? From the absence of the reverse (they are not contraries to each other)” (Wilson’s translation). In so far as it bears on the argument in the verse, this can only mean that, since cause and effect must be of like nature, and the unevolved is the cause of the evolved, the former must also possess the qualities of *avivekitva*, etc., known to exist in the latter. This agrees in substance with what Paramārtha says, the illustration of thread and cloth being common to him, too. Māthara’s

own meaning is not very clear. He, too, uses the cloth and thread illustration, saying, where the threads are, there the cloth is, and *vice versa*. He who sees the evolved sees the unevolved too ; and the *yogin* who can see the *pradhāna* sees the evolved as well. Hence, because of the absence of the contrary (i.e. presumably the perception of the one without the other) the unevolved is shown to possess *avivekitva*, etc. What is understood here, too, seems to be only the causal relation, though it is not even as clear as in Gauḍapāda's account. Assuming that Paramārtha was faithful to the original in his translation, that seems to have been more elaborate than either Gauḍapāda's comment or Māṭhara's, and the suggestion that both the first two borrowed from such an original, condensing it in different ways, is not without force. Vācaspati's interpretation is very different and refers to the absence of the triple nature (of pleasure, pain, and indifference) from the Spirit.¹

(g) In explaining the phrase *kaivalyārtham pravṛtteś ca*, Paramārtha sets out in detail the futility of our efforts to secure release, if bodies alone existed. Even the practice of cremating bodies would have no merit, but would, on the contrary, be sinful, if there were no soul, for whose benefit it is to be performed. No such exposition is found in Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda. Māṭhara understands a reference to the purpose of the evolution of the *pradhāna*. That purpose is isolation (*kaivalya*), and this could not be if there were no soul. This is how the *Jaya-maṅgalā* understands it, while Vācaspati and Gauḍapāda adopt the same sense as Paramārtha. This is another instance of Paramārtha agreeing with Gauḍapāda rather than with Māṭhara, suggesting the derivation of all three with variations from a common original.

¹ The Editor of the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti*, in the Chowkhamba Series, puts in a footnote explaining the phrase as referring to the absence of the contrary, i.e. *vivekitva*, etc., from the unevolved, and says this is what Māṭhara means. The explanation is not convincing, but if that *is* Māṭhara's meaning, it differs from both Vācaspati's and Paramārtha's understanding of the phrase.

(h) In explaining the varying incidence of births Paramārtha, unlike Māṭhara, says that, if there were but one Spirit, all women in all countries would conceive at the same time, and give birth at the same time to boys alone or girls alone. This explanation is not found in Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda, though the difference is hardly significant.

(j) Paramārtha's account of *yama*, *niyama*, etc., under verse 23, differs from that of Māṭhara, which agrees with that of Gauḍapāda. *Yama* and *niyama* are forms of *dharma*. What Māṭhara calls *yama* is counted as *niyama* by Paramārtha, i.e., *ahimsā*, *satya*, *asteya*, *brahma-carya*, *aparigrahaḥ*. The sub-divisions of *yama*, as enumerated by Paramārtha, do not correspond to the enumeration of *yama* or *niyama* by Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda. One wonders how far the translator is at fault, as he clearly is, in the footnote on page 1009, where he has misunderstood Gauḍapāda's enumeration.

(k) The first line of verse 27 reads thus in the translation : "The *manas* is that which discerns. One says that that organ is of two kinds (i.e., *jñānendriya* and *karmendriya*)."

This corresponds to Bhaṭṭotpala's reading : "*saṃkalpakam atra manasḥ, ubhayātmakam indriyaṃ ca sādharṃyāt*,"¹ more than to the usually accepted reading of the *Kārikā*. The illustration of *ubhayātmakatva* given by Paramārtha is that of a person who is an artisan among artisans and an orator among orators. This is similar to, but not identical with, Māṭhara's illustration of Devadatta being a shepherd among shepherds and a wrestler among wrestlers.

The example of discernment cited by Paramārtha is distinctive. A man finds that there is treasure and food in a certain place ; he resolves to go there to feed and enrich himself. Such acts of discernment and judgment constitute the function of the *manas*.

There is a distinction made among the organs which is peculiar to Paramārtha. There are some organs that apprehend distant objects, others those that are near. They

¹ See *The Sāṃkhya Kārikā*, University of Madras, p. 126.

have a two-fold object, (1) to avoid danger, (2) to protect the body. The former belongs to the eyes and ears, which, seeing and hearing objects from afar, avoid the danger. It falls to the other eight organs to protect the body; they perceive eight classes of objects, each one of which corresponds to an organ; this permits us to regulate our body according to the objects. All this disquisition has no counter-part in Gaudapāda or Māthara.

(l) Paramārtha seems to waver between two senses of *ālocana-mātram*. Is it *bare* awareness or a *unique* awareness? Vācaspati adopts the former sense, while Māthara and Gaudapāda adopt the latter. Paramārtha's words seem to favour both views. Thus he says: "The eyes only see forms, and that is the function of the eyes. It is only a perception incapable of discernment or handling. The other organs, too, act only on their respective objects." The first and the third of these sentences favour the notion of *unique* awareness, while the second sentence conveys the idea of *bare* awareness.

(m) In explaining, under verse 31, the teaching that *puruṣārtha* alone is the cause of evolution, Paramārtha says: "The soul has the will (*volonté*) 'you have to manifest yourself and find for me a solitary existence (i.e. isolation)'. To obey this will of the soul, the three *guṇas* produce all the organs." We are here presented with a soul that has a will, a notion not easily reconcilable with the Sāṃkhya conception of *puruṣa*.

(n) To explain the transmission of cognitions to *buddhi*, the analogy is employed of functionaries passing on the money collected by them to the king. This analogy is used by Vācaspati, too, but not by Māthara or Gaudapāda.

(o) The six *kośas* mentioned by Paramārtha, under verse 39, are blood, flesh, tendon, semen, brain, and bone. This enumeration agrees with that of Vācaspati, with the exception of marrow, which is substituted for semen. Gaudapāda, too, mentions the *kośas*, but does not apportion

them between the two parents. This is how the appropriation is made by—

<i>Vācaspati</i>		<i>Māthara</i>		<i>Paramārtha</i>	
<i>Mother</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Father</i>
Hair	Tendon	Skin	Tendon	Tendon	Hair
Blood	Bone	Blood	Bone	Blood	Bone
Flesh	Marrow	Flesh	Marrow	Flesh	Semen.

Both in the enumeration and the appropriation there is greater similarity between Māthara and Vācaspati than between Māthara and Paramārtha.

(p) The word “*liṅgam*”, in verse 40, is explained by Māthara, Gauḍapāda and Vācaspati as *laya-yuktam*. Paramārtha, however, takes it to mean “endowed with the mark of subtlety”, and explains it thus: “The subtle body migrates through (several) existences, and it is that which sages alone see. (That is why one says that it has the mark of subtlety.)” Such an explanation is certainly not derived from Māthara.

(q) The *bhāvas* that are *sāmsiddhika* are explained by Paramārtha, under verse 43, as dispositions acquired by good deeds performed in a prior existence. Māthara and Gauḍapāda explain the word as meaning connate (*sahotpanna*). A connate disposition may be due to good deeds in a prior existence; but such an idea hardly squares with their being connate with the divine sage Kapila, in the first creation (Gauḍapāda and Māthara). Dispositions acquired by earlier acquired merit are classed as *prākṛtika* by Gauḍapāda.

(r) The explanation of the term *ādhyātmika-tuṣṭi* is different in Paramārtha and Māthara, the former agreeing with Gauḍapāda, and the latter with Vācaspati. Paramārtha says they are internal contentments, because they are produced in the intellect, *aham-kāra* and *manas*; they relate to Nature, Means, Time, and Luck. Māthara says they concern the self (both he and Vācaspati use the words *ātmanam adhikṛtya*); they are called Nature, Means, Time, and Luck.

The explanation given of *ambhas*, etc., by Paramārtha, though distinctive, consists of nothing more than a translation of the names, such as would have been felt necessary in rendering the commentary into a foreign language. Thus, *ambhas* is rendered as lubricating water, *sahilam* as moving water, and so on. The translator, M. Takakusu, gives in a footnote¹ the explanation of these terms as given by Fujii, the Japanese commentator.

(s) *Dānam* in verse 51 is explained as gift, in agreement with Māthara and Gauḍapāda. But there is a long tale to explain how gifts secure *siddhi*. A Brāhman is hated by others, seeing which, he becomes an ascetic. Then, his master and fellow-disciples, too, hold him in hatred, and do not communicate knowledge to him. He betakes himself to a distant village, saying to himself: "In this village there are no Brāhmanas; I can pass here my summer retreat." During his stay he gets many gifts. He gives what is superfluous to his friends and acquaintances; he gives of it even to women and shepherds. At the close of the summer retreat everybody makes him gifts of the triple staff, the water-bowl, clothes, etc. At the approach of the festival of Śakra he asks the villagers who wish to accompany him to his village to see the festival to bring him each a present. Having arrived at his place, he betakes himself to his old master. Choosing the best of the gifts, he offers them to him; the rest he distributes among his fellow-students. Then they all begin to love him. His master, in return for the present, communicates knowledge to him. By that knowledge he arrives at absolute wisdom and final deliverance. This perfection is then acquired by gifts.

There is nothing like the suggestion of such a story in the *Māthara-Vṛtti*. And the hand that embroidered it could not have been Paramārtha's, since he has here a long note of his own, giving a slightly different explanation of the acquisition of perfection by gifts. This *siddhi* called

¹ *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, iv, 1038.

sadā-pramudita, he says, is crossing by universal love ; a man who, after having been hated by all gives away all his goods in alms and makes himself loved by all, gains this perfection, since all wish him to attain deliverance. It is not here a question of pleasing the master and fellow-disciples by gifts acquired elsewhere. That story should have belonged to the original translated by Paramārtha.

There are also some other differences between Māthara's exposition and that of Paramārtha. Thus, extermination of the three kinds of misery can come about, according to the former, by *ūha*, *śabda*, or *adhyayana*, while Paramārtha insists on *adhyayana* in every case. The recognition of six stages of contemplation and eight elements of *adhyayana* is again peculiar to Paramārtha.

(t) Paramārtha's explanation of *stamba* in verse 54 is distinctive. The lowest rung of creation is styled a pillar, because herbs, trees, mountains, and rocks *support* the three worlds.

(u) *Autsukya*, in verse 58, is rendered by Paramārtha as incertitude, not as desire, the sense attached to it by known commentators in Saṃskṛt. There is also in the Chinese commentary a discussion of the meaning of *avyakta*. That name is applied to Nature, since it is beyond the domain of sense ; its existence is known all the same, for the reasons given in verse 15.

(v) *Puruṣasya ātmānam prakāśya*, in verse 59, is rendered by Paramārtha as "having obliged the soul to manifest itself".¹ This does not agree with any Saṃskṛt commentary. It has also the demerit of not squaring with the illustration, which Paramārtha renders thus : "Just as an actor appears on the scene and disappears, after having represented some one."

(w) *Sukumāratatva*, in verse 61, is rendered as *delicatesse*, in agreement with the *Jaya-maṅgalā*, which says that the word means *sūkṣmataram itarat*. There is no reference at

¹ *Après avoir obligé l'Âme à se manifester.*

all to the bashful lady of good birth, who accidentally exposes herself and thenceforth retires for ever in confusion. There is agreement with Māṭhara (and Gauḍapāda) in treating the two lines of the verse as independent, and in the discussion of Īśvara, spontaneity, time, etc., as the cause of the universe. But the discussion seems to come in abruptly, as introduced by Māṭhara and Gauḍapāda, so much so that it has given room for Tilak to postulate a lost *kārikā*; Paramārtha's introduction, however, is more natural and almost convincing. This is how it goes: Thus in the world a man sees a woman endowed with excellent qualities; then he sees another woman who is the most excellent of all; he thinks: "She is the most excellent and she is unrivalled." In the same way, Nature is the most delicate of the twenty-four principles. How do you know that? Because she does not bear one's gaze (is invisible). One may object. This view is not correct, because the isolation of the soul does not come about from its seeing Nature. For the preceptor, who considers Īśvara to be the cause of the world, says: "The soul, ignorant and separated from Nature, contents itself with joys and sorrows; Īśvara alone can send it to heaven or to hell." Because of this, Nature cannot be liberated, even when the soul has seen Nature. The subtleness (*delicatesse*) of Nature cannot then be proved.

Then follows the discussion of Īśvara, etc. This more natural way of introducing the discussion strongly suggests Paramārtha's dependence on a fuller commentary than that of Māṭhara, while at the same time it makes needless the postulation of a lost *kārikā*.¹

(x) The explanation of verse 67 is very peculiar and makes little sense as it stands. Because of full and perfect

¹ The present writer has shown in his edition of the *Sāṅkhya Kārikā* how the number seventy of the Saptati may be accounted for by omitting verse 63, as the Chinese version does, and treating verses 72 and 73 as additions by later hands. Any consideration of the verses mentioned favours this procedure, while there is nothing of any weight to be urged against it.

knowledge, it is said, *dharma*, etc., have no longer any influence; transmigration is arrested, as the body of the potter's wheel, whose movement one interrupts. But surely the point of the illustration is not the stopping of the wheel, but its continuing to go round even after the potter has ceased to rotate it. The words of Paramārtha's commentary make it clear that the French translation is not at fault. The idea of *jīvan-mukti* finds no place here, though that would seem to be the more fitting answer to the question, posed in the *avatārikā* to the verse. If knowledge gives deliverance, why are you and I not yet released? As it is, Paramārtha would seem to say that release comes only with death, as shown by the introduction and the commentary on verse 68. If the Buddhist monk was not mistranslating or misinterpreting the original, we seem to come across a Sāṃkhya untainted by the possibly Vedānta (*advaita*) notion of *jīvan-mukti*.

(y) One of the points of similarity strongly relied on by Dr. Belvalkar for his thesis is the parallelism in the list of Sāṃkhya teachers between Kapila and Īśvara-Kṛṣṇa. But the parallelism is not really very close. These are the lists according to—

<i>Paramārtha</i>	and	<i>Māthara</i>
Kapila		Kapila
Āsuri		Āsuri
Pañcaśikha		Pañcaśikha
Ho-kia		Bhārgava
Ulūka		Ulūka
Po-poli		Vālmiki
Īśvara-Kṛṣṇa		Hārīta
		Devala
		Īśvara-Kṛṣṇa

Dr. Belvalkar would identify Po-poli with Devala and thus make the two lists identical. But between Ulūka and Īśvara Kṛṣṇa there is but one teacher according to Paramārtha, whereas there are at least three according to Māthara, perhaps more, if *prabhṛti* in *Devala-prabhṛtīn* is used in the ordinary sense of *etcetera*. Here, again,

dependence on a common original seems far more probable than dependence of one on the other.

From a consideration of the numerous major points of difference it would appear that the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* could not in any case have been the original translated by Paramārtha. There is a probability of his having utilized it to write a commentary of his own ; but this does not deserve much consideration, since there are clearly places where he has remarks of his own to offer and he offers them in his own person. Such a procedure would have been unnecessary had the commentary been his own. There are, at the same time, points of agreement which strongly suggest their dependence at least through a common original. Such, for instance, are the following :—

(1) The treatment of *aviśuddhi*, *kṣaya*, and *atiśaya* as *additional* defects, characteristic of Scriptural means of meeting misery, over and above the defects in the means known to perception ;

(2) the exposition of the four kinds of non-existence (*abhāva*) in verse 7 ;

(3) the criticism of the Vaiśeṣikas and the Bauddhas, under verse 8 (though Paramārtha, in an independent note, says the refutation of Buddhism is an *ignoratio elenchi*) ;

(4) the mention of five functions of the *guṇas* in verse 12, instead of four, as by Vācaspati ;

(5) the illustration of *triḡuṇādi-viparyaya*, in verse 18, by the three sons of a Brāhman, one happy, another excitable, the third stupid ;

(6) the illustration of *sākṣitva*, in verse 19, by a *bhikṣu* looking on at *samsārins* ;

(7) the examples cited under verse 20 of the *samyoga* of the pot with fire, and of a Brāhman taken with thieves, and consequently taken for a thief ;

(8) the illustration of the union of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* by that of a king and his subjects ;

(9) the description of the vital airs and the treatment of them as functions of all the thirteen organs ;

(10) the classification and illustration of the forms of bondage, under verse 46 ;

(11) the understanding of *viparyaya*, in verse 46, as equivalent to doubt, and the story of the four disciples of a Brāhman, which though not narrated in detail, seems to be implied by Māṭhara ;

(12) the story of the deaf man who is unable to hear and perpend Sāṃkhya teaching ; and so on. At least two instances have been mentioned already of greater agreement with Gauḍapāda than with Māṭhara. A consideration of these makes it alike impossible for one to entertain Dr. Belvalkar's view or to hold that Paramārtha did not draw on the material that was used in the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti*. The suggestion of a common original for both seems thus the most plausible one.¹ If, thus, it is no longer certain that the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* was the original translated by Paramārtha, the date of the former becomes unsettled. There is no reason to be sure that it came before the fifth century A.D., or that it necessarily preceded even Gauḍapāda's *bhāṣya* ; for, if Māṭhara drew from another original, Gauḍapāda may have drawn on it too, and not on Māṭhara's work. In all such speculations a further study of the Chinese version, in the original tongue, may be of inestimable value.

MADRAS.

23rd October, 1930.

¹ See also Keith, *The Sāṃkhya System*, p. 70, particularly *fn.*

Grammatical Sketch of the Ple-Tëmer Language

By PAUL SCHEBESTA

Translated by C. O. BLAGDEN

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE translation and publication of this article have been unavoidably delayed by the pressure of other work. For typographical reasons the Sakai words, written originally in the Anthropos alphabet, have been transcribed into the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, and an explanation of some of the symbols used may be helpful.

The *a* is about midway between cardinal vowel No. 4 (French "dame") and No. 5 (the French negative "pas"); the *ε* is about No. 3 (French "est"); the *æ* is between this last and the *α* in the English "hat"; the *e* is about No. 2 (German "Reh"); the *ɪ* is a closer variety of the preceding; the *ɨ* is apparently a very high neutral vowel, something like the high neutral vowels that occur in Northern Welsh and Russian; the *ə* is like the Malay neutral vowel *ě*, lower than the *ɨ* but generally rather forward and moderately high; the *ɜ* is a much lower variety, which in a previous paper I represented by *œ*, as the author had described it as resembling an open German *ö*. I am not sure whether it is a rounded front vowel or a neutral one. The *ɔ* is about No. 6 (German "voll"); the *o* about No. 7 (French "eau"); the *u* is a closer variety of the last. It does not appear whether the *i* and *u* are quite cardinal Nos. 1 and 8 respectively, or slightly lower; the *ĩ* and *ũ* represent semi-vowels (English *y* and *w* respectively), and are also used as the second parts of certain diphthongs.

The *c* and *j* are used here to denote not true palatals, but palatalized alveolars like the corresponding Malay sounds usually written *ch* and *j* respectively. The corresponding fricative is *ç*, a sound between English *s* and *sh*, and the

corresponding nasal is here represented by *ɲ*; the *ŋ* is the velar nasal, in English and Malay written *ng*; the *ɴ* is further back and is described as being pharyngeal; the *ɲ̠* is also probably a pharyngeal rather than a velar fricative, though in a previous paper I had represented it by *ɣ*; the *ʔ* is the glottal stop; length of vowel is indicated by *:*, nasalization by *~*. Word stress is not indicated, as it always falls on the final syllable of a word.

C. O. B.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The present article is an outline sketch of a Sakai dialect. The Sakai are a people of the hilly interior of the Malay Peninsula regarding whom our knowledge is still incomplete. They are racially and culturally quite distinct from the Negritos and all the other races of the country. The Sakai are divided into two cognate stocks, the Ple-Tēmer and the Sēmai, the difference between them being most marked in their speech. Of the Sēmai language of the Batang Padang region in Perak we possess at any rate pretty full vocabularies; but nothing of much importance has as yet been published on the Ple language. To the following grammatical sketch two short texts have been appended.

GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

Numerals

1. *nei*; 2. *nar*; 3. *neʔ*; 4. *ro:b pedoŋ* (*pedoŋ* = "here"); 5. *lebæʔ*. E.g. *nei ɲnədʔ* "one night"; *nar ɲnədʔ* (or *nar tenəbʔn*) "two nights"; *neʔ geɛ* "three months"; *nar pənaʔ na balas ma kuəd* "(after) two years he returns to (the) child".

There are also prefix-forms such as *pinei* "one"; *panar* "two", e.g. *lamar pinei* "take away one"; *samar panar* "throw away two"; *æ bəneʔ* "we three"; *ar bənar* "we two"; *kaʔan bənar* "you two" (dual).

Names of the fingers (not used as numerals, though people do count on their fingers and toes: two fists together = 10,

and both fists put on the toes = 20) : 1. **kəpɛ** "little finger" ;
 2. **pediʔ** "ring finger" ; 3. **kənamar** "middle finger" ;
 4. **tənlɛʔ** "index finger" ; 5. **tabo:** "thumb" .

Personal Pronouns

1. Used as Subject.

Sing. 1st p. **ie:** ; 2nd p. **ha** ; (**iaħ** = "thou there") ;
 3rd p. **na** ; (**i** or **iħ** seems to be used only as object).

Plur. 1st p. (inclusive) **æ** ; (exclusive) **kəni**, **kani**, **kandɛʔ** ;
 2nd p. **ɲəbʔn**, **ɲəbʔn** ; 3rd p. **uagʔn**, **ugʔn** (or **u:n**), **nɛ** ; **ugʔn**
 is used as a 3rd p. pl. of persons whom one does not see,
 much like the German "man" ; **uagʔn** on the other hand
 is used of such as are near at hand. (It is not quite clear to
 me whether it is not also therefore used as a 2nd p. pl.)
nɛ(n) **ɛdʔn** "they carry away". But perhaps this **nɛ** is
 only a plural particle.

Dual : (inclusive) **ar nar**, **ar bənar** "we two" ; (exclusive)
kaʔan bənar, **kaʔan bənar** "you two" .

"Self" : 1st p. sing. **dəriʔ** ; 2nd and 3rd p. sing. **cəriʔ**
 (abbreviated **ciʔ**), e.g. **ie: dəriʔ** "I myself" ; **ha cəriʔ** "thou
 thyself" ; **na cəriʔ** "he himself" ; **æ cəriʔ** "we ourselves" ;
cəriʔ pəlʔuigʔn "Pəluig himself" .

Examples.—**ie: hə:d** "I want" ; **ie: hə:d ie: ge:i** "I want
 to eat" ; **ta ie: hə:d ge:i ge:i**, **ie: ʃɛ** "I don't want to eat, I
 don't care to" ; **o:g, iibʔn ge:i** (for **o:g ie: ibʔn ge:i**) "give, I
 want to eat" .

ie: itugʔn "I am afraid" ; **ha hatugʔn** "thou art afraid" ;
ha igʔn ɔigʔn, **ha tanogʔn** "be not thou angry, thou dragon" ;
ha habʔn ge:i "thou canst eat" ; **co ha ne: en de:gʔn** "whom
 (dost) thou see in (the) house?" ; **ha(m) keɔg tata kare:i**
 "thou, listen to Tata Karei!" (this was said to me by
 a boy).

na ɲə os "he makes fire" ; **na doħ na tərɡo:b** "she here
 she smears (oil)" ; **na cica(ħ)** "he eats" ; **na kəbɛs** "he
 is dead" .

æ(g) ʃegʝo:g "we shift (camp)" ; **æ kenbɜ æ(g) ʃegʝo:g**

“we many we shift (camp)”; æ bənɛ? æ cəbcib “we three we go”; æ barnɛ? æ(m) ɟo:g “we three we shift (camp)”; æ kəh kəmogʔn “we cut shin”; kəni hədʔn səlogʔn “we want to sleep”; kande? na “we here”.

The use of *pəbʔn* is not very clear to me.

ʔag cib ma tui “you (or they) go thither”; ʔagʔn pəbʔn hədʔn pəbʔn səlogʔn “you (plural?) want (plural?) to sleep”; ugʔn ɣənʔəi ɣəs, ugʔn aŋkədʔn kəmuɪd ma sərɔg “they (the) living people, they carry (the) dead into (the) forest”.

2. *Used as Object.*

The pronouns used for the subject are also used for the object, but they are then put after the verb and may be accompanied by the particle *ma*.

E.g. o:g ma ha “give to thee”; o:g ma ʔagʔn “give to them”; iɛ: ihōd iɛ: (or iɛ: ihōd ma iɛ:) “I love myself”; iɛ: ihōd ha (or iɛ: ihōd ma ha) “I love thee”; iɛ: ihōd mənə na “I love him”; iɛ: ihōd æ (or iɛ: ihōd ma æ) “I love us”; iɛ: ihōd ʔagʔn (or iɛ: ihōd ma ʔagʔn) “I love them”.

It would not be correct to say *ma na* in place of *mənə na*.

ma naʔ = “outside” (Malay *ka-luar*), e.g. teɟ ma naʔ “put (it) outside”.

3. *Used as Possessive.*

Whereas the relation of object to verb is indicated either by putting the pronoun after the verb or by means of the particle *ma*, the possessive relation is only indicated by subordinate position.

E.g. malʊ:ʔ do: ha? “where (is) thy father?” (literally, “where father thou?”); malʊ:ʔ do: nana? “where (is) his father?”

But if *cəriʔ* is used instead of *na* (or *nana*) it precedes instead of following the noun that denotes what is possessed, e.g. malʊ:ʔ cəriʔ do: (or malʊ:ʔ ciʔ do:?) “where (is) his father?”

Other examples: de:gʔn iɛ: “my house”; de:gʔn ha “thy

house ”; *de:gʷn na* (or *de:gʷn nana*) “ his house ”; *de:gʷn iḥ* “ his house ” (when the person is far away and not in sight); *de:gʷn æ* “ our house ” (inclusive); *de:gʷn kandeʔ* “ our house ” (exclusive); *de:gʷn ɲəbʷn* “ your house ” (the “ you ” being plural); *de:gʷn ũagʷn*, *de:gʷn u:n*, or *de:gʷn ugʷn* “ their house ”, the *u:n* or *ugʷn* corresponding in use to the *iḥ* of the singular.

cə ha ne: en (or *jelüəgʷn*) *de:gʷn na ?* “ whom (dost) thou see in his hut ? ”; *nar pənaʔ na balas ma kuəd iḥ* “ (after) two years he returns to his child ”; *na gurl ma do:(ḥ) dadaʔ iḥ* “ she sits with her breast turned towards here (i.e. towards the ground) ”, literally “ she sits towards here breast she ”; *na ḥuəʔ cacəʔ iḥ* “ she sorrows for her grandchildren ”.

Demonstratives

nuʔ “ this here ”; *naʔ* “ this ” (further off than *nuʔ*); *tui* “ this there ”; *te:* “ that yonder ”, e.g. *ɕenʔəi a nuʔ* “ this man here ”; *ɕenʔəi a naʔ* “ this man ”; *ɕenʔəi en tui* “ this man there ”; *ɕenʔəi en te:* “ that man yonder ”; *cə a naʔ ?* “ who (is) this ? ” (Reply) *ɕenʔəi* “ a man ”; *lu:ʔ a naʔ ?* “ what (is) this ? ” (Reply) *batu* “ a stone ”; *gurl a nuʔ* “ sit down here (close by) ”; *gurl a naʔ* “ sit down here (a little further off) ”; *gurl en tui* “ sit down there ”; *ido:l* “ to put, to lay down ”, *ido:l en a nuʔ* “ put here (close by) ”; *ido:l en a naʔ* “ put here ”; *ido:l en tui* “ put there ”; *ido:l en te:* “ put yonder (far away) ”; *ido:l en ɟero:* “ put yonder (quite far away) ”.

nado: “ this ”, e.g. *go:b nado:* “ this foreigner ”; *o:g ma ie: nado:* “ give me this ”.

The following demonstratives denote progressively increasing remoteness: *nado:*; *nanin*; *nana*; *nana tui*; *na ha ba te:*; *na te:*; *na ha te:*.

iḥ do:ḥ ie: ibʷn cib “ to-day ” (literally, “ day this ”) “ I will go ”.

Relative

There is no separate word for the relative, the relative

clause being merely co-ordinated with the principal clause, e.g. *æenʔəi̯ i̯e: idak* (abbreviation of *i̯e: i̯e: dak*) *hatəp na kəbəs* " (the) man I saw formerly, he (is) dead ".

Interrogatives

cə " who ? " e.g. *cə a naʔ* ? " who (is) this ? " ; *cə(r) tæɪ a naʔ* ? " who did this ? " (Reply) *tæɪ i̯e:* " I did " ; *cə ha ne: en de:gʔn* ? " whom (dost) thou see in (the) house ? "

lu:ʔ " what ? " ; e.g. *lu:ʔ a naʔ* ? " what (is) that ? " Instead of *lu:ʔ* there is also *məh o:* " what ? what's the matter ? "

malu:ʔ " where ? " ; e.g. *malu:ʔ do: ha* ? " where (is) thy father ? "

ilu:ʔ (or *pilu:ʔ*) *kenu* ? " what (is thy, his, etc.) name ? "

mə: hubi iha ? " hast thou yams ? " ; *mə: hubi lelo: həi* ? " hast thou yams, or not ? " (*lelo:* = Malay *kalau*.)

It does not appear to me that there is any particle used to introduce an interrogative sentence.

Substantives

Formation of the Plural.

In general the plural is similar in form to the singular and only recognizable as a plural by means of the context. But there is also a plural formation made with the help of the prefix *mən* (or *bən*), e.g. from *iurl*, *məniurl* " souls of the dead " ; *æenʔəi̯*, *mənæenʔəi̯* " men ", " people " ; *ʃehuʔ*, *mənʃehuʔ* " trees " ; *atūd*, *mənatūd* " elephants " ; *taŋkʔɛl*, *məntaŋkʔɛl* " elephants " ; *bamug*, *mənmamug* " tigers " ; *alɛʔ*, *mənaleʔ* " girls " ; *cacə*, *məncacə* " grandchildren ".

Formation of Substantives from Verbs by means of the infixes an and en.

canugʔn " hammer " from *co:gʔn* " to beat " ; *cənib* " path ", *cib* " to go " ; *cənɛr* " knife ", *cɛr* " to cut " ; *kənɛrʃɛr* " dance ", *kərʃɛr* " to dance " ; *gənabagʔ* " song ", *gabagʔ* " to sing " ; *cənərcɛr* " ornamental design ", *cərcɛr* " to make ornamental designs " ; *cənabəl* " rattan rings round a blowpipe ", *cabəl* " to wrap round " ; *cənəs* " plaited ring made of rattan or the fibre *urat batu* ", *cəs* " to plait " ;

cəŋkub "plaited cap for the blowpipe quiver", **caku:b** "to peel bark off a tree" (from which it may be inferred that the caps of quivers were originally made of bark); **pənləs** "spatula used in preparing arrow poison", **pələs** "to prepare poison by cooking"; **kənro:b cacu?** "roof thatch made from the *cacu*", **karob** "to split"; **bənale:i** "a sort of table made of bamboo"; **bale:i** "sleeping place, sleeping mat".

Gender.

Sex is indicated by the addition of words meaning "male" and "female".

Case.

Nominative.—The subject comes first, and is often repeated by means of a pronoun, e.g. **kare:i na gurl balig?n te:** "Karei he sits up above"; **iurl na akəg?n galo:g?n adek** "the soul of the dead man it hangs on the *galogn adek*"; **ug?n iurl ug?n ge:i lanəi hubi** "they (the) souls of the dead they eat (the) shadow of yams"; **na hala na kəbɛs, ug?n pəra? en nis iħ** "(when) he (the) *hala* he dies, they lay (him) in his mat"; **pəl?uig?n na o:r** "Pəluig he commanded (it)".

Even when the subject is a pronoun it is still usually repeated; e.g. **ha hatug?n** "thou thou-(art)-afraid"; **ie: itug?n** "I I-(am)-afraid".

Nevertheless, sentences often occur without this redundant pronoun, both when the subject is a pronoun and when it is a substantive, e.g. **ia pude:u ta kesbɛs** "Ya Pudeu (does) not die"; **ie: cib ma sərəg** "I go into the forest"; **ie: əid jaləg jəhu?** "I climb on the trees"; **kəni hə:d?n sələg?n** "we want to sleep"; **ha(m) keəg tata kare:i** "thou, listen to Tata Karei".

The *genitive* is commonly indicated by putting the word (unaccompanied by any preposition) after the word on which it is dependent, e.g. **cəkəi ma(r) kui kare:i** "big as the head of Karei" (a description of my own head); **jəməg?n jəhu?** "spirits of the trees" (tree spirits); **kənro:b cacu?** "roof made of the *cacu*".

The *dative* is indicated by the particle *ma*; e.g. *o:g ma ha* "give to thee"; *o:g ma ũagʔn* "give to them"; *o:g mənə na* "give to him; one can say either *o:g iē*: or *o:g ma iē*: for "give me"; *kare:ĩ na cekəh ma iē*: "Karei he is angry with me"; *pəlʔuigʔn na o:r ma pə asu* "Peluig he commanded (his) sister Asu".

The *accusative* can also be introduced by *ma*, but more usually it follows the verb without the particle; e.g. *iē: iħə:d iē*: or *iē: iħə:d ma iē*: "I love myself"; *iē: iħə:d ũagʔ(n)* or *iē: iħə:d ma ũagʔ(n)* "I love them"; *iē: iħə:d kuəd* or *iē: iħə:d ma kuəd* "I love the child". (The first is said to mean "I love this child" and the second "I love children", *sed quare*.) *na bəguru ma kuəd* "he teaches the child"; *ugʔn ge:i lanəĩ hubi* "they eat the shadows of yams"; *na təbəh mənĩurl cəlakaʔ* "she beats the wicked souls"; *na ləg hu:g* "she knows (their) hearts"; *ugʔn aŋkedʔn kəmuĩd* "they carry the dead"; *ugʔn curr de:gʔn kəmuĩd* "they burn the hut of the deceased".

The particle *ma*, which indicates the dative and accusative, gives the directive sense "to", e.g. *kui ma səĩ is, jukʔn ma ked is* "the head towards the setting of the sun, the feet towards the rising of the sun", i.e. west and east, respectively; *na balas ma kuəd iħ* "he returns to his child"; *na ma: ma de:gʔn* "he returned to (his) hut" (i.e. he went home); *na əidʔn ma taɽu, ma məntəla*: "they turn into (= become) snakes, into beasts".

The *locative* is indicated by the particle *en*; e.g. *na tərgul en əgʔn* "she puts (them) into water", but the sentence also occurs without the particle: *na tərgul əgʔn bədbudʔn* "she puts (them) into hot water"; *ugʔn pəraʔ əlah en de:gn* "they leave-behind now in the hut"; *ugʔn pəraʔ əlah en nis ɪ(h)* "they leave-behind now in his mat"; *ugʔn səh en kui rabo:gʔn* "they open over (his) head the gable"; *təd en os* "roast in fire"; *pəʔəl en əuən* "cook in a bamboo".

Adjectives

The adjective follows the substantive, e.g. *kuəd nana aməs*

“this child is small”; *kui go:b cəkēi ma(r) kui kare:i* “the foreigner’s head (is as) big as the head of Karei”; *ī(e): ɣemug dara mɜrlʔn* “I blow away good blood”; *ɣenʔəi buəs* “bad man”; *na tɜrgul en əgʔn bədbudʔn ɣenʔəi cəlakaʔ* “she puts into hot water the wicked people”.

Comparison of Adjectives.

cəkēi “big”, *cəkēi mɜrlʔn* “bigger” (*mɜrlʔn* = “good, better”); or *cəkēi* “big”; *cəkēi ɣagidʔ* “bigger”; *cəkēi mɜrlʔn* “very big, biggest”. The particle of comparison is *ma*; e.g. *cəkēi ma(r) kui kare:i* “(as) big as the head of Karei”.

Verbs

Sing. 1st p. *īe: cib* “I go, I shall go”; 2nd p. *ha cib*; 3rd p. *na cib*.

Pl. 1st p. (inclusive) *ə cib*; (exclusive) *kəni cib*; 2nd p. *uagʔn cib*; 3rd p. *uagʔn cib*.

Dual (inclusive) *ar nar cib* or *ar nar am cib* “we two go”; (exclusive) *kaʔan bənar cib* “you two go”.

The past tense is formed by the word *hoj* which precedes the pronoun; e.g. *hoj īe: ge:i* “I have (already) eaten”; *hoj ha ge:i* “thou hast (already) eaten”; *hoj na ge:i* “he has (already) eaten”, etc.

It is characteristic of the Sakai dialects that they lack the verbal particle *īa* (with its secondary form *ūa*) or *ma*, found in all the Sémang dialects.

The frequent repetition of the pronoun has already been mentioned; e.g. *īe: itugʔn* (for *īe: īe: tugʔn*) “I am afraid”; *ha hatugʔn* “thou art afraid”.

Imperative.

cib ma sərəg! “go into the forest!”; *tenla leglug!* “don’t laugh!”; *o:g, īibʔn* (for *īe: ibʔn*) *ge:i!* “give, I want to eat!”

Auxiliary Verbs precede the principal verb without the intervention of any particle; e.g. *īe: ibʔn ge:i* or *īe: mɜgʔn ge:i* “I want to (or I shall) eat” (Malay *sahaya na’ makan*);

iibʔn tɛdʔn, iibʔn ge:i, literally "I will go, I will eat", means "I will go to eat"; ha habʔn səlɔgʔn "thou canst sleep" (dialectic Malay *mu boleh tidur*); æ hɔ:dʔn səlɔgʔn; "we want to sleep"; kəni hɔ:dʔn səlɔgʔn "we (exclusive) want to sleep".

Negatives and Prohibitives

pəraʔ a ge:i "don't eat" (Malay *jangan makan*); pəraʔ a ɔgʔn "don't drink" (Malay *jangan minum*); ʒe a leglug or tenla leglug "don't laugh" are prohibitions and the use of a in them should be noted.

The ordinary negative is ta; e.g. ie: ta ge:i "I am not eating"; ie: ʒɛʔ ta gəge:i literally, "I not, not eat", means "I don't want to eat"; ta ie: hɔ:dʔn (or ibʔn) səlɔgʔn "I don't want to sleep"; ta ie: lɛg "I don't know"; ti toi gəge:i or ti tɔ ie: gəge:i, literally "not yet I eat", means "I haven't eaten yet"; tɔ ie: hɔ:dʔn ge:ige:i, ie: ʒɛʔ "I don't want to eat, I don't care to"; tɔ æ hɔ:dʔn səlɔgʔn "we don't want to sleep"; tɔ and ta seem to be the same word, only varying in individual pronunciation.

Formation of Words by Reduplication.

ge:i, (ge:ige:i), gəge:i, "to eat"; budʔ, bədbudʔn "hot"; ɡɔs, ɡisɡɔs "to live"; ʒɔg, ʒɛɡʒɔg "to shift from place to place"; cib, cebcib "to go"; ũeiʒuij "ant-eater" ("Ameisenbär"); cərcɛr "to engrave ornamental designs". The tendency to reduplicate also causes the repetition of pronouns, as already illustrated.

TEXTS

About Ya Pudeu, as related by Dalem, near the Jemhegn River, Perak. (Granny Pudeu is the deity of the Ple Sakai, she rules in the realm of death and she judges the dead.)

na kəbɪs	ɡenʔɔi,	æ ku:b,
(When) he dies,	a man,	we bury (him),
æ ceru:ɡ;	lɔpas,	æ pəraʔ.
we make a hut (over him);	finished,	we carry (him) out.

na hagʔn iurl, na debədʔn galo:gʔn mǝi, na karæ isi,
It flies, (the) soul, it rises to Galogn Moi, it dries flesh

na tau, ɛŋkəũ gani iurl,
(i.e. its flesh dries), it descends, talk other souls

na cib, na akɔgʔn galo:gʔn adek.
(with it), it goes, it hangs (on the) Galogn Adek.

na gurl juɡʔn-iaʔ, na akɔgʔn laɪɛk-laɪɛk. ugʔn iurl,
It squats (by) day, it hangs at night. They (the) souls,

ugʔn ge:i lanəi hubi, lanəi bəɾɛk.
they eat (the) shadows of yams, (the) shadows of fruits.

ia pudɛ:u, ia mənɪurl, na gurl
Granny Pudeu, grandmother of the souls, she squats

ma do:(h) dada ɪh, na gurl
in this direction her breast (i.e. she sits

ia mənɪurl ma do:h dada ɪh, na hũɔʔ
with her breast towards the ground), she sorrows for

cacɔʔ ɪh, na təbɔ:h mənɪurl cəlakaʔ.
her grandchildren, she beats (the) wicked souls.

ia pudɛ:u, na tərgu:l ɔgʔn bədbu:dʔn ʃenʔɔi cəlakaʔ,
Granny Pudeu, she puts (into) water hot (the) wicked people,

bɔ nameus, bɔ na lɛɡ hu:g.
then (she) examines, then she knows (their) hearts.

na tərgu:l bilɔʔ, na tərgu:l ʃenro: ɪh en ɔgʔn ;
She puts, finally, she puts far from her into water,

na ʃidʔn ma taɟu, ma məntəla:. ia pudɛ:u
they turn into snakes, into beasts. (When) Granny Pudeu

na tərsəidʔn kənɒs æ, sɔɪɟ, mɛrl (or mɛrl),
she has-finished, dead we, finished, all together,

bɔ na tɛrsə tərɒr ma æ ; tərsəɪɟ tərɒr,
then she lets winds blow on us ; finished (the) winds,

tiu na balu:d. ia:gʔn iurl pəcah,
water she lets-rise. (The) bones (of the) dead are-broken,

na tərma:ʔ ʒenʔəi ɡisɡos. ɿa pudɛ:u
 she brings back (the) people to life. Granny Pudeu
 ta kɛsbɿs, ɡos; kare:i na kəbɿs,
 does-not die, (she) lives; Karei he dies, (he does)
 ta ɡisɡos, na sarupa æ.
 not live, he (is) like us.

About Pěluig. (The Ancestor of the Ple, his rival being Karei, who according to the Ple is the ancestor of the Sēmang.)

pəlʔuigʔn na o:r nehrəh səlai,
 Pěluig he commanded (that one should) clear a clearing,
 negu, səiʔ negu, na curr,
 fell (trees), (when) finished felling, he burnt (them),
 na o:r ugʔn rui ʒaŋa, hubi,
 he ordered (that) one (should) plant millet, yams,
 ʒo:, kūaɿ, telui, ɡak, bəragʔn,
 sweet potatoes, *ubi gadong*, bananas, *ubi kəladi*, *ubi gatil*,
 ʒago:, bu:s. pəlʔuigʔn na o:r ma pɜ asu
 maize, sugarcane. Pěluig commanded (his) sister Asu,
 na reŋaħ daraʔ pɜ, na aŋkədʔn,
 he cut (the) blood (or breast ?) of (his) sister, he took (it),
 na suar, na pəraʔ əlaħ. nar həpədʔn
 he scattered (it), he left (it) then. (After) two nights
 na lɔs, cuŋaɿ ʒaŋaʔ, na toha:, na kaɿaʔ,
 he returned, (it had) become millet, it ripened, he cut (it),
 ugʔn tato:ɡʔn, ugʔn ma:, ugʔn ʒaglo:ɡʔn,
 people took (it), people went-home, people threshed (it),
 səsiħ, lalag en o:s, ugʔn ɡe:bʔn
 pounded (it), roasted (it) at (the) fire, people winnowed (it),
 ugʔn rəɡʔn, poʔəl, ugʔn ɡage:i.
 people put (it into bamboos), cooked (it), people ate (it).

Discovery of the lost Phonetic Sūtras of Panini

By RAGHU VIRA

THE *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* mentions, for the first time, the various constituents of the ancient science of phonetics :

अथ शीचां व्याख्यास्यामः । वर्णः । स्वरः । मात्रा । बलम् ।
साम । सन्तानः । इत्युक्तः शीचाध्यायः ॥ Prap. vii, An. 2.

At the present day no Śikṣā work contemporaneous with the above and comprising all the said parts is to be traced. In general, the Prātiśākhya and the still later Śikṣās deal at sufficiently great length with traditional Sanskrit phonetics of their own times ; but the common source from which Patañjali derived most of his quotations, which was afterwards used by Candragomin to form his *Varṇa-sūtras*, and which has been extensively quoted and reproduced by subsequent commentators of such high repute as Jayāditya, Jinendrabuddhi, the author of *Prakriyā-Saṅgraha* of the Jain Śākaṭyāna School, Sṛṣṭidhara and a host of others,¹ was little known till recent times.

It was in the year 1879 that Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī, the illustrious founder of the Ārya Samāja, discovered this work, from where and how we are never told. The very year चतुरमाङ्कचन्द्रे ऽब्दे माघमासासिते दले । चतुर्थी शनिवारे² he published it at Benares with a Hindī commentary of his own. Hitherto the book has attracted little attention from the scholarly world. Even so late as the year 1927

¹ See notes on the text in the following pages. It is most significant that in *Śabda-kaustubha*, a commentary on Aṣṭ., Bhaṭṭojidikṣita quotes the sūtras of this Śikṣā, but in *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, where he has arranged the Aṣṭ. sūtras according to his own plan, he gives different phonetic sūtras. These are attributed by the author of the commentary *Bāla-manoramā* to Bhaṭṭojidikṣita himself.

² v.s. 1936 = A.D. 1879-80.

Dr. Siddheśvara Varmā, in his work *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, has made no mention of this *Śikṣā*. (He has also ignored Candra's *Varṇa-sūtras*, and has referred to *Caturadhyāyikā* by the title *Atharva-veda-prātiśākhya*, which is really a different text.¹)

Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī ascribed this work to Pāṇini : on what authority we do not know. A prolonged search has failed to bring to light the original MS. The Board of Trustees of "The Paropakāriṇī Sabhā" at Ajmer were good enough to allow me to examine thoroughly the records bequeathed by the late Svāmī. There most of the MSS. of his works are missing. The MS. was certainly taken away by some of his disciples either during his lifetime or after his death. To judge his disciples more liberally, it might have even been presented to one of them by the Svāmī himself. I accordingly very carefully made a list of all his disciples, and instructed a friend of mine, who was appointed by the D.A.V. College of Lahore, to make a final search for Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī's letters, to keep a keen eye over the houses of Svāmī's disciples. Six months' labours proved of no avail. So that now we do not know whether the colophon of the MS. is responsible for this ascription to Pāṇini as the author, or whether Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī had made his own researches and had arrived at this conclusion. None of the works, beginning with the *Mahābhāṣya* and ending with the *Śabdakaustubha*, which derive quotations from our work mentions the name of the author.

It stands undisputed that, having been quoted by Patañjali, it must be a very ancient work.

The question that first of all puts itself before us is whether there is any reference in literature to Pāṇini's authorship of

¹ This book was edited by Pt. Viśvabandhu for the Panjab University Oriental Series.

a Śikṣā. The versified Śikṣā of Piṅgalācārya,¹ which is popularly known as the *Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā*, begins: अथ शिचां प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनीयं मतं यथा (all the three recensions). This establishes that Pāṇini did compose a Śikṣā work, for otherwise the statement is void of relevancy. Besides, a comparative study of this Śikṣā with the *Varṇa-sūtras* of Candragomin leads irresistibly to the conclusion that, just as for his *Śabda-Lakṣaṇa* and other grammatical treatises he had recourse to the works of Pāṇini, similarly the basis of his *Varṇa-sūtras* must be Pāṇinean. That the present work is the basis for Candra's *Varṇa-sūtras* is established beyond doubt by a comparison of the two works.

The first verse of Candra is now unfortunately lost to us in original, and is available only in its Tibetan version, which runs :—

Jam. dpal. gzhon. nur. gyur. pa. la.
phyag. 'éhal. lo | Nammkhah. rluñ.
las. rab. tu. byuñ. zhiñ. lus. las. ni |
yañ. dag. gyen. bskyod. rim. pas.
kha. nañ. sgra. riñ. di | Gnas.
rnams. de. ma. thag. tu. rab. tu. rnam.
ról. ldan | yi. ge. ñid. du. kun. du.
'gro. ba. gañ. de. sgra |

Dr. Liebig renders it thus :—

Was aus Himmel und Wind entstehend, aus
dem Körper emporsteigend, allmählich in
Munde sich ausbreitet und, mit den Organen
und den beiden Thätigkeiten (प्रयत्न) vereint,
zum Zustand von articulierten Lauten gelangt,
das ist das Wort (शब्द).

¹ See the commentary published in the Benares edition of *Śikṣāsaṃgraha* :
ज्येष्ठभातृभिर्विहिते व्याकरणे ऽनुजनस्तत्रभवान् पिङ्गलाचार्य-
स्तन्मतमनुभाव्य शिचां वक्तुं प्रतिजानीते अथ शिचामिति ॥

This verse in Indravajrā metre was essentially the same as the opening verse of our work—

आकाशवायुप्रभवः शरीरात् समुच्चरन् वक्त्रमुपैति नादः ।
स्थानान्तरेषु प्रविभज्यमानो वर्णत्वमागच्छति यः स शब्दः ॥

Candra tried to improve upon Pāṇini by making the addition of the two *prayatnas* in the third quarter, and has further made the second quarter uniform with the others by making the first syllable heavy.

Now to come to Candra's sūtras proper. These exhibit the same order in treatment as those of Pāṇini, the *sthānas* being dealt with first, the *karāṇa*, the two *prayatnas*—the *ābhyantara* and the *bāhya*—coming next, followed by the varieties of vowels and semi-vowels (with the exception of *r*). Of these, two (31, 48) are taken over from Pāṇini, and twenty-five are merely a verbal reproduction with slight changes made in the construction and sequence of words in order to have a more uniform structure in which the name of the *sthāna*, *karāṇa*, and *prayatna* always comes first in the nominative singular, e.g. :—

कण्ठो ऽकुहविसर्जनीयानाम्, S. 3.

जिह्वायं दन्थानाम्, S. 15.

संवृतत्वमकारस्य, S. 22.

To this class may also be added five more sūtras, except that three of them (8, 29, 32) do not recognize the *Yamas* (which were probably used in reciting the Vedic texts only), while two others (4, 5) include *i* and *u* in the category of *kaṇṭha-tāluka* and *kaṇṭhoṣṭha* respectively.

To these Candra adds sixteen more : One (1) is introductory, two (2, 14) are *adhikāra-sūtras* (तत्र स्थानम्, करणम्), one (21) enumerates the *ābhyantara-prayatnas*, one (18) clears up the student's difficulty in comprehending what the *karāṇas* are for letters other than dentals, cerebrals, and palatals

(शेषाः स्थानकरणाः), four others (24, 25, 34, 35) must have originally been taken from Pāṇini, though they have not survived in the present mutilated text (तेभ्यो विवृततर-त्वमेदोतोः, ताभ्यामैदौतोस्ताभ्यामप्याकारस्य, कादयो मावसानाः स्पर्शाः, अन्तस्था यरलवाः), three (41-3) define *hrasva*, *dīrgha*, and *pluta*, three (44-6) are loan sūtras from *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (उच्चैरुदात्तः, नीचैरनुदात्तः, समाहारः स्वरितः i, 2, 29-31), and the last of these is स्वस्थानानुनासिको निरनुनासिकश्च “vowels are either pure or nasalized”.

These correspondences are of the same character as those between Candra's grammar and *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The following is the text of Pāṇini's *Śikṣā-sūtras*. Short notes have been appended to most of the aphorisms. These embody references to authors and works which have directly used Pāṇini.

Pāṇini's Śikṣā-sūtras

आकाशवायुप्रभवः शरीरात्
समुच्चरन् वक्त्रमुपैति नादः ।
स्थानान्तरेषु प्रविभज्यमानो
वर्णत्वमागच्छति यः स शब्दः ॥ [१॥]

Metre: *upajāti*. This and the next verse are very early specimens of the *upajāti*.

The first line of this verse clears up the obscurity and ambiguity of a much disputed compound in *Tait. Pr.*, ii, 2, वायुशरीरसमीरणात्. The commentary *Triratnabhāṣya* suggests two explanations: (1) वायुमग्निः समीरयति इति वायुशरीरम् । तथाभूतात् समीरणात्. (2) वायुश्च शरीरं च वायुशरीरे तयोः समीरणं तस्मात्. Not satisfied with these, the commentator sought help from his predecessors: अन्ये त्वाङ्गः वायोः शरीरे सतः समीरणम्. Whitney rejected all these, and offered his own, based upon a “more acceptable and less violent” construction: by the setting in motion of

air by the body. In the light of our verse the compound is to be resolved as वायोः शरीरात् समीरणं तस्मात् “by the expulsion of the air from the body”.

Vaktra denotes the entire speech-organs. Cf. the use of *mukha* and *āśya*, which mean only the mouth-cavity. On the analogy of the definition of *yantra* in *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* (ch. xxxi, verses 3, 4¹), *vaktra* would be most appropriately defined as : यदृच्छ्या समुच्चरन्तं प्राणवायुं स्वमनीषया यस्मिन् येन वा वाचयति तद् वक्त्रम्.

Nāda is here used in nearly the same sense as *śabda* in *Tait. Pr.*, ii, 1, 2, where the production of *śabda* is said to be at the juncture of *kaṇṭha* and *uras*. Cf. also further (xxii, 1) : *śabda* (Whitney translates “tone”) is the material of all articulate sounds. The Śikṣā of Piṅgalācārya uses *svara* instead : मातृसूत्रसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् (verse 9 of Yaj. recension, *Indische Studien*, vol. iv).

For *varṇa* see the verse quoted by Patañjali :—

अचरं नचरं विद्याद् वर्णं वाङ्मः पूर्वसूत्रे

(Kielhorn's ed., vol. i, p. 36.)

Here Patañjali remarks : पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्याचरमिति संज्ञा क्रियते (ib.). It is not improbable that the author of the verse quoted refers to Pāṇini's Śikṣā by *pūrva-sūtre*; for in the second śloka Pāṇini uses *akṣara* in the sense of *varṇa*.

This verse is to be read along with the concluding sūtra, which serves no less to supplement the present verse than to recapitulate the labours of the author. Cf. *R.Pr.*, xiii, 1; *V.Pr.*, i, 6-9, etc.

¹ यदृच्छ्या प्रवृत्तानि भूतानि स्वेन वर्त्मना ।
नियम्यास्मिन् नयति यत् तद्वन्त्रमिति कीर्तितम् ॥
स्वरसेन प्रवृत्तानि भूतानि स्वमनीषया ।
कृतं यस्माद् यमयति तद्वा यन्त्रमिति स्मृतम् ॥

(Baroda edition.)

तमचरं ब्रह्म परं पवित्रं
 गुहाशयं सम्यगुशन्ति विप्राः ।
 स श्रेयसा चाभ्युद्येन चैव
 सम्यक् प्रयुक्तः पुरुषं युनक्ति ॥ [२ ॥]

Metre : *upajāti*. The Buddhist Candragomin would naturally omit this verse.

A verse ¹ in the *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn's ed., vol. i, p. 36) states that the knowledge of *Brahman* rests upon a knowledge of letters, and that it is for the acquiring of *Brahman* . . . that letters are taught. In his gloss on this verse Patañjali identifies *akṣara-samāmnāya* with *brahma-rāśi*.

अचरं, परं पवित्रं and गुहाशयं are the attributes both of the letters and of *Brahman*. With *akṣara* "immutable" is to be compared *avyaya* in its twofold use in theology ² and grammar. गुहा would in one case mean the cavity of the heart, in the other the cavity of the mouth.

[¹] स्थानमिदं [²] करणमिदं [^{3, 4}] प्रयत्न एव द्विधा- [⁵] निलः स्थानं
 पीडयति [⁶] वृत्तिकारः [⁷] प्रक्रम एषो [⁸] ऽथ नाभितलात् ॥ [३ ॥] ³

The verse (?) enumerates the contents of the eight chapters of this work. The method adopted is very peculiar. It combines the *pratīka*-system of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Anukramaṇīs* with that of the *prakaraṇa-samuddeśa* method of Kauṭalya's *Artha-Śāstra* and Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-Sūtra*. *Vṛttikāra* is not a very clear description of the sixth chapter, which deals with *savarṇa* letters.

¹ वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।
 तदर्थमिष्टबुद्धर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिशते ॥

² *Kaṭha-Up.*, iii, 15; *Śvet.-Up.*, iii, 12; *Mund.-Up.*, i, 1, 16, etc.

³ Sv. Day's edition gives before this passage the sūtra त्रिषष्टिः, which is followed by a list of the letters of the alphabet, which include the *pluta* vowels, and read the diphthongs in the order *e, o, ai, au*. The four *yamas* are here given as the *hrasva* and *dirgha anunāsikas*, the *nāsikya* (i.e. the nasalization in a vowel), and the letter ऌ. This interpretation of the *yamas* by Sv. Day. is not supported by any authority.

अथ प्रथमं प्रकरणम् ॥

अकुहविसर्जनीयाः कण्ठ्याः ॥ [१॥]

Cf. Candra : स्थानकरणप्रयत्नेभ्यो वर्णा जायन्ते ॥१॥ तत्र स्थानम् ॥ २ ॥ कण्ठो ऽकुहविसर्जनीयानाम् ॥ ३ ॥ Abhayacandrasūri : अकुहविसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयानां कण्ठः (Śākaṭāyana-Prakriyā-Saṁgraha, Sañjñā-Prakaraṇa, commentary on sūtra 6).

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi on हयवरट.¹ But Piṅgalācārya : कण्ठ्यावहौ, जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रोक्तः (Yaj. rec., śl. 24, 25).

हविसर्जनीयावुरस्यावेकेशाम् ॥ [२॥]

Cf. Abhayacandrasūri : हविसर्जनीयोवरः (ibid.).

Throughout the *Śikṣā* Candra abstains from quoting the observations of any other phonetician.

जिह्वामूलीयो जिह्वः ॥ [३॥]

Cf. Candra : जिह्वामूलं जिह्वामूलीयस्य ॥ १३ ॥

कवर्गः ऋवर्णश्च जिह्वः ॥ [४॥]

The repetition of *jihvyah* is un-Pāṇinean, and must be an interpolation, possibly a case of incorporation of a marginal note into the text.

ekēṣām is to be supplied in this aphorism from sūtra 2. This mode of supplying understood words from preceding sūtras having passed over the intermediate ones is well known to the students of Pāṇini under the name *maṇḍūka-pluti* "frog-leap".²

Cf. Abhayacandrasūri : कोर्जिह्वामूलीयस्य च जिह्वामूलम् (ibid.).

R.Pr. (i, 18) :—

ऋकारत्कारावथ षष्ठ ऊष्मा ।

जिह्वामूलीयाः प्रथमश्च वर्गः ॥

¹ Jin. concludes the quotations from this *Śikṣā* with इति वचनात्, इति शिचाकाराः, etc.

² Pat. : अथवा मण्डूकगतयो ऽधिकाराः । तद्यथा मण्डूका उत्सृत्योत्सृत्य गच्छन्ति तदधिकाराः

सर्वमुखस्थानमवर्णमित्येके ॥ [५ ॥]

Cf. Patañjali (vol. i, p. 61) : सर्वमुखस्थानमवर्णमेक इच्छन्ति. Being ignorant of the fact that it is a version of the Śikṣā-sūtra, Kielhorn remarks : The vārttika सर्वमुखस्थानमवर्णमेके may have disappeared before the words सर्वमुखस्थानमवर्णमेक इच्छन्ति. At any rate, Patañjali nowhere else uses the phrase एक इच्छन्ति, except when he is explaining a vārttika.

Abhayacandrasūri (ibid.) quotes the sūtra.

कण्ठयानास्यमात्रानित्येके ॥ [६ ॥]

For āsya see Patañjali (ib.) : लौकिकमास्यमोष्ठात् प्रभृति प्राक् काकलकात्.

इचुयशास्त्रालव्या : ॥ [७ ॥]

Cf. Candra : कण्ठतालुकमिददैताम् ॥ ४ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi on हयवरट्.

ऋदुरषा मूर्धन्या : ॥ [८ ॥]

Cf. Candra : मूर्द्धा ऋदुरषाणाम् ॥ ६ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

रेफो दन्तमूलीय एकेषाम् ॥ [९ ॥]

Cf. *R.Pr.*, i, 19, 20 ; *V.Pr.*, i, 68 ; *Cat.*, i, 28 ; *T.Pr.*, ii, 41. According to all these authorities *r* was dental or alveolar.

Abhayacandrasūri : रेफस्य दन्तमूलमेकेषाम् (ibid.).

दन्तमूलस्तु तवर्गः ॥ [१० ॥]

ekēṣām is to be supplied from the previous sūtra. This is an instance of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*. Cf. *R.Pr.*, i, 19.

लृतुलसा दन्त्याः ॥ [११ ॥]

Cf. Candra : दन्ता लृतुलसानाम् ॥ ७ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

वकारो दन्तौष्ठ्यः ॥ [१२ ॥]

Cf. Candra : दन्तोष्ठं वकारस्य ॥ १२ ॥

Abhayacandrasūri : वस्य दन्तोष्ठम् (ibid.).

हृक्लिङ्गीस्थानमेके ॥ [१३ ॥]

Cf. Abhayacandrasūri : हृक् वस्थानमेकेषाम् (ibid.).

उपूषध्मानीया ओष्ठ्याः ॥ [१४ ॥]

Cf. Candra : कण्ठोष्ठमुदौताम् ॥ ५ ॥ ओष्ठौ पूषध्मानीययोः ॥ ११ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

अनुस्वारयमा नासिक्याः ॥ [१५ ॥]

Cf. Candra : नासिकानुस्वारस्य ॥ ८ ॥ So also Abhayacandra-sūri (ibid.), the Jain.

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

कण्ठनासिक्यमनुस्वारमेके ॥ [१६ ॥]

Cf. Abhayacandra-sūri : कण्ठनासिक्यमेकेषाम् (ibid.).

यमाश्च नासिक्यजिह्वामूलीया एकेषाम् ॥ [१७ ॥]

एदैतौ कण्ठ्यतालव्यौ ॥ [१८ ॥]

Cf. Candra sūtra 4 quoted above. The affixing of an indicatory *t* after *e*, *ai*, *o*, *au* is common with *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

ओदौतौ कण्ठ्यौष्ठ्यौ ॥ [१९ ॥]

Cf. Candra sūtra 5 quoted above.

ङञणनमाः स्वस्थाननासिकास्थानाः ॥ [२० ॥]

Cf. Candra : स्वस्थानानुनासिका ङञणनमाः ॥ ९ ॥

Jinendrabuddhi : ञमङणना स्वस्थाना नासिकास्थानाश्च (ibid.).

द्वे द्वे वर्णे सन्ध्यक्षराणामारम्भके भवत इति ॥ [२१ ॥]

इति seems quite superfluous.

सरेफ ऋवर्णः ॥ [२२ ॥]

Cf. *R.Pr.*, xiii, 14 ; *Cat.*, i, 37, 39.

अथ द्वितीयं प्रकरणम् ॥

जिह्वतालव्यमूर्द्धन्यदन्त्यानां जिह्वया करणम् ॥ [१ ॥]

Cf. Candra : करणम् ॥ १४ ॥

जिह्वामूलेन जिह्व्यानां तद्वेषामभ्यासम् ॥ [२ ॥]

तद्वेषामभ्यासम् may be an interpolation by one who had despaired of acquiring the right pronunciation. Candra has nothing corresponding to this sūtra. Cf. *V.Pr.*, i, 83, 84 ; *Cat.*, i, 19, 20.

[जिह्वामध्येन तालव्यानाम् ॥ ३ ॥]

This sūtra is not given in Svāmī Day.'s edition, but the context and a comparison with Candra जिह्वामध्यं तालव्यानाम् (sūtra 15 according to Tanjore MS.) leave no doubt that originally the sūtra did form a part of the text. Cf. *V.Pr.*, i, 66, 79; *Cat.*, i, 21.

जिह्वोपाग्रेण मूर्धन्यानाम् ॥ [४ ॥]

Cf. Candra : जिह्वोपाग्रं शिरस्यानाम् ॥ १६ ॥

जिह्वायाधःकरणं वा ॥ [५ ॥]

V.Pr. (i, 78), *Cat.* (i, 22) also describe the cerebrals as retroflex, but according to Pāṇini and in my own speech these are made by the tongue in straight position.

For §, *Caturadhyāyikā* (i, 23) says : षकारस्य द्रोणिका.

जिह्वाग्रेण दन्त्यानाम् ॥ [६ ॥]

Cf. Candra : जिह्वाग्रं दन्त्यानाम् (sūtra 17 according to Tanjore MS.). Liebhich gives this and the preceding two Cāndra sūtras in the reverse order—17, 16, 15. Candra adds : शेषाः स्वस्थानकरणाः ॥ १८ ॥. See also *V.Pr.*, i, 76; *Cat.*, i, 24.

इत्येतदन्तःकरणम् ॥ [७ ॥]

अन्तःकरणम् — “the *karṇas* inside the mouth,” i.e. those lying between and excluding the *kanṭha* and the lips.

The *karṇas* for *urasya*, *nāsikya*, *kanṭhya*,¹ *kanṭhyoṣṭhya*, *dantyoṣṭhya*, and *oṣṭhya*, if they had been distinguished as separate from the *sthānas*, would have received the designation *bāhya-karṇas*.

अथ तृतीयं प्रकरणम् ॥

प्रयत्नोऽपि द्विविधः ॥ [९ ॥]

अपि is redundant because it would imply that the *karṇas* are twofold.

¹ Pat. (vol. i, p. 61) takes *a* and hence the *kanṭhya* letters (?) to be outside the mouth (*āśya*).

आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥ [२॥]

Cf. Candra : प्रयत्नो द्विविध आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥ १९ ॥ ~

आभ्यन्तरस्तावत् ॥ [३॥]

Cf. Candra : तच्चाभ्यन्तरः ॥ २० ॥ संवृतत्वं विवृतत्वं स्पृष्टत्वमी-
षत्स्पृष्टत्वं च ॥ २१ ॥

स्पृष्टकरणाः स्पर्शाः ॥ [४॥]

Cf. Candra : स्पृष्टत्वं स्पर्शानाम् ॥ २६ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi on Pāṇini, i, 1, 9.

ईषत्स्पृष्टकरणा अन्तःस्थाः ॥ [५॥]

Cf. Candra : ईषत्स्पृष्टत्वमन्तःस्थानाम् ॥ २७ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

ईषद्विवृतकरणा ऊष्माणः ॥ [६॥]

विवृतकरणा वा ॥ [७॥]

Cf. Candra : विवृतत्वं खराणामूष्मणां च ॥ २३ ॥

विवृतकरणाः खराः ॥ [८॥]

Cf. Candra sūtra 23. Patañjali (i, 1, 4) cites four sūtras from some unknown work : “स्पृष्टं करणं स्पर्शानाम् ॥ ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तःस्थानाम् ॥ विवृतमूष्मणाम् ॥” ईषदित्येवानुवर्तते । ‘खराणां च ॥’ विवृतम् [supply इत्यनुवर्तते ।] ईषदिति निवृत्तम् ॥

Here three more sūtras have probably fallen out :
तेभ्यो विवृततरावेदोती ॥ ताभ्यामैदौती ॥ ताभ्यामप्याकारः ॥
Cf. Candra : तेभ्यो विवृततरत्वमेदोतोः ॥ २४ ॥ ताभ्यामै-
दौतोस्ताभ्यामप्याकारस्य ॥ २५ ॥, Piṅg.'s *Śikṣā* : तेभ्योऽपि
विवृतावेदौ ताभ्यामैचौ ततोऽपि चा (Yaj. rec., śl. 29).

संवृतस्त्वकारः ॥ [९॥]

Cf. Candra : संवृतत्वमकारस्य ॥ २२ ॥

Sṛṣṭidhara quotes the sūtra thus : संवृतस्त्वकार इति शिच्चासूत्र-
प्रणयनात् (*Bhāṣāvṛtti*-*arthavivṛtti* on अ अ, the last sūtra).

इत्येषो ऽन्तःप्रयत्नः ॥ [१०॥]

अथ चतुर्थं प्रकरणम् ॥

अथ बाह्याः प्रयत्नाः ॥ [१ ॥]

Cf. Candra : बाह्यः ॥ २८ ॥

Patañjali (vol. i, p. 61) : सन्ति त्वास्याद् बाह्याः प्रयत्नाः । . . .
के पुनस्ते । विवारसंवारी श्वासनादौ घोषवद्घोषवन्ताऽल्पप्राणता
महाप्राणतेति ॥

वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः श्षसविसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीया
यमौ च प्रथमद्वितीयौ विवृतकण्ठाः श्वासानुप्रदानाश्चाघोषाः ॥
[२ ॥]

Cf. Candra : वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः श्षसविसर्जनीयजिह्वा-
मूलीयोपध्मानीयाश्च विवृतकण्ठाः श्वासानुप्रदाना अघोषाः ॥ २९ ॥

Patañjali (ibid.) gives the sūtra in an abridged form : तच्च
वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीया विवृतकण्ठाः श्वासानुप्रदाना अघोषाश्च ॥
Jinendrabuddhi (on Pāṇini, i, 1, 9) quotes the sūtra, with the
variant श्वासानुप्रदाना for श्वासानुप्रदानाश्च.

एके ऽल्पप्राणा इतरे महाप्राणाः ॥ [३ ॥]

Patañjali (ibid.) एके ऽल्पप्राणा अपरे महाप्राणाः

Cf. Candra : प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमा अन्तस्थाश्चाल्पप्राणाः ॥ ३० ॥
इतरे महाप्राणाः ॥ ३१ ॥

Jinendrabuddhi : वर्ग्ययमाणां प्रथमे ऽल्पप्राणा इतरे सर्वे
महाप्राणाः (ibid.).

वर्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्था अन्तःस्था हकारानुस्वारौ यमौ च तृतीयचतुर्थौ
नासिक्याश्च संवृतकण्ठा नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तश्च ॥ [४ ॥]

Cf. Candra : तृतीयचतुर्थपञ्चमाः सानुस्वारान्तःस्थहकाराः
संवृतकण्ठा नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तः ॥ ३२ ॥

Patañjali (ibid.) तृतीयचतुर्थाः संवृतकण्ठा नादानुप्रदाना
घोषवन्तः ॥

Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.) reads वर्गाणां च, and omits
नासिक्याश्च in the middle and च at the end.

[एके ऽल्पप्राणा इतरे महाप्राणाः ॥ ५ ॥]

The sūtra is lacking in the edition of Sv. Day., and in Cāndra
Varṇa-sūtras.

Cf. Patañjali (ibid.) : एके ऽल्पप्राणा अपरे महाप्राणाः ॥

Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.): वर्ग्यमाणां तृतीया अन्तस्थाश्च-
ल्यप्राणा इतरे सर्वे महाप्राणाः ॥

यथा तृतीयास्तथा पञ्चमाः ॥ [६ ॥]

Quoted by Patañjali (ibid.) and Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).
Patañjali, however, adds: आनुनासिक्यवर्जम्.

आनुनासिक्यमेषामधिको गुणः ॥ [७ ॥]

Quoted by Patañjali (ibid.) and Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

शब्दय ऊष्माणः ॥ [८ ॥]

Cf. Candra : द्वितीयचतुर्थाः शब्दसहास्योष्माणः ॥ ३३ ॥

Jinendrabuddhi : शब्दय ऊष्माणः । सस्थानेन द्वितीयाः ।
हकारेण चतुर्था इति शिक्षा (on Pāṇini, i, 1, 49).

सस्थानेन द्वितीयाः ॥ [९ ॥]

ऊष्माण is understood after सस्थानेन, and ऊष्माणः after
द्वितीयाः Cf. the verse cited by the commentator of *Cat.* (i, 10):

सस्थानैरूपभिः प्रकृतास्तृतीया प्रथमाश्च ये ।

चतुर्थाश्च द्वितीयाश्च सम्पद्यन्त इति स्थितिः ॥

“The third and first letters, when combined with *ūṣma*
breath of position corresponding to their own, become fourths
and seconds.”

हकारेण चतुर्थाः ॥ [१० ॥]

सस्थानेन is to be supplied from the preceding sūtra, as also
ऊष्माणः from sūtra 8. *h* is apparently used here to denote
voiced *ūṣma* breath.

Candra adds : कादयो मावसानाः स्पर्शाः ॥ ३४ ॥ अन्तःस्था
यरलवा इत्येष बाह्यः प्रयत्नः ॥ ३५ ॥

अथ पञ्चमं प्रकरणम् ॥

तत्र स्पर्शयमवर्णकरो वायुरयःपिण्डवत् स्थानमभिपीडयति ॥ [१ ॥]

अन्तस्था(?)वर्णकरो वायुर्दाहपिण्डवत् ॥ [२ ॥]

ऊष्मस्वरवर्णकरो वायुरूर्णापिण्डवत् ॥ [३ ॥]

उक्ताः स्थानकरणप्रयत्नाः ॥ [४ ॥]

अथ षष्ठं प्रकरणम् ॥

अवर्णो ह्रस्वदीर्घसुतत्वाच्च त्रैस्वर्योपनयेन चानुनासिकभेदाच्च संख्यातो ऽष्टादशात्मकः ॥ [१ ॥]

Cf. Candra : अच चावर्णो ह्रस्वो दीर्घः सुत इति त्रिधा भिन्नः ॥ ३६ ॥ प्रत्येकमुदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितभेदेन सानुनासिकनिरनुनासिकभेदेन चाष्टादशधा भवति ॥ ३७ ॥

Kāśikā (i, 1, 9) : अ अ अ इति त्रयो ऽकारा उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरिताः प्रत्येकं सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्च ह्रस्वदीर्घसुतभेदादष्टादशधा भिद्यन्ते ॥

एवमिवर्णादयः ॥ [२ ॥]

Cf. Candra : एवमिवर्णोवर्णावृवर्णश्च ॥ ३८ ॥

Kāśikā (ibid.) : तथेवर्णस्तथोवर्णस्तथा ऋवर्णः ॥

लृवर्णस्य दीर्घा न सन्ति ॥ [३ ॥]

Cf. Candra : लृवर्णस्य दीर्घा न सन्ति तेन स द्वादशधा भवति ॥ ३९ ॥

Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.).

तं द्वादशभेदमाचक्षते ॥ [४ ॥]

Cf. Candra sūtra 39. Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.), with the variant -प्रभेदम्.

यदृच्छाशब्दाशक्तिजानुकरणे वा यदा दीर्घाः सुसुदा ऽष्टादशभेदं ब्रुवते — कूपक इति ॥ [५ ॥]

Cf. the vārttika : लृकारोपदेशो यदृच्छाशक्तिजानुकरणस्युत्पादार्थः (on अलृक्, *Mbh.*, vol. i, p. 19).

सन्ध्यचराणां ह्रस्वा न सन्ति ॥ [६ ॥]

Cf. Candra : सन्ध्यचराणां ह्रस्वाभावात् तान्यपि द्वादशधा ॥ ४० ॥

Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.).

तान्यपि द्वादशप्रभेदानि ॥ [७ ॥]

Cf. Candra sūtra 40.

Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.).

अन्तःस्था द्विप्रभेदा रेफवर्जिताः ॥ [८ ॥]

Quoted by Candra (sūtra 48) and *Kāśikākāra* (ibid.).

सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्च ॥ [९ ॥]

Quoted by Candra (ibid.) and *Kāśikākāra* (ibid.). Cf. also Patañjali (vol. i, p. 16) : सन्ति हि यणः सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्च.

रेफोष्मणां सवर्णा न सन्ति ॥ [१० ॥]

Quoted by Patañjali (vol. i, p. 28) and *Kāśikākāra* (ibid.).

वर्ग्यो वर्ग्येण सवर्णः ॥ [११ ॥]

Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.).

अथ सप्तमं प्रकरणम् ॥

इत्येष क्रमो वर्णानाम् ॥ [१ ॥]

तत्रैते कौशिकीयाः श्लोकाः ॥ [२ ॥]

Here Sv. Dayānanda Sarasvatī adds a note that “those verses which have nothing in addition to the sixth chapter have not been written here”. These verses are now lost to us, and perhaps will never be discovered again.

सर्वान्ते ऽयोगवाहत्वाद् विसर्गादिरिहाष्टकः ।

अकार उच्चारणार्थो व्यञ्जनेष्वनुबध्यते ॥ [३ ॥]

ऋकऋपयोः कपकारौ च तद्वर्ग्याश्रयत्वतः ।

पलिकृती चख्खनतुर्जगिम-र्जघ्नुरित्यत्र यद् वपुः ॥ [४ ॥]

नासिक्यनाक्तं(?) कादीनां त इमे यमाः ।

तेषामुकारः संस्थानवर्गीयलक्षणः ॥ [५ ॥]

The last verse is corrupt.

अथाष्टमं प्रकरणम् ॥

उक्ताः स्थानकरणप्रयत्नाः ॥ [१ ॥]

The sūtra has already been given at the close of the fifth chapter.

इह यत्रस्था वर्णा उपलभ्यन्ते तत् स्थानम् ॥ [२ ॥]

Cf. *T.Pr.* (ii, 31, 33) : स्वराणां यत्रोपसंहारस्तत् स्थानम् ॥ अन्येषां तु यत्र स्पर्शनं तत् स्थानम् ॥

येन निर्वृत्यते तत् करणम् ॥ [३ ॥]

Cf. *T.Pr.* (ii, 32, 34): यदुपसंहरति तत् करणम् ॥, or—according to others—येन स्पर्शयति तत् करणम् ॥

प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः ॥ [४ ॥]

Patañjali (on Pāṇini, i, 1, 9) quotes this sūtra, analyses the word *prayatna-*, and gives a long discussion, at the end of which he establishes that प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः is the only possible definition: अथ कः प्रयत्नः । प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः । प्रपूर्वाद् यततेर्भावसाधनो नङ्-प्रत्ययः ॥ न हि प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः । किं तर्हि । प्रारम्भो यत्नस्य प्रयत्नः । यदि प्रारम्भो यत्नस्य प्रयत्नः, एवमप्यवर्णस्य एङोश्च सवर्णसञ्ज्ञा प्राप्नोति । ... एवं तर्हि — प्रयतनमेव प्रयत्नः ॥

Bhartṛhari in his commentary on this passage remarks: प्रारम्भो यत्नस्य प्रयत्न एतद् भाष्यकारस्य दर्शनम् (Berlin fragmentary MS., p. 95a, ll. 6-7), and thus indicates that प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः in *Mbh.* is a quotation.

नाभिप्रदेशात् प्रयत्नप्रेरितः प्राणो नाम वायुरूर्ध्वमाक्रामन्नुरादीनां स्थानानामन्यतमस्मिन् स्थाने प्रयत्नेन विचार्यते ॥ [५ ॥]

वि + चर् is here used in the sense of “to pass”.

Jinendrabuddhi (on Pāṇini, i, 1, 9) quotes the sūtra with the variations वायुः प्राणो नाम, उरःप्रभृतीनां, omitting स्थानानां after it, and in the end विधार्यते for विचार्यते. Sv. Day's edition has the colophon: समाप्ता चेयं वर्णोच्चारणशिखा.

The text as presented here is in a corrupt form, the seventh chapter being the most unsatisfactory. Like the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, it is a sūtra work with eight chapters. Being a primer for the instruction of children, the sūtras are very simple and clear, though there are instances of *maṇḍūka-pluṭi* and *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*. The device of affixing an indicatory *t* to vowels and *u* to the first letters of the five classes of mutes has also been made use of. Words like *hrasva*, *dirgha*, *pluta*, *savarṇa* are not defined here. These have been later on explained in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. *Prayatna* defined in the *Śikṣā* is naturally

supposed to be known to the students of *Aṣṭ.*, i, 1, 9, just as the concluding sūtra of *Aṣṭ.* presupposes **संवृतस्वकारः** (*Śikṣā*, iii, 9). The *svaras* have been dealt entirely in the grammar, though Candrakīrti thought it more appropriate to include the definitions of *udātta*, *anudātta*, and *svarita* as well as of *hrasva*, *dīrgha*, and *pluta* in the *Varṇa-sūtras*.

Quoting of different definitions and pronunciations is a very important feature of the *Śikṣā*.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE SCRIPT OF THE INDUS VALLEY SEALS

A close examination of the engraved and inscribed seals found at Mohenjo-daro in Sindh and at Harappa in the Panjāb has led me to the conclusion that what have up to this time been regarded as pictographs or ideographs are letters or characters (*akṣaras*) closely connected with the characters of the script known as Brāhmī. As a result of this study, I have prepared a table (see Plate No. I) of such characters as I have been able to distinguish so far, to serve as a working key to the decipherment of the inscriptions. By the aid of this key I have been able, I believe, to read some of the inscriptions available to me for examination. Out of these I have selected a number, which I have shown on a second plate with the equivalent Devanāgarī characters written immediately below for the sake of comparison. These identifications must be regarded at present as tentative and as liable to modification or correction hereafter. I have been handicapped by being able to study only the illustrations that have so far appeared in the published records of the Archæological Survey of India and in a few other publications, which represent but a small proportion of the seals that have been found. I have been induced to put forward my suggested readings at this early stage of my researches by the hope that they may stimulate other scholars to follow up the clues offered and so lead eventually to the complete decipherment of the seals.

A few conclusions of a general nature have also suggested themselves to me in the course of my investigation. These may be very briefly stated.

The seals hitherto discovered seem to belong to periods widely separated in time, and to represent different stages in the evolution of the script that later on became more or less stereotyped as the Brāhmī form of writing.

It would appear that the preparation of these seals was, in the beginning, very closely associated with the religious observances and sacrificial practices of the times. For example, many of the seals appear to me to have been

intended to serve as dies for the preparation of sacrificial bricks (*iṣṭakā*), on the subject of which an extensive literature exists. On many of the seals, again, we shall find engraved mystic and sacred formulas, the interpretation of which requires careful examination of certain Vedic and Tāntric

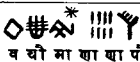


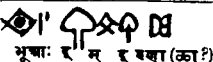
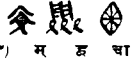



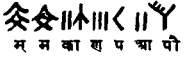
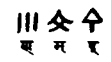
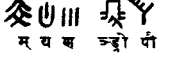
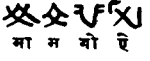
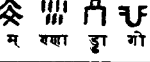

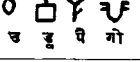
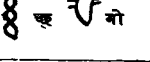
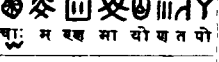
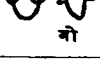
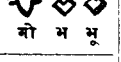
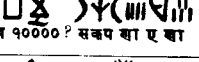
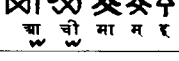
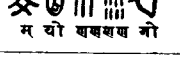

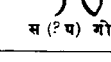
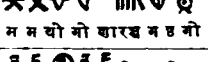

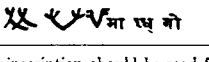
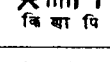
PLATE I

SUGGESTED KEY TO THE SCRIPT ON THE SEALS

- (a) , [i]; (ā) , [ii]; (ā̃) , [iii]; (ah) , (āhh)
 (i) , , [k, Δ, Δ]; (ī) , , [k, v, e]; (ī̃) [v, e]
 (u) , [o, u, n, <]; (ū) [o, o, n, <]; (ū̃) , [o, o, o]
 (e) , [v, Δ]; (ai) , ; (āi) ; (eh)
 (o) , [z, v]; (au) [z, v]; (āu) [z, v]? (oh)
 (k) , ; (ka) ; (kā) ; (ki) ; (kya) ; (kk) | (gh) ; (ghau)
 (g) , ; (ga) ; (gā) ; (go) ; (gau) ; (gāu) ; (gga)
 (ñ) ; (ña) ; (ñgā) ; (ñgāu) ? (ch) ; (ech) | (ñ) ,
 (c) ; (ca) ; (cā) ; (ci) ; (cī) ; (cā̃) ; (cāh) ; (cc) , (ñc)
 (t) ; (ta) ; (tt) ; (tā) | (tha) ; (ṣṭha) | (j) F ; (jā)
 (d) ; (dā) ; (dva) ; (dvau) | (dh) ; (dhḍh) (dhḍh)
 (n) ; (na) ; (nā) ; (nā̃) | (na) , | (ta)
 (d) ? | (dh) | (b) ? | (bh) ; (bhā) | (mma)
 (p) ; (pa) ; (pā) ; (pi) ; (pai) ; (po) ; (pau)
 (y) ; (ya) ; (yo) ; (yau) , | (r) | (r)
 (l) ; (la) , (lap) | (v) ; (va) | (s) , , ? | (r) (s)
 (m) ; (ma) , ; (mā) , | (h) ; (hū) | (ś)
 (om̃) [a + ā + u + m̃] , [a + u + m̃] , [a + ā + m̃]

texts. In fact it is not too much to say that the decipherment of the older seals will open a new vista in the study of this sacred literature and provide fresh evidence of the antiquity of the so-called "Vedic period". Similarly, the Tāntric literature will throw light upon certain of the symbols employed. Indeed, the apparent influence of Tāntric symbolism may lead to interesting conclusions regarding the remoteness of the age from which Tāntric cults were evolved.

PLATE II

Archæological Survey of India Annual Report.			Selected inscriptions on seals and sealings with decipherment in Devanāgarī characters beneath.		Archæological Survey of India Annual Report.			Selected inscriptions on seals and sealings with decipherment in Devanāgarī characters beneath.	
Year.	Plate No.	Inscription No.			Year	Plate No.	Inscription No.		
1923-24	XIX	(2) R.L.		I	1924-25	XXII	(3) R.L.		15
"	"	(1) R.L.		2	"	"	(a) L.R.		16
"	"	(8) R.L.		3	"	"	(a) R.L.		17
"	"	(21) R.L.		4	1925-26	XLV	(24) R.L.		18
"	"	(17) R.L.		5	"	"	(17) R.L.		19
"	"	(12) R.L.		6	"	"	(12) R.L.		20
"	"	(13) R.L.		7	"	"	(15) R.L.		21
1924-25	XXVIII	(26) R.L.		8	"	"	(20) R.L.		22
"	"	(8) R.L.		9	"	"	(7) R.L.		23
"	"	(11) R.L.		10	"	"	(23) R.L.		24
"	"	(1) R.L.		11	"	"	(4) R.L.		25
"	"	(18) R.L.		12	1923-24	XIX	(20) R.L.		26
See: L. A. Waddell, <i>The Indo-Sumerian Seals deciphered</i> , p. 19				13	1926-27	XXI	27, 28, 29, 30 L.R.		27
Ibid., p. 18, R.L.				14	1924-25	XXII	(a) R.L.		28

Note: R.L. means the inscription should be read from right to left.
L.R. means the inscription should be read from left to right.

¹ (Sam. राजन्ना पच १०००० ? वर्ष ?)

The readings of the inscriptions concerned present some meaning, provided the language is understood to be some form of Prakrit or old pre-Vedic language. It is premature to form any definite opinion yet.

My only excuse for putting forward these tentative suggestions, while so many of the seals found are not yet available for examination, is the paramount importance of the subject for the understanding of the ancient civilization of India.

The basis on which my key has been prepared and the directions in which emendations are likely to be found necessary cannot be set forth in this short note, and must be reserved for fuller treatment hereafter.

PRĀṆ NĀTH.

SHĀH JAHĀN III

In his interesting note on the Rāisīna grant Pt. B. N. Reu describes the puppet ruler who was set up by Ghāzī-ud-dīn after the murder of 'Ālamgīr II as Muhī-us-sunnat, with the title of Shāh Jahān II. He has evidently followed the Sair-ul-mutaākhirīn (III, p. 375, Cambray's edition). But Mr. S. H. Hodivala has shown (p. 310, "Historical studies in Mughal numismatics") that there is better authority for describing him as the son of Muhī-us-sunnat, and that his name was Muhī-ul-millat or Muhī-ud-dīn. In any case he was the third Shāh Jahān, as this regal title had also been assumed by Rafī'-ud-daula in A.H. 1131 (A.D. 1719).

R. BURN.

NOTICE.

In an article in the *Morgenbladet* (Oslo), of the 18th April, 1931, it is announced that the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture have decided to publish a work on the Burushaski Language of Hunza Nagar by Lieut.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, an old and valued contributor to this Journal. The linguistic relationships of the Burushaski language present a baffling problem for the elucidation of which Colonel Lorimer's work is expected to provide peculiarly reliable material.

ERRATA

R.A.S. Journal, APRIL, 1931

Page 269, line 12, *for* מִשְׁאֲלוֹתֶיךָ *read* מִשְׁאֲלוֹתֶיךָ

„	275	„	5	„	עֲבֹדָה	„	עֲבֹדָה
„	276	„	24	„	הַשְׁחִיתוּ	„	הַשְׁחִיתוּ
„	277	„	11	„	וַיַּחֲרֹגוּ	„	וַיַּחֲרֹגוּ
„	278	„	16	„	בְּשֵׁם	„	בְּשֵׁם
„	279	„	19	„	בְּכֹחַ	„	בְּכֹחַ
„	285	„	2	„	שָׁמַת	„	שָׁמַת
„	289	„	3	„	נִפְשִׁי	„	נִפְשִׁי
„	292	„	3	„	אֲשֶׁר	„	אֲשֶׁר

[The printers regret that owing to an accident in machining, the above errors appeared in some copies of the last issue of the *Journal*. Steps are being taken to effect alterations in the Hebrew fount that will obviate future accidental fractures in the type.]

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ARABIAN PEAK AND DESERT : TRAVELS IN AL-YAMAN. By
AMEEN RIHANI. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ix + 280, pls. 14, London :
Constable & Co., 1930. 15s.

This work contains the record of a journey from Aden to San'a, and from San'a to Hudaidah, performed, as we gather from a casual notice, in the year 1922. The route followed for the first part was somewhat to the west of that described by W. B. Harris in his *Journey through the Yemen* (1899), while that of the second part seems to have been identical with the route of G. Wyman Bury, recorded in his *Arabia Infelix* (1915). The threefold purpose of Mr. Rihani's journey was, he told the Imam of San'a, "to see the country, to write about it, and to be of some service to its people and their cause." He certainly accomplished the first two of these aims; how far he attained the third is not clear. He told one of his questioners that "he had nothing to do with politics; only as a lover of Arabia and the Arabs he would like to see the rulers of the country stop fighting each other". Such a desire would seem to be essentially political; and the writer appears to have countenanced the assumption that he was on a political mission, and at one point actually got involved in *la haute politique*. And some very serious fighting took place after his departure. But if Arabia is helped by fresh information being given to the West about its geography, institutions, and language, Mr. Rihani has certainly helped it, and remarkably well for the brevity of his stay. For his volume is certainly instructive on all these subjects, besides being exceedingly well written.

The conversations reported are all of interest; attention may be called to one, not only as illustrating the mentality of the Zaidi Community, but as showing that the fatality whereby the Qur'an is misquoted is to be found among the most devout believers in that book.

Mr. Rihani : What do you do to guard against contagion ?

A "venerable Sheikh of learning and culture" : There is no contagion in Islam. These are the words of Allah as set down in the Book : " I will shake hands with a leper, without fear of catching the disease."

Mr. R. : And if you do ?

The Sheikh : It is the will of Allah.

Mr. R. : But does not the Prophet in the Hadith say : " Fly from a leper as from a lion " ?

The Sheikh : Yes, that is the Hadith. But the Commentators tell us, etc.

The Sheikh's quotation from the Qur'an is not to be found there ; but there is a tradition somewhat similar in import.

Mr. Rihani is a poet, and poetic history does not always accord with that of the chronicles. On this principle we may interpret the exclamation " San'a, once the queen city of the world, says History " (p. 78) ; it must have been a very small world. Even the poetic explanation seems inadequate to account for the statement (p. 186) : " One of the latter Himyar kings, Zu'n-Nawwas, in whose days the Muslem Arabs of al-Hijaz invaded Al-Yaman, first embraced Al-Islam, and soon changed his mind and embraced Judaism." It must be said in defence of this king's conduct that he died the better part of a century before Islam had been heard of, and so must have sinned out of ignorance. Still digressions into " history " do not constitute an important part of Mr. Rihani's book, which students of Arabian affairs will find very full of information.

D. S. M.

THE CURRENCY OF THE FAR EAST : THE SCHJÖTH COLLECTION. By FR. SCHJÖTH, M.R.A.S., former Commissioner of the Chinese Maritime Customs, Ningpo. Publications of the Numismatic Cabinet of the University of Oslo. 13 × 8, pp. v + 88, 132 plates. London : Luzac & Co. ; Oslo : H. Aschehong & Co., 1929. £1 10s.

The Currency of the Far East (a more correct title than that of *Chinese Currency*, given on the outside cover), forming No. 1 of the publications of the Numismatic Cabinet of the University of Oslo, Norway, is a description of the collection of the coins of China, Japan, Corea, and Annam and of the Chinese charms or amulets collected by Mr. Fr. Schjøth, M.R.A.S., former Commissioner of the Chinese Maritime Customs, Ningpo, which he has presented to the Numismatic Cabinet of the University of Oslo. Mr. Schjøth went to China apparently in 1866, as he states that when he was appointed to the office of Customs at the port of Swatow in 1876, he had "then been some ten years in China and had acquired a fair knowledge of the language both spoken and written". He commenced the collecting of Chinese coins in 1876. At that time the finding of old coins was much easier for a collector than it is to-day, for as Mr. Schjøth, in his preface, states : "I began in a modest way, by now and then sending my servant down with a dollar or two to bring back strings of cash. In a comparatively short time I had, strange to say, obtained a respectable collection, not only of Ta-ch'ing, Ming, and Sung coins, but also K'ai-yüans of T'ang and even of Wu-shus and Pau-liangs, which dated from the beginning of the Christian era." The writer, who was in China from 1879 to 1921, and who had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Schjøth at Canton in 1880, knows by his experience as a collector how greatly the difficulties of finding old coins have increased, and how hard it is even to form a complete collection of the numerous issues of modern coins in the various provinces. As Mr. Schjøth was, during his career in the service of the Chinese Maritime Customs, stationed at a

variety of places in widely separated parts of China, he had excellent opportunities of adding to his collection, of which he did not fail to avail himself, with the result that he made a collection which it would be a difficult task to rival nowadays, and for the gift of which the University of Oslo is no doubt grateful to the generous donor. The volume should be of value to those who belong to the small band of numismatists interested in the currency of the Far East, and should be especially useful as a guide to collectors, present or future. The work is well arranged. The illustrations are "hand-drawn sketches taken directly from each coin" by Mrs. Heyerdahl, daughter of Mr. Schjøth. Whilst these sketches undoubtedly serve a useful purpose, such illustrations would be better produced by photography than even by the woodcuts which Mr. Schjøth regrets not having had at his disposal. A list of the weight of the coins has been prepared by Dr. Hans Holst, the Keeper of Coins and Medals in the Numismatic Cabinet of the University of Oslo, and forms a valuable addition to the work, on the scholarship and general accuracy of which Mr. Schjøth is deserving of congratulation. The volume was printed in Great Britain, and a word of praise is well merited for the excellent manner in which the printers' share of the work has been done. Several descriptions of collections of Far Eastern currency have been published by Europeans, and there is an extensive literature in Chinese on the currency of China. It is hoped that a Chinese, European, or American will some day, after a careful investigation and a skilful handling of all the material available, give us a work on Far Eastern currency based on scientific principles. Such a work would not only be of interest to numismatists, but could not fail to throw much light on the social and economic history of China.

J. H. STEWART LOCKHART.

MOSES MENDELSSOHN'S HEBRÄISCHE SCHRIFTEN. III.
BRIEFWECHSEL BEARBEITET. VON HAIM BORODIANSKI.
10 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$, pp. cxlii + 310, 2 fascs. Berlin : Akademie
Verlag, 1929.

The writer (and receiver) of these letters was the famous Jewish philosopher of the eighteenth century who was honoured by his contemporaries by the name of the "Socrates of the Jews". He was a prolific author of philosophic essays, and incidentally one of those who fostered a High German style at a time when even the king of his country and the nobility preferred French to their native tongue. The book represents vol. xvi of his collected works, and vol. iii of his Hebrew writings. Many of the letters are in German, but in Hebrew cursive characters. One of these letters is addressed to Bishop Lowth, the author of a well-known commentary of Isaiah, to whom he sent the first two parts of his translation of the Pentateuch. A copy of the original is extant in the Bodleian Library, and was published by the late Dr. Neubauer in the *Athenaeum*. Another letter was published by the same scholar in the *Letterbode*, ii, 175. Otherwise the literary value of these letters is scant, but their significance lies in the light they shed on the contemporary history of the Jews in Germany prior to their emancipation. Mendelssohn, although he was treated with respect by Kant, remained a "protected" Jew, debarred from civic rights like the rest of his brethren. This ban was not lifted till 1812. The get-up of this volume is excellent, and the indices abound in biographical and literary notes.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

JUDAH B. SOLOMON CAMPANTON AND HIS "ARBA'AH KINYANIM". By ELHANAN H. GOLOMB, Ph.D. 9 × 6, pp. iv + 110, 1 fasc. Philadelphia : Dropsie College, 1930.

It is difficult to disagree with the remark in the author's preface that it is doubtful whether the work he edited is

possessed of any scientific or historical value. Yet, as he has thought it worth while to expend time and study on it, it might deserve a brief notice. The author of the work was a professed mystic. He left another work of kindred tendencies, and a MS. copy of it exists in the Bodleian Library (see Naubauer's *Catalogue*, No. 1672). The book under review is drawn from a MS. belonging to the Jewish Theological Library at New York. Another copy belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge, has been fully described by Herbert Loewe in his *Catalogue* of the Hebrew MSS. of this collection. His description is even fuller than that given by the editor of the above-mentioned work, containing variations in the introductory poem, also giving a long poem which probably was inserted by the copyist. The title of the work is an adaptation of the heading of the adventitious sixth chapter to the *Ethics of the Fathers*. The contents are talmudic, haggadic, cabbalistical, and astrological. It is pleasant to state that the editor has proved his capacity to turn his talents to more important publications.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

AGADA UND EXEGESE BEI FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS. Von DR. SALOMO RAPPAPORT, Israelitisch-Theologische Lehraustalt in Wien : Band III. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xxxvi + 140. Wien : Verlag der Alexander Kohnt Memorial Foundation, 1930.

This book is another contribution to the immense Josephus literature, but so far a novelty, as it deals with the *Haggadah* embodied in it, and hitherto not treated in any special treatise. Before, however, going any further in viewing it, a word must be said about the term "Agada" which strictly speaking is not correct, as it should be either (Hebrew) *Haggādāh*, or (Aramaic) *Agadtā*. Yet the term, though being a solecism, has become popular, and will probably remain so. On account of his unreliability and his many sins against historic truth, Josephus has lost the confidence of modern

students, but being practically without a rival as a writer of contemporary history of the most momentous events in the annals of the world, he simply compels the searcher after truth to listen to him, and to strain his critical powers to the utmost. Light is focussed on him from various directions, including that of the *Halakhāh* (ritual). The above-mentioned book now adds the *Haggādāh*, viz. legendary, ethical, and homiletic matters. The main question is: whence did Josephus derive the material for his *Antiquities*. In trying to solve this problem our author first discusses the sources, especially those of which Josephus gives no clue; such as the ancient versions, oral, tradition, or written documents. He curtly dismisses the "Asatir" recently published by Dr. M. Gaster, but not without being guilty of the misconception as if the title were *Das Asatir*, for the word is Arabic and borrowed from the *Qorān*, where it occurs several times as a plural form meaning "stories" (from the Greek *ιστορίαι*). This tells its own tale, and it is therefore impossible that Josephus could have used this work as a source. The author finds much difficulty in deciding the question whence Josephus derived his learning, whether from what he was taught in his youth, or from books. There is no definite statement possible in this matter. Both factors were probably at work. A young student picks up information as a bee gathers honey. Josephus had enjoyed a rabbinic education which by its nature is very elastic and allows many topics to enter the mind of the pupil as it were automatically. He knew the Bible, and possibly compiled notes of his own in addition to the comments given him by his teachers. These became enlarged by casual suggestions, or words he remembered, or what he imagined to have been taught. This is common experience. One should not be impatient and charge him with being prompted by selfish motives or anxious to gain undeserved fame, although he may be guilty of the vanity of passing as a very learned person. In any case, this is redeemed by the usefulness of his writings. The main part of the book under con-

sideration consists of abstracts from the *Antiquities*, the "Wars", and the Treatise against Apion, illustrated by parallels from rabbinic writings. Some instances even reflect a kind of biblical criticism, most probably based on tradition. Thus he read רַעִי (1 Kings, i, 8) for רָעִי, and explains שָׁלִישׁ (2 Kings vii, 7) as "leader of the third part of the army". There are a few more instances which add to the interest the book may claim. The author has produced a diligent and instructive study.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

UN EMPIRE COLONIAL FRANCAIS L'INDOCHINE. Ouvrage publié sous la direction de M. GEORGES MASPERO. I. Le Pays et ses Habitants, L'Histoire, La Vie Sociale. II. L'Indochine Française, L'Indochine Economique, L'Indochine Pittoresque. Two vols., 13 × 10, pp. xxii + 357, 230 text illustrations, 3 drawings, 24 plates, 5 maps; pp. 304, 155 text illustrations, 3 drawings, 24 plates, 7 maps. Paris et Bruxelles: C. Van Oest, 1929, 1930.

This is a sumptuously illustrated and very instructive standard work on the French possessions in Indo-China. The subjects dealt with include geography, ethnography, languages, history and archæology, manners and customs, religions, literatures, administration, public health, archæological and scientific exploration, agriculture, forests, industry, mining, public works, the picturesque aspects of the country, facilities for tourists, and big game shooting. In addition to the general editor, M. Georges Maspéro, the contributors include such well-known names as his brother H. Maspéro, G. Coedès, R. P. Cadière, G. Cordier, J. Przyluski, H. Marchal, and several other experts in various departments.

The subjects are so numerous that the space allotted to some of them is inevitably rather cramped. For example, the section on languages, by M. H. Maspéro, only runs to eighteen pages, of which nearly four are taken up with a

valuable classified list of about one hundred languages and dialects. This leaves little room for a description of the individual languages, but what room there is is well filled. History and archæology have been more liberally treated, and M. G. Maspéro has made good use of the space allotted to him. The discussion as to the order in time of the various architectural styles found in the Cambojan monuments is of great interest, though no definite conclusion is drawn, the matter being regarded as still *sub judice*.

The second volume includes *inter alia* an interesting history of the acquisition of these possessions by France and of the development of their administration, as well as accounts of the work accomplished in various departments by French activity (including that of the Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient, to which Oriental scholarship owes so much). A considerable section is devoted to the economic products of Indo-China, to irrigation, transport (rivers, canals, ports, railways, and roads), etc., and Prince and Princess Achille Murat have contributed very readable accounts of big game shooting and of their extensive journeys, respectively.

A bibliography and an index at the end of each volume constitute very valuable features of the work. Nearly all the numerous illustrations are exceedingly good, and they include a series of small maps of the country ranging from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The large modern maps at the end of each volume, illustrating such matters as the geology, meteorology, ancient history, physical geography, linguistic distribution, political divisions, economics, navigable waterways and touring, are also valuable additions.

An introduction by M. Albert Sarraut, a former Governor-General of French Indo-China, appears to be aimed mainly at drawing the attention of his compatriots to the importance of their colonial empire and the good work that has been done in it; but it seems a pity that he has gone out of his way to stigmatize the colonial methods of certain other (unspecified) countries in or about the beginning of the present century

as being characterized by a "matérialisme brutal", which seeks only mercantile profits and is devoid of all human ideals. General accusations of this sort serve no useful purpose; and, anyhow, the achievements of France stands in no need of such a foil.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

A DUTCH PHONETIC READER. By EDITH E. QUICK and JOHANNA G. SCHILTHUIS. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, pp. vi + 115. London: University of London Press, 1930. 3s. 6d. net.

Though this work does not fall within the usual range of the Society's activities, it will be of interest to some members who specialize in linguistics. After a carefully detailed description of the Dutch sounds, accompanied by two vowel charts, there follow fourteen texts in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association with the English versions of them on the opposite pages. To one of the texts the intonation of every syllable is also added, thus giving a pretty complete idea of the actual pronunciation. The same texts are then given in the ordinary orthography, and a vocabulary of the Dutch words in phonetic script concludes the little volume.

As the authors point out in a prefatory note to the vocabulary, a very curious feature of the Dutch language is frequency of assimilation. Of this, particularly of the type that may be styled sentence-*sandhi*, there are numerous examples, revealed by a comparison of the phonetic with the orthographic text. It may be progressive or regressive, and in the former case the modified forms have been given in the vocabulary, with references to their normal originals. A very curious case is **mɛp mɛn**, for *met mijn* (p. 41, l. 16), which has set me wondering whether **mɛp** might not be a misprint for **mɛd**. Probably it is not. Another odd feature is the insertion of a consonant between a final and an initial vowel. This is usually **n**, but I have noted one case (p. 45, l. 7) where it is **d**. These two sorts of phonetic processes are not recognized in the ordinary spelling.

The following appear to be misprints : p. 13, l. 21, *væl* for *væl* ; p. 17, l. 5, *en* for *en* ; p. 31, l. 11, *betsi* for *betsi* ; p. 35, l. 7, *va:r* for *va:r*, l. 10, *ømdat* for *ømdat* ; p. 43, l. 2, *va:dərs* for *va:dərs* ; p. 45, l. 21, *alen* for *alen*, ll. 7, 28, *alteit* for *alteit* ; p. 47, l. 4, *ik* for *ik* ; p. 51, l. 21, *hæcə* for *hæcə* ; p. 53, l. 16, *næg* for *næg* ; p. 59, l. 3, *vorbei* for *vorbei*. Apart from such minor blemishes, the work seems to me to be entirely good, and it supplies a long felt want. Though the authors in their introduction say that it is not intended to be used without the help of a teacher, I feel sure that an intelligent student could make very good use of it if no teacher happened to be available.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

OUTLINE OF CHANG GRAMMAR. By J. H. HUTTON, D.Sc., C.I.E. From the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), vol. xxv, 1929, No. 1, p. 101. 9½ × 6, pp. 101. Issued 1930.

In the preface to this excellent sketch of Chang grammar, Dr. Hutton gives a brief account of the Changs from which it seems that the parent village—Tuensang—is composed of four clans grouped two by two—a combination found elsewhere in this area. This feature has bearing on the relationship terminology given on pp. 51–2, where one term is applied to the three or even four relations. Chang is affected by tones, and there are many words whose difference depends solely on a very slight change of vowel. It must be noted, however, that in all these tone languages the context plays a very important part in determining the exact meaning and that if the whole sentence or whole expression be taken as the unit of examination, the effect of the various factors—order, tone, associated determinatives or couplets and the general situation in which intervisibility as well as interaudibility are elements—can be ascertained. In Chang there are rules of consonantal harmonization. The numeral system is vigesimal, 30 having a separate term. Up to 200 the odd tens

are reckoned from the score in excess, and after 200 ten score is added to and multiplied. There are grounds for suspecting that there is a real distinction between the two plural forms *-ong* and *shoung*. Sex is distinguished as in other TB languages in this area, in the case of animals, by distinctions between male and female with and without young. The pronouns have inclusive and exclusive forms in both dual and plural. The verb and its forms are well described. The niceties of social intercourse as exemplified in language are well shown by the author (p. 22) where "if a friend offers a man a drink and he replies *teyungko*, no offence is taken, as he means that he does not feel like drinking, and that if he was thirsty he would accept the offer, whereas if he replied *ayunglabu*, he would give offence". The negative or prohibitive formation is shown very clearly, and it occasions difficulties at times (p. 35). The sketch has a useful vocabulary, and is worth perusal. How comes it that Chang has arrived at *mangchie* for "agreement" in exact convergence with our word "unanimous", whose origin and meaning are clear? The sociologist will be worried as to the use of *pang* as the men's grouping or clan, and of *sau* for that of women. The Changs make a distinction between physical and ceremonial or spiritual uncleanness.

T. C. H.

LA PENSÉE DE RABINDRANATH TAGORE. Par SUSHIL CHANDRA MITTER. 9 × 5½, pp. 179, pl. 1. Paris: Adrien-Maissonneuve, 1930. 40 fr.

This is an interesting effort by a Professor of the Ripon College of Calcutta to explain to the French reading public the full meaning of Tagore's philosophic thought. The writer gives a good account of the renaissance of literary feeling in Bengal in the middle of the last century, and of the early surroundings of the young Rabindranath in the Tagore family which took so leading a part in that renaissance. He refers somewhat briefly to Tagore's poetry, quoting with approval the opinion

of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald that this poetry is India itself, the soul of an entire people. The author gives his chief attention to Tagore's philosophy, and seeks to make clear for Western readers the true significance of the divine principle of *Jivāndevata*. The importance which he attaches to this part of his subject is shown by the statement of his firm assurance that the thought of Tagore, poet and philosopher, will play a great rôle in the future destinies of humanity. The essay is commendably free from political animus ; but the author draws a comparison between the ideas of Gandhi and of Tagore, showing that the latter's are the more universal, and that the application of Gandhi's non-co-operation is certainly opposed to Tagore's idealism. For the English reader, a comparison of Mr. Edward Thompson's study of Tagore, with which the author of this essay does not agree, with the views set forth in the present work, will not be without interest.

P. R. C.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA. By RAMA PRASAD DAS GUPTA. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, Books I and II, pp. ii + 237. Calcutta : Book Company ; London : Kegan Paul, 1930. Rs. 5 or 8s. 6d.

This is a useful and unassuming study of the old Hindu legal system. On the ancient question whether the rules set out by the earliest writers represent more closely precept or actual practice, the author considers that the system expounded by them was in the main enforced. As regards the severity of the punishments laid down, the author shows that this can be easily equalled by examples from the early codes of other nations, and that in some respects the Hindu laws were considerably milder than those of other countries. The blot on these laws is, indeed, not their severity, but the distinction in crime and punishment between the Sudras and the superior castes, and still more between the Brahmans and everybody else. If we could fully accept the author's view that " these Brahmans were a class of men who were absolutely

indifferent to worldly pleasures and wealth", it would no doubt reduce the feeling of inequity roused by the numerous exceptions in favour of the Brahmans. Doubtless the fact that the jurists who prepared the codes were themselves Brahmans has given their caste-fellows a preference which may not have been always enforceable in practice. The same appearance of precept rather than reality is given by the excellent sanitary laws, which have failed to survive among the Hindus of modern India. Mr. Gandhi would doubtless be interested to learn that the manufacture of salt was, with an exception in favour of hermits, a monopoly of Government in the earliest Hindu times. The book is a useful introduction to the ancient law of India.

P. R. C.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTAR: (a) Letters and Dispatches relating to the Battle of Panipat, 1747-61. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. iv + 233. Price : 2 Rs. 3 annas or 4s. (b) Letters and Dispatches relating to the Battle of Udgir, 1760. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. ii + 60. 13 annas or 1s. 4d. Bombay : Government Central Press, 1930.

These are two of the excellent compilations of extracts from the great storehouse of historical information contained in the Pashwa's Daftar at Poona. The extracts, being in Maráthi, with only the briefest of notes in English to indicate the subject-matter, can only be of use to readers and students with a knowledge of the former language. To them, however, they have considerable value as the original news-letters and official dispatches from the Maratha armies, when the Empire of that people was at its zenith. They indicate the strength and the weakness of the Maratha system ; the originally strong centralized control, and the impossibility of maintaining that control when the Empire expanded to Delhi and the Panjab, with a pleasure-loving Peshwa like Balaji, and mutually jealous families of military leaders. The extracts relating to

Panipat do not tell us more about the battle itself, the rout of the Marathas having been too complete to allow of dispatches. But they indicate many points of interest such as the willingness of the Afghan, Ahmad Shah, to negotiate, and the note of warning struck by several of the Marathas including Nana Fadnavis. Some interesting points are made clear, such as the date of Jayappa Sindhia's murder, which caused such continuing bad blood between the Marathas and the Rajputs. It is shown to have occurred in 1755, while Grant Duff placed it doubtfully, and Kincaid and Parasnis with no expression of doubt, in 1759. The papers relating to the Battle and Treaty of Udgir show how the Nizám was saved from entire subjugation by the Marathas, firstly by the presence of the French force under Bussy, and afterwards, when that force had been withdrawn, by the invasion of Ahmad Shah Duráni. If that subjugation had taken place, the history of India must have been very different. To those with any knowledge of the Maráthi tongue, the extracts, couched in simple straightforward language, and often in the words of the army commanders themselves, make very interesting reading.

P. R. C.

Iranica

By L. D. Barnett

1. DER URSPRUNG DER MAGIER UND DIE ZARATHUŠTRISCHE RELIGION. By GIUSEPPE MESSINA, S.I. (Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici.) 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 102. Roma : Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1930.

Deep and accurate scholarship is one of the fine traditions of the Reverend Father's Order, and his work fully conforms to that high standard. His main conclusions, as summarized by himself, are as follows : (1) Pliny in his account of *magice* (xxx, 1 ff.) derives the original elements of that art from Persia and Zoroaster, and distinguishes this from later magic,

which was of Jewish-Egyptian and Chaldæan origin. (2) The source of Pliny's account is Apion's *περὶ μάγου*, which in turn was based upon the writings of Bolus-Demetrius, a fanciful and unreliable Pythagorean, and the *περὶ μάγων* of Hermippus of Alexandria, who drew upon trustworthy authors of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (3) These sources used by Hermippus give details which show distinctively Zarathuštrian features. Among them is Xanthus the Lydian; and they name as teacher of Zarathuštra *Agonaces*, to be corrected to *Azonaces*, i.e. *ā-zānak*, "der tüchtig Weise," a title of Ahura Mazdāh. (4) Zarathuštrian Magians, especially after the conquests of Cyrus, came into contact with Babylon and tried to assimilate Chaldæan doctrines from about the fourth century B.C.; evidences are the document transmitted by Cosmas Hierosolymitanus, the inscriptions of Arebsun, and lists of Zarathuštra's successors. (5) Later Avestan and Middle-Persian literature, though widely diverging from genuine Zarathuštrian doctrine, regards itself as the repository of the latter, and is strongly opposed to sorcery, which it regards as deriving from Babylon. The Magians' mantic art differed from that of Babylon. (6) In the Gāthās *maga-* denotes a gift, i.e. the religion of Zarathuštra as a gift of Ahura Mazdāh; hence *magavan-* means a recipient of this bounty, a Mazdayasnian; *magu-* and *moγu-* are later formations with the same meaning. (7) The Magians were not a race, but an order or close community. (8) The religious side of Z.'s doctrine, owing to its abstract and difficult character, appealed only to a small circle, viz. the Magians and the princes and nobles educated by them; his social doctrines, however, were intelligible to all. Hence the discrepancy between the inscriptions of Behistūn, with their aristocratic professions of faith, and the accounts of Herodotus, who describes the religion of the masses. The revolt of Gaumāta was an effort on the part of the Magians to secure victory for Z.'s reforms, which had not been very successful in Persia. (9) The Magians, however, failed to preserve Z.'s doctrines in

their purity. In the attempt to get over the discrepancies of Gāthic teachings, and under the pressure of the ancient nature-worship, they diverged more and more from Z. ; this change had begun already in the fourth century B.C. (10) As Magians (i.e. Zarathuštrians) existed long before Vištāspa, an earlier date must be assigned to Z. This date may be positively determined by the statement of Xanthus (Diog. Lært., *Proem.* 2) that Z. lived 600 years before the campaign of Xerxes.

Though *Quellenkritik* is somewhat uncertain, the first three of these conclusions may well be correct in the main. But on two points a caveat must be entered. Firstly, it is not legitimate to alter Pliny's *Agonacen* to *Azonacen* and to explain the latter as *ā-zānak* ; for even if the emendation were permissible, one may doubt whether a word *ā-zānak* existed as early as the source of Hermippus. Far more questionable, however, is the importance attached to the statement of Xanthus. It is really amazing that Father Messina has failed to notice the damning fact that " Xanthus " as quoted by Diogenes Lærtius refers to the conquest of Persia by Alexander, and therefore must be considerably later than that event.¹ I may add that I cannot share Father Messina's belief in the story of the transport of the Zarathuštrian scriptures to Egypt and their translation into Greek. The fourth and fifth conclusions may be accepted, with due reservations as to details. The sixth, which is one of the most important, is well argued, and seems to have not a little in its favour. On the other hand, since *maga-* was an ancient word probably familiar in religious connections (cf. the Vedic *maghá-*), it may have been in use for many centuries before Z. to denote a religious teaching or dispensation of the old dævic cults ; and this use may have continued after Z., so that there were two orders of Magians, the Zarathuštrians, and the non-Zarathuštrians, which ultimately—not later than the fourth century B.C.—coalesced. The seventh and eighth inferences

¹ Cf. Hertel, *Methode d. arischen Forschung*, p. 44 f.

are plausible; the ninth is obviously true. The tenth, however, must be contested. For my own part, I have an open mind on the question of the date of Z.; but the facts must be fairly stated. What Father Messina brings forward on pp. 40-2 is not cogent evidence; it consists only of (a) the statements of "Xanthus", a post-Alexandrian writer, and of still later authors, and (b) the appearance of a name in cuneiform lists of kings read as *Mazdaku*, which is supposed to prove that the bearer was a Mazdayasnian, but which really proves nothing.¹ As against this, native tradition (cf. Agathias, ii, 24), and some arguments adduced by Hertel, are in favour of the later date. The latter view, therefore, seems slightly more probable. As to the question whether Magians existed before Darius, it may be admitted that, although there is no direct evidence for the technical use of the word *maga-* and its derivatives before the fifth century B.C., yet the Greek *μάγος* in writers of that century² suggests the probability of a considerably earlier date for its introduction, which would carry back the original Avestic word beyond the middle of the sixth century. This may be cited as evidence either against Hertel's date for Zarathuštra or in favour of the existence of pre-Zarathuštrian Magians, according to one's taste. But to whichever side the reader's judgment may incline on this and other points, he will gratefully acknowledge his debt to the Reverend Father for a remarkably able and interesting book.

2. THE GĀTHĀS. Translated and summarized by KHODABAX EDALJI PUNEGAR. (The Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize Essays. K. R. Cama, Oriental Institute Publications, No. 3.) $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. i + i + 59. Bombay: D. B. Tareporevala, 1929 (?).

¹ See *BSOS.* iv, p. 388, where I have adduced the judgment of Mr. Sidney Smith.

² Father Messina appropriately cites also the Syriac *m'ghūšā*, "eine Versteinering aus spätestens dem fünften Jahrhundert v. Chr." (p. 67).

3. DIE GATHAS VON ZARATHUSTRA. Aus dem Persischen übersetzt und erläutert. Von H. KAZEMZADEH-IRAN-SCHÄHR. 9 × 6, pp. 109. Berlin-Steglitz : Orientalische Zeitschriftenverlag, 1930.

Mr. Punegar modestly claims no finality for his translation. In this he is right; we may indeed venture to go further and suggest that he is only at the beginning, if even so far. His version, couched in very unidiomatic and sometimes scarcely intelligible English, and often grammatically wrong,¹ reads into the Gathic words ideas of much later ages,² and his paraphrases are in accordance. The book is of no scientific value whatever.

The German translation is equally "unbrauchbar" for scholars. It appears to be a German version of Pūr-i Dā'ūd's Persian rendering, and is certainly far from being a faithful reproduction of the original. The translator has, moreover, rearranged the verses throughout in accordance with his own ideas of the Prophet's intentions (e.g. he gives us first Y. xxix. 1-4, 9, 3, 4, 10, 5, 7, 8, 11, then xxviii. 1-6, xliii. 5, 9, 7, 8, 11-13, 15, xlv. 8, xliii. 10, 4, 6, 14, 16, xxviii. 9-11, xliii. 1-3, and so forth), and adorns this patchwork with mostly futile "exoteric" and "esoteric" explanations. The pity of it!

4. THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM IN ANCIENT INDIA. By U. N. GHOSHAL, M.A., Ph.D. (Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1930.) 8½ × 5½, pp. i + 123 + i. Calcutta : University of Calcutta, 1930.

The five lectures comprised in this book are an able and on the whole an instructive survey of the relations of the Crown to the land in ancient India. The first, after a review of conditions in the ages represented by the Vēdas and

¹ Thus he renders *yō* "whereby" (xxviii, 2, etc.).

² For example, *xšaθra* is with him "volitional power"; *gaṃ rānyō-skərətīm* is "the rotating earth"; *Gəuš urvan-* is "the Soul or Essence of the Universe".

Brāhmanas, sets forth what the Smrtis and Kāuṭalya have to tell us on the amount, incidence, and mode of assessment of the Crown's revenues from the soil, on the Crown domains, and on the growing practice of granting assignments to Brahmans and others; and the next three lectures continue the investigation of these and germane topics through the ages until the twelfth century. Some very interesting and important developments are made clear in the course of these studies, such as the gradual extension of assignments and the system of chiefs' estates introduced under the Rajput dynasties. The author also maintains that the grants of the Vākātakas are the first to refer definitely to land-revenue, though we may be allowed to doubt his argument *ex silentio* that they "mark the beginnings of the land revenue properly so called in this part of the country" (p. 46), as well as his interpretation of the terms *udraṅga* and *uparikara* as permanent and temporary tenants,¹ and several other points.

The main object of the fifth lecture is to trace the growth of the Crown's control over the soil and to decide the vexed problem whether the king was really the owner (*svāmin*) of the state's territory as a whole. After a survey of the data Dr. Ghoshal answers the latter question in the negative.² I fear, however, that he has not adequately met all the arguments of the case, especially those set forth by Dr. Breloer. In favour of the theory of Crown ownership of the soil we have: (a) the express statements of Kātyāyana, Gāutama, Manu (with Mēdhātithi), and Bhaṭṭasvāmin, (b) the evidence of Megasthenes and the Chinese travellers,³ (c) the caess where kings actually resumed grants of land

¹ In passing we may also note a slip: on p. 65 the Cālukyas of Gujarat are called the "Chālukya dynasty".

² In my notice of Dr. Ghoshal's *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System* (JRAS. 1931, p. 165) I inadvertently misrepresented him by stating that he had "wholeheartedly" accepted the opposite view of Dr. Breloer. In this I was mistaken, and I regret the error.

³ On Hiuen Tsang's evidence see particularly Dr. Ghoshal's own remarks in his *Contr. to the Hist. of the Hindu Rev. Syst.*, pp. 225 f.

made to Brahmans (the Bahur grant, SII. ii, p. 513 ff.) or reserved to themselves the right to do so in the event of misconduct (as in the Chammak grant, CII. ii, p. 235 ff.), and (d) the fact that the British found no private ownership of land, and practically had to invent it. Against this we have (e) the dictum of Jāimini, VI. vii, 2, that the land is "unreserved for all", *sarvān praty aviśiṣṭatvāt*, which a series of later writers—Śabara, Mādhava, and Khaṇḍadēva *in loco*, as well as Nilakaṇṭha in his *Vyavahāra-mayūkha*—explain to mean that the king is not the owner of the soil, but only its guardian; (f) the references of the Smṛtis and Kāuṭalya to alienation of land, and (g) the records of such alienations in inscriptions. Here are two distinct lines of theory and practice, which simply cannot be brought "under one hat". Dr. Ghoshal attempts this feat by the heroic expedient of calling the evidences of (a) mere "legal maxims" intended only to justify the Crown's action in levying taxes on the land, while he explains away Megasthenes by a not very probable supposition¹ and ignores the other points. This is not convincing. If the doctrine of Crown ownership was a "legal maxim", a Smṛtikāra who introduced it in his book cheek by jowl beside an account of alienation of real ownership by private persons must have been a fool; and the Smṛtikāras, though mostly rather indifferent lawyers, were not fools. Following Dr. Breloer, we may explain the cases of (f) and (g) as alienations of usufruct only; it is also possible that (f) was derived in principle from an early age when the Crown was not yet universally recognised as the land-owner; but there still remains an irreconcilable antagonism between (a), (b), (c), and (d) on the one hand and (e) on the other. This opposition is a real one, based upon fundamental facts of history. At first the land was considered to belong to the tribe or population of the state, and was

¹ "By the end of the fourth century before Christ, it seems, the royal farms let out to the cultivators on lease had become so important that, according to one version of Megasthenes' description they formed the whole territory of the State" (p. 78).

owned, I conceive, by public bodies such as village communities, possibly also in some cases by private persons.¹ Then the kings, who levied *bali* on all lands, began to put forward a claim to be the owners of them—with some justice in cases where they had conquered them in war.² Some of the Brahmans admitted this claim. Others resisted, because the old theory of community-ownership squared better their practice of living in joint villages and with their pet fiction that originally the whole world belonged to the Brahmans and the Ksatriyas were merely their deputies,³ and because by urging this objection they thought to strengthen the case for their insatiable demand for land-assignments; and they maintained a theoretical opposition until modern times. But in practice their intransigence was ineffective, and the Crown ruled as the real owner of the soil until changing conditions weakened its control, and in some regions gave birth to a baronial feudalism. And then the Muslims came.

L. D. BARNETT.

LE DOGME ET LA PHILOSOPHIE DU BOUDDHISME (Études sur l'Histoire des Religions). Par LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 213. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, 1930.

It should become a matter of critical interest, when the sagacious and *savant* author of these *Études* has written *Finis* to them, to elicit in a comprehensive review just what and how much he has built in the edifice of our knowledge about Buddhism. May he live to write many more *Études*! In

¹ That in Vedic times the arable lands of the Aryan village were held in private ownership, as Dr. Ghoshal maintains, seems to me disputable; it is equally possible that they were held in joint ownership by the heads of households, but that each of the latter owned likewise a patch or two of private land adjoining his house, just like the *pīlaikkadai* and *kollai* of the Tamil joint-village.

² Such a claim was admitted even by the recalcitrant Brahmans; see pp. 101 ff. of the present work.

³ Cf. *Mahābh.*, *Śānti-p.*, lxxii, 10 ff., and Baden Powell's *Land Systems of British India*, iii, p. 158.

the limited space and time for a brief review, I would only tell the reader what here he may look for. He will find the dual title handled first (in Parts I and II) successively, and then in their mutual relations, namely, under "Origins of the Philosophy" and then as in mutual conflict. In conclusion, there are half a hundred pages of notes, offering those often wise and shrewd sayings which constitute for me, more than his examples of more general treatment, our real indebtedness to the author's erudition and good sense.

For not to any man or woman can it be given to achieve in 163 small pages any satisfactory treatment of that history of a world of centuries in religious thought, which we now call Buddhism! Least of all, when that history of changing ideas and changed skies is envisaged as dogmas (*le dogme*) wrapped up in "a very characteristic philosophy" (p. 81). Professor de la Vallée Poussin knows this as well as the best of us, and the result of his awareness and his great erudition leaves us with a sense of having been browsing awhile in a vast field ripe for historical criticism, browsing on wise and witty sayings, and departing without a real sense of having gained that *sammāditṭhi* which he calls La Bonne Vue. A right view ought to leave with us a vista of the founding of a world religion as the work, the half smothered work, of an inspired man longing to bring the joyous compassion to the Many, of a mandate *expanding*, in some way where it had proved weak, *the best religious teaching* of his day and his country, and so bringing new light to men on their nature and possibilities. How can this be so when La Bonne Vue, accepted as that of the original Sakya, is called "consciousness of sorrow and of impermanence as universal"? Conceive yourselves preaching a gospel to the Many in such terms! Was any great religion ever built on a message shrinking, wilting, negating the outlook on life of the man, the very man? We echo the sad little moan of the Kosalan wood sprite (in the *Vana-Samyutta*):—

Where are those Gotama-disciples gone?

and Gotama himself ? We learn more that is true of them and of "Sakya" in the admirable little introduction than in all the rest of the book.

But it is perhaps inevitable that prolonged study in the academic literature of mediæval Buddhist doctors, whence one emerges, it would seem, with the conviction that *nairātmya* is its one philosophic keynote, should predispose the student to see, in the Piṭakan worsening of the *puruṣa* in the *puggala*, in the worsening of *adhyātma* in *attaniya*, the real teaching of the Śakyamuni. I also tried, without our author's erudition, to get at some philosophic bases in the Piṭakas—years ago it was—but the result was, that never did I get back to Gotama and the first Gotama-sāvaka, to Sāriputta, for instance, who put foremost in teaching the mastery of the very man over the mind—not much *nairātmya* there, is there ?

The writer, with characteristic modesty, tells us he has hurried this book out while waiting for some one to publish one which gives the three or four "plans sur lesquels se développe la vérité bouddhique . . ." While he was writing these words, I was trying my best to do this. But it were rash to hope this generation will judge the gap is in any degree filled thereby. But of this thing I am convinced : Sakya (to give the thing its proper name) is not to be rightly, that is, historically solved, by starting with the *Abhidharmakośa*, with its frightful canker of the Not-man full-grown, *and working backwards*. It is with the greater Upanishads that we must start, and come to the Maitri, noting all the way *how Brahmans too* had been teaching "en dehors des cadres brahmaniques", and *then* look to our Piṭakas, prose and verse, for survivals of a buried gospel, which sought to expand that "framework" with a great teaching concerning the very man and how he lived and should live.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

THE HISTORICAL FLOOD AND CERTAIN FACTS. By Lt.-Com. VICTOR L. TRUMPER, R.N.R. (ret.). 8 × 5½, pp. vi + 26. The Scriptural Literature Press, Bangalore, 1930.

A "Foreword" written by W. C. Irvine asserts that the author has proved the veracity of the story of the Flood in Genesis; that it covered the whole earth and that by proving this story to be true the entire theory of evolution is destroyed. Many such brochures are written nowadays, inspired largely by the finding of flood strata at Kish and Ur. It has been pointed out repeatedly by archæologists that the various layers of sand precipitated by floods in cities along the course of the Euphrates are purely local affairs; one of unusual severity gave rise to the Sumerian, Babylonian, Aramaic (as told by Lucian concerning Hierapolis, or Bambyce), and Hebrew legends. First of all the author attacks the geologists and denies the great ages assigned by them to various strata in the earth's surface. He then discusses the Babylonian and Hebrew versions of the Flood story, severely censuring the articles on the Flood in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Also the Weld-Blundell Prism at Oxford, with its account of the prediluvian kings, and reference to the Flood is taken as strictly literal history. In discussing Mr. Woolley's discovery of the Flood at Ur, the author apparently believes that this is the Oxford Field Museum Expedition, and cites Professor Sollas' article in the *Daily Telegraph*, 3rd June, 1929, as a discussion of the Ur stratum. Professor Sollas was referring, of course, to Mr. Watelin's discovery at Kish, not to Ur. The author would do well to consult Mr. Harold Peake's little book, *The Flood*, where all these matters concerning Kish and Ur (Warka now comes into the question) are soundly discussed. Mr. Peake's book is a safe guide to laymen in these matters, and contains only one serious error. The name of the Sumerian hero of the Flood is still read *Ziusuddu* by him, for *Ziusudra* = *Xisuthros*. The name Noah has now been correctly explained by philologists as meaning "the far

away", from an Ethiopic root, undoubtedly common to Semitic languages, and he is called the *ullû*, *ulluš*, "the far away" in Hittite, a word from which *Olusseus*, *Ulixes* *Odysseus* in Greek and Latin is probably derived. "The far away" as a name of the Babylonian (*rûku*) and Hebrew (Noah) hero of the Flood refers to the legend of his having been translated to the land of the blessed whither Gilgamesh sought him beyond the seas. The Sumerian version states that he was translated to Dilmun.

S. LANGDON.

HISTOIRE DE L'EXTRÊME-ORIENT. Par RENÉ GROUSSET.

Two vols., 10 × 6½, pp. xvi + 769, 33 plates, 7 maps.
Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929. 250 francs.

In 621 pages of text and footnotes (plus 148 pages of bibliography and index) the subject treated covers in space about 110 degrees of longitude (from the western limits of the conquests of Genghiz Khan to the eastern shores of Korea) and 50 degrees of latitude, and in time from a date anterior to pre-Aryan India and pre-Chinese China to modern times; and within these limits of space and time the author deals with the origins of the races, the rise and fall of dynasties, the thoughts and religion of the peoples, the art and literature of each nation. It may be asked how this has been possible: by the most rigid compression, by cutting everything to the bare bones. India is dealt with in 174 pages, China in 179, Indo-China in 76, and the Mongol Empire of Genghiz Khan and Kubilai in 93 pages; even the political and military history of the Ming and Tsing dynasties, in touch as they were with Europe, is summarized in 33 pages. Japan is excluded, except to throw a sidelight on religion.

For the romanization of the Oriental languages having alphabets (Sanskrit and other tongues of India, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Mongol) M. Grousset adopts the international system, as modified occasionally by the great authority of M. Pelliot; but for Chinese he adopts the French

pronunciation, according to the system adopted by the *T'oung Pao*, the *Journal Asiatique*, and the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*. He recognizes a difficulty :—

Nos transcriptions chinoises étant basées sur la prononciation française, tandis que les transcriptions de toutes les autres langues asiatiques sont phonétiques, une certaine discordance ne peut être évitée quand les noms chinois voisinent avec des mots sanskrits ou musulmans.

The discordance is for the scholar reduced to a minimum by the author's practice of printing as a footnote the Chinese ideograph for nearly every Chinese name, although occasionally the reader receives a shock when in the text he meets well-known places as Changhai, Chensi, Chantong, etc.

The work has seven very valuable historical maps and thirty-three plates illustrative of the state of art in different ages and countries; sixty-two pages of a valuable classified bibliography; and eighty-six pages of an index of proper names (additional to those in the bibliography) and Oriental words, indicating the page on which will be found the ideographs of Chinese names.

H. B. MORSE.

SOUTH INDIAN PORTRAITS IN STONE AND METAL. By T. G. ARAVAMUTHAM, M.A., B.L. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xv + 96, with 42 illustrations inset. London: Luzac and Co., 1930.

PORTRAIT SCULPTURE IN SOUTH INDIA. By the same author. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, pp. xvi + 100, with plates containing 34 figures. London: The India Society, 1931.

Since 1919, when Mr. K. P. Jayaswal astonished the older school of Orientalists by his proposed readings of the short inscriptions on the two statues found some 120 years ago at Patna (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) as the names of two kings of the Śaśunāga dynasty engraved in characters of the period, the study of portrait sculpture in ancient India has received fresh impetus. In the two volumes now before

us, Mr. Aravamutham presents a connected account of most of the examples so far known in South India of sculptures in stone and metal that are either definitely identifiable as portraying individuals or that can reasonably be regarded as portraits. Though published separately, owing to circumstances explained by him, the two volumes form but parts of a single work. The smaller volume, printed first, should be read as complementary to the larger one, which, though printed later, contains the earlier portions of the original manuscript. Beginning with a brief survey of such sculpture in India as a whole, Mr. Aravamutham proceeds to deal with the best authenticated specimens hitherto found in southern India, arranging them chronologically under (1) Early, from the age of the Amarāvati *stūpa* to the close of the Pallava regime, (2) Medieval, from the rise of the Cholas till the end of the fourteenth century, and (3) Modern, from the fifteenth century on. Thereafter special chapters are devoted to the portraiture of Saints and Preceptors ; to Material, Method, and Motif ; and to Memorial Stones. In the smaller volume earlier chapters are summarized, and the sculptures further discussed according to their type, e.g. those intended for purposes of worship, memorial temples and stones, and statues to ancestors, etc.

Mr. Aravamutham treats the subject more from the point of view of a scholar of broad outlook than of a sculpture expert. He can appreciate other aspects of his theme besides those that appeal to the artist. On controversial points his arguments are stated with fairness ; while his views are often fresh and suggestive. He has made a useful contribution to a very interesting subject, written in an easy and clear style. The work is abundantly illustrated, the excellence of the plates in the second volume calling for a special word of praise.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF SIND, with Historical Outline. By H. COUSENS, M.R.A.S. *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. XLVI, Imperial Series. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vii, 184; pls. 103 (4 in colour); map 1. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch. 1929. £3 8s. 9d.

In this richly illustrated volume Mr. Henry Cousens, who worked for so many years in Western India and the Indus delta, has incorporated descriptions of the remains of archæological and historical interest at all the most important sites in Sind as known and explored up to the year 1924. There is consequently but a brief reference (p. 168) to the Mohenjo-Daro site, where the excavations that have been carried on since 1922 have revealed the remains of a prehistoric civilization dating back to about 3000 B.C., or perhaps even earlier. In respect of the other localities in the province the information given will be found generally up-to-date.

In order to appreciate and correlate the evidence of the archæological remains in the lower valley and delta of the Indus, it is essential to consider them in their geographical and historical settings; Mr. Cousens has rightly, therefore, before describing individual sites, devoted preliminary sections to the physical features, especially the rivers and their shifting courses, and to the history of the country. He has also appended a useful map—though on rather too small a scale—marking most of the sites referred to. There is no more interesting, yet no more difficult, problem than that of ascertaining the ancient courses of the rivers of Sind. The great extent of the remains found at Mohenjo-Daro and the high standard of living disclosed thereby indicate that the place must have been served by one of the great waterways of the country; some of the objects found also seem to point to communication with the sea. We are led to the conjecture that one of the principal channels of the Indus flowed by the site in prehistoric times. The remains

at Mahorta, or Maihota, perhaps point to a similar conclusion. We know that in the times of the early Arab geographers (ninth to twelfth centuries) Maṣṣūra, built on the site of the more ancient Brahmanābād lay between two principal branches of the river, owing to the shifting of which the site subsequently became a sandy desert, only to be rendered habitable in recent times by the construction of the Jamrāo canal and its tributaries. Again, in Ibn Baṭūṭa's time (c. A.D. 1333) Lāharī (Lahorī Bandar) was "on the shore of the ocean", close to where the Indus debouched. This mouth of the river was probably the *Khūr* ("mouth" or "estuary") of Diūl Sind (i.e. Debal in Sind) referred to by Sidī 'Alī in his *Muḥīṭ* (A.D. 1554). The present name, Khūdi Creek, of the channel that passes near the ruins of Lahorī Bandar may be compared with this. When Alexander Hamilton visited Sind in 1699 he sailed up this mouth to the harbour of Lahorī, but thence he had to proceed by land to Tatta, so we may assume that the river had abandoned this channel before his time. The ruins of Lahorī Bandar are now 10 or 12 miles from the sea. Again, we know that the river, which, higher up, used for at least three or four centuries to flow about 12 miles to the east of the present city of Hyderābād and then past Naṣrpur, altered its course about 1758, adopting more or less the present channel, which passes some 3 miles west of Hyderābād. It is chiefly owing to this constant shifting and the resultant obliteration of old sites that the route of Alexander the Great through Sind to the sea in 325 B.C. has hitherto defied identification.

The fullest accounts are those devoted to Brahmanābād-Maṣṣūra, Dewal-Thaṭṭah and the Buddhist *stūpa* at Mīrpur Khās. It is more than 30 years since Mr. Cousens confirmed by his own exploration the identification of the site of the once famous city of Brahmanābād made by Mr. Bellasis in 1854. It was on this site that the Muhammadan city of Maṣṣūra, so frequently mentioned by the early Arab geographers and Muhammadan historians, was established.

The exploration of the ruins, so far as he was able to carry this out, has enabled Mr. Cousens to make several interesting suggestions, including one as to the position of the Muhammadan fort Maḥfūza, a name that was probably applied to the citadel, or part "protected" by fortifications. While Mr. Bellasis attributed the destruction of the cities to an earthquake, Mr. Cousens inclines to the theory of a sack by an enemy, who put the inhabitants to the sword. The earthquake hypothesis seems to conform with the evidence we have elsewhere in this province of seismic action; and this and the shifting of the rivers that fertilized the land might well have combined to necessitate the abandonment of the site. In connexion with the remains of the *stūpa* discovered by him at Depār Ghāngro, 6 miles N.E. of the Brahmanābād site, which is identified with the Sāwandī (? might this not be a corruption of *śramaṇa dīh*) mentioned in the *Mujmalu 't-tawārīkh* as having been built by the king of Kashmīr, a very interesting suggestion is thrown out that the tradition might refer to the great Kanishka. When treating of the age of the Sudheran-jo-dhaḍo *stūpa*, the further suggestion is made that Kanishka, whose dominions included Sind, may have had a series of *stūpas* erected along the Indus valley to commemorate a visit to that province; and the remains found at Sue Vihār and Shorkoṭ are called to mind.

Mr. Cousens' reasons for locating the original ancient town of Debal or Dewal in the immediate vicinity of the comparatively modern Tatta were published in 1897 (*Progress Report, A.S.W.I.*, for the year ending June, 1897). Further experience and study confirm him in the views then expressed, for which there is much justification. The details of the objects found during the exploration of the *stūpa* at Mīrpur Khās, supplemented by the subsequent finds by Mr. Bhandarkar at the same site, provide much matter for speculation. If the original *stūpa* at Sudheran-jo-dhaḍo should be assignable, as proposed by Mr. Bhandarkar, to a date not later than that of Kanishka, and if the other *stūpas* exposed at Mīrpur

Khās, Thūl Mir Rukān, Depār Ghāngro and near Jarak must, as Mr. Cousens holds, be relegated to the same period, we should obtain some indication of the probable courses of the main river channels at the beginning of the Christian era, as it is but reasonable to suppose that the sites selected for the erection of such monuments were situated in well-populated areas or else adjoined ancient highways. In the conditions of Sind this means that they were alongside or not far from the principal river channels. The existence of the remains of many old forts by the banks of what was formerly perhaps the course of the Hakrā, or "lost river" (p. 171), may be cited in support of such a deduction. It is a pity that these sites have not been marked on the map.

The author is to be congratulated on the excellence of the numerous drawings and of many of the photographs, especially those in colour, reproduced in the plates.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE SHAHNAHMAH OF FIRDAUSI. The Book of the Persian Kings, with 24 illustrations from a fifteenth century Persian manuscript in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society, described by J. V. S. WILKINSON, with an introduction on the paintings by LAURENCE BINYON. 12 × 9, pp. xx + 92, pls. 24. London : Oxford University Press, 1931. £2 2s.

This volume, finely printed by the Oxford University Press, and adorned with twenty-four fine plates engraved and printed by Messrs. Henry Stone & Son, Ltd., of Banbury, is a fine example at once of British book-making and British scholarship. The plates are a joy to the eye, and the letter-press contains all that is necessary to the student who desires to understand something of this fascinating chapter of the world's art. Mr. Laurence Binyon's penetrating introduction is a serious contribution to our understanding of this period

in the art of Persia and its relation to the rest of the civilized world. Mr. Wilkinson has an unusual power of conveying to the English reader, in his descriptions, a sense of the vital qualities of the subject of his memoir—a book which was for 900 years to Persia what the Bible was to the England of Elizabeth.

Firdausi, in truth, deserves to be dwelt upon line by line in the way that nothing but a translation lesson will ever enable one to do, and so to get all his pictures and thoughts leisurely into one's mind. Construing, in such a case, is the grosser medium through which alone all the beauty can be transmitted because else we travel too fast and more than half of it escapes us. As Thomas Arnold once wrote of Shakespeare, "I verily think that one would after a time almost give out light in the dark after having been steeped in such an atmosphere of brilliance."

Many Persians appear, of recent years, to have left off reading their poets because, as Pascal said of the Jesuits, if he had spent his time in reading them fully he would have read a great many very indifferent books. There is, however no fear lest Firdausi suffer an eclipse, and the present reviewer is confident that if a worthy edition of Firdausi could be produced, with reproductions of early illustrations of the quality of those shown in this volume, it would do more to inspire the youth of Persia than the edicts of a century of National Assemblies. Nor is the study of the Shahnamah less necessary for Europeans who are in contact with modern Persia, for Firdausi's classic work has so coloured all Persian literature, and many Persian institutions, that no one can be considered an educated man who is not acquainted with its contents.

This book is admirably calculated to serve such a purpose, though its value to the student would have been enhanced by a fuller and more critical list of chief authorities (cf. *Encyclopædia of Islam*), and we wish Mr. Wilkinson had given us a translation of Firdausi's satire against Mahmud,

which, whether authentic or not, is familiar to every Persian, be he gentle or simple.

In conclusion, be it remembered that it was when Persia was at the height of its glory that poets were honoured and the fine arts encouraged. Let those who urge national economy at the expense of these manifestations of what is best in the spirit of man remember this, and recall to mind that no work, other than religious, has retained its hold so long upon the affections of a nation, as Firdausi predicted in the last of his sixty thousand couplets, which I quote (in Warner's translation), parallel with Ovid's not less famous lines :—

“ My life from days of youth to eld
hath sped
In talk and hearkening what
others said.
When this, my famous tale, was
done at last
O'er all the realm my reputation
past.
All men of prudence, rede, and
Faith will give
Applause to me when I have
ceased to live,
Yet live I shall ; the seed of words
have I
Flung broad-cast and henceforth
I shall not die.”—FIRDAUSI.

“ And now I have finished a work
which neither the wrath of Jove
nor fire nor steel nor all-con-
suming Time can destroy. Soon
my physical being shall be
brought to naught and my
uncertain life shall be ended,
then I shall be raised in my better
part to immortality among the
lofty stars of the firmament, and
my name shall never die.”—
OVID.

A. T. W.

THE HISTORY OF JEHANGIR. By FRANCIS GLADWIN. Edited with notes by RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Principal, H.H. the Maharaja's College of Arts, Trivandrum. pp. xxiii + 184. Madras : B. G. Paul & Co., 1930. Rs. 5.

Gladwin's account of Jahāngīr, which was published in 1788, and is now somewhat difficult to obtain, was based on the work now usually known as the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, and, since the publication in 1909–14 of an exact translation

of that work by Beveridge and Rogers, scholars will scarcely wish to refer again to Gladwin. But it is not always easy for the ordinary reader to lay hands on the translation by Beveridge and Rogers, and it was well worth while to have brought out, as Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar has done, a reprint of Gladwin's book in a cheap and readable form. The editor has rightly refrained from overloading the reprint with comment. His notes, which are confined to references to other histories, are concise and unobtrusive; and he has affixed a short and informing preface, which embodies the gist of our existing information regarding Gladwin and the sources of his work.

As a reprint the book is in some respects disappointing. In the reprint of a book it is no doubt excusable in certain respects to diverge from the scholastic ideal which postulates an absolute copy of the original. It was open to the editor, for instance, to substitute, if he so desired, capital letters for the italics used by Gladwin, but then he should have done this consistently. It was possibly justifiable on financial grounds to omit the words in Persian script which Gladwin inserted, but on one or two occasions (see, e.g., s.v. Ahdyan, on p. 176) this renders the reprint unintelligible. The spelling of names should have meticulously followed the original instead of being sometimes arbitrarily altered (as "Lahore" for "Lahoor" and "Subahdars" for "Soobhadars") and sometimes carelessly disfigured (as "Aby Aly Sina" for "Abu Aly Sina", and "Atyr Jehangiry"—"Jehangir's Offence" for "Jehangir's Essence"). Gladwin, moreover, published with his book a small list of errata, but this list is not reproduced, and the text is published without making the corrections indicated by the author. There are defects from the scholar's point of view and, though they may not affect the value or the interest of the book to the general reader, they could have been avoided, and will, it is hoped, disappear if the book reaches another edition.

BEITRÄGE ZUR HISTORISCHEN GEOGRAPHIE, KULTURGEOGRAPHIE, ETHNOGRAPHIE U. KARTOGRAPHIE, VORNEHM-
LICH DES ORIENTS UNTER MITARBEIT K. AUSSERER, etc.
Edited by Mzik. pp. 202. Leipzig and Vienna, 1929.
28s.

A number of scholars, among them also some lady professors, students of Dr. Eugen Oberhammer, professor of geography at the University of Vienna, are offering to the beloved teacher on the occasion of his seventieth birthday what is called abroad a "Festgabe". Each one of the contributors is a man of great standing and it would be difficult to single out any of the articles as being superior to the other. Only a few may be mentioned here as touching upon oriental problems. The first article is devoted to an investigation of the famous maps in the Imperial Library of Vienna. Professor Ausserer discusses in minute detail the famous "Atlas Blaeu" and he shows the part which the family van der Hem has played. The author shows convincingly that those ancient maps, originally consisting of a few volumes, and then afterwards extended and enlarged by a great number of maps and illustrations is the work of the family van der Hem. England alone occupies three volumes, and many an interesting item referring to the history of England in the time of Cromwell and later may here be found inserted in its proper place. The next article is by Dr. Jansky, who points out the very remarkable fact that the followers of Islam have avoided touching the sea. Islam extended only on the continent with the exception in the eighteenth century of the inhabitants of Oman; they undertook naval expeditions and it is through them that the east coast of Africa has been peopled by the Mohammedans. The author finishes his article with some political speculations as to the future of Islamic countries now that the European nations not only command the sea but also begin to occupy Mohammedan lands. Then Professor Kahle discusses the second edition of the *Bahriya* of Piri Re'is, and he gives the translation of

the first chapter of this second edition which he contemplates publishing in its entirety. Dr. Rohr, describes the discovery of an unknown MS. of the journey of Vasco da Gama in the east. Dr. Tæschner writes on Ibn al Wardi's description of Constantinople. Dr. Mzik writes on Parageographic elements in the Arabic records of journeys to south-east Asia. Dr. Hüsing endeavours to locate the island of Panchaia mentioned by Euhemerus originally described to have been somewhere near Arabia Felix. The author collects all the information, which reads as if we had in Panchaia almost a lost Atlantis, the very centre and origin of civilization.

There is one article by Professor Hermann to which special reference should be made. He is following up an old idea of his concerning the transfer of geographical names from one country to the other. This would explain many difficulties in the investigation of ancient tradition and would thus set at rest many problems which have hitherto baffled every attempt at explanation. In the first place he says that the whole history of the Odyssey is more or less a transfer from west to east, and the geographical names can best be explained if located at the north coast of Africa, or rather, as the Syrta which after a time had become destroyed by earthquakes and has been silted up. So also he wishes to explain the Red Sea by a similar transference from west to east, changing altogether our knowledge of ancient geography and topography. That such transferences are taking place there can be no doubt. They are due to migration, and then due to the invasion by another nation which substituted their own names for those found in the places occupied now by them, and to other similar causes. But Professor Hermann carries matters to such an extreme that it is impossible to follow him. We feel that the ground under us is moving. It is, however, an extremely ingenious theory which should not be lost sight of in the investigation of the old geographical traditions. The book is very compact and beautifully printed. It is illustrated with a large number of drawings and maps, and it is a real

gift of honour to the venerated professor. It is owing to the very numerous illustrations that rather a high price has been charged for it.

M. GASTER.

DIE ORIENTALISCHEN RELIGIONEN IM ROMISCHEN HEIDENTUM. By FRANZ CUMONT. Bearbeitet von Dr. A. BURCKHARDT-BRANDENBERG. pp. 336. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1931. 14s.

In 1928 Professor Cumont was induced by his publisher to issue a new and revised edition of his famous lectures on the oriental religions and their influence on the pagan Rome. Originally a series of lectures written in popular style and small in dimension, they have become afterwards a very substantial book. But no sooner had this French edition appeared than Professor Brandenburg undertook a new and revised German translation. This he has carried out with the assistance of Professor Cumont, and we have before us, so far, the very last word on this very important subject.

The discoveries which have been made in the course of the last thirty years and which have been embodied here have greatly contributed to strengthen the views first expressed by Professor Cumont on the deep influence which these oriental religions have exercised on the whole religious outlook of ancient or pre-Christian Rome. After a general survey in the introductory chapter the various religious influences are described one after the other. The sources, of course, are given from which Professor Cumont draws his information and then, in the subsequent chapter, an endeavour is made to explain how it came about that these oriental religions not only got an entrance into Rome but were allowed to exercise such an influence. It was at the beginning of the decay, and it was the result of doubt and still more of the growing syncretism owing to the spiritual uneasiness which had seized upon the nations. A religious dissatisfaction had

spread from east to west, and the oriental religions alone seemed to answer that quest for truth and for a deep knowledge of the greater problems which affected mankind. First, Asia Minor is treated with the introduction of the worship of Cybele, the priests and ceremonial rites, which so greatly impressed the people of Rome. From Egypt the cult of Isis and Serephs came which except during the time of Caligula, had met with an hostile reception. Then follows Syria proper, with the goddess Atagatis. The rôle played by soldiers, merchants, and travellers is here much more fully seen. Many a so-called Roman legion consisted, in fact, of Syrians. They brought their gods and later on their Mysteries, and not a few of the inscriptions found in the outlying parts of the Empire occupied by these legions testify to the manner in which these various cults had spread and had taken root among the people. I am referring more especially to the Mithraic cult of which so many traces have been found, from ancient Briton to Dacia and Thrace, and which at one time threatened to obtain complete domination until it was ousted by Christianity. The influence of Jewish slaves and Jewish soldiers and merchants has not been sufficiently recognized, and yet they prepared the way everywhere for incoming Christianity, and at one time it was known that one out of every fifteen inhabitants of the Roman Empire was either a Jew or a Judaizer, and this also is reflected in some of the inscriptions of the Syrian legionaries and in many a custom and ceremony found in various parts of the Roman Empire. No trace is found, however, of Persian dualism, and this is a point on which not sufficient stress has been laid, especially now, when scholars are turning their attention to the teaching of Zoroastrianism. It is therefore not a little interesting to notice the fact that no trace of it had been found before the advent of Christianity. Various mysteries are also touched upon. We are led on afterwards to a chapter on astrology and magic in which the old Babylonian traditions had been revived, or rather had survived, blended now with

other elements. Excellent as is the treatment throughout, one feels, however, an undercurrent of hostility to these Oriental religions. The author has evidently not been able to free himself entirely from every prejudice and, whilst describing in minute detail all the elements constituting these religions, he lays stress more on some of the objectionable features, and omits entirely to pay attention to the more sympathetic ones, especially when compared with the practices and ceremonies of pagan Rome. With a little more fairness the author might have rendered greater justice also to the beneficent effect of these Oriental religions which at that time, no doubt, contributed to bring some solace and comfort to a world emptied of hope and faith. An appendix, is devoted to a full description of the Bacchus mysteries in Rome. No less than thirty pages of small print are set aside for the literary references amplified and revised by Brandenburg. An excellent index, so indispensable for a book of this kind, completes the volume. To this beautifully printed book eight illustrations have been added. The sight of the monuments speaks more eloquently and interprets more clearly than even the written word. Comparatively speaking, the price is very modest.

M. GASTER.

PENTATEUCH WITH TARGUM ONKELOS. Haphtaroth and Prayers for Sabbath and Rashi's Commentary. REV. ROSENBAUM and DR. SILVERMAN in collaboration with BLASKI and L. JOSEPH. Exodus. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 274 + 65, 1 plate. London: Shapiro, Vallentine and Co., 1930. Price 8s. 6d.

The merit of this publication of the Pentateuch in Hebrew with English translation, together with the Targum, or the Aramaic version ascribed to Onkelos, and especially with the commentary of the famous Rabbi Solomon Isaki, published here for the first time in square letters, vocalized, and with an English translation, has already been pointed out by me

in the notice of the first volume which appeared in the pages of the *Journal*. One is pleased to see that the same standard has been fully maintained in the second volume which has followed rapidly after the first. No attempt is made here of introducing interpretations and explanations wide of the mark, nor anything that could in the slightest degree interfere with the proper understanding of the text and of the commentary. A translation of the Bible has never proved an easy task. Century after century attempts have been made to render the text in some vernacular, but the number of such attempts are proofs of their partial failure ; moreover, the currents of thought of each generation have greatly coloured the attempt of understanding of the Hebrew text. Much has been read into it, and is still being read into it, which does not exist. The turn has now come for archaeology and the study of the comparative religion. The Bible is being examined from this new angle, and yet the old tradition claims its right to be heard. Nowhere can this continuity of tradition be more clearly seen or discerned than in the two above-mentioned commentaries. Although apparently a literal translation, Onkelos, in the second or third century, represented to a large extent the tendencies of the time. The avoidance of anthropomorphisms and many a legal interpretation of the text is being introduced into his translation, though traces of such an attempt can already be found in the old Greek version. Rashi, close upon a thousand years later, is a most prominent, most popular exponent of similar views and tendencies. The link in the chain from Onkelos to Rashi has not been broken. Here much has been augmented by grammatical explanations and also the legal aspect of the text, no less than agadic or legendary, are contained in that commentary which has retained its popularity to our very day. Not all the difficulties in the text can be fully elucidated. Much remains for others to do and scholars have tried from time to time to bring a little more light into these obscure passages, but a real historical and traditional understanding

of the text can only be gained by a study of Rashi's (the abbreviated form of the initial letters of his name, R. Solomon Iṣḥaḳi) commentary.

In a number of cases valuable notes at the end of the volume contribute towards the explanation of some more difficult passages, and the book is certainly one of the best contributions towards an understanding of the Hebrew Bible, such as it has been accepted by the Jews throughout the ages. It must be added that Luther's translation rests indirectly upon that commentary of Rashi for he utilized Nicholas de Lyra's Latin commentary which is based entirely upon Rashi. The author and all connected therewith are to be highly complimented for the work done thus far, and the hope may be expressed that they will accelerate this publication. The book is beautifully printed, and very cheap at the price.

M. GASTER.

SAKYA OR BUDDHIST ORIGINS. By MRS. RHYS DAVIDS.
London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd.,
1931. pp. 444. Price 12s. 6d.

It is not a novel, nor a mere biography, but the quest after the origin of Buddhism. No one is so well acquainted with the Pali literature as Mrs. Rhys Davids, no one has searched the scriptures with so much zeal, so much industry, and so much keen insight as she has done in the course of many years. And here we have the result. She is endeavouring to eliminate from the Pitakas all those elements which *ex hypotesi* she believes, and no doubt is justified in believing, that they are not the words of the master, but the result of centuries of slow change and development which has taken place, from the time when the Sakya, the real founder of Buddhism appears, until the monks have been able to put it down in these works. The first and second of these Pitakas being the older, and a third dating from a later period but, as she rightly

puts it, those works were the works of men of a group, inside a group, writing and explaining, according to the views and tendencies which consciously or unconsciously have been developed in the centuries which have elapsed. Not so, however, was the message which was to capture at once the heart and imagination of millions of people and to bring them the long-desired Liberation. I do not like to use the word salvation which Mrs. Rhys Davids uses with some hesitation, though in a wider sense. She tries to find, and not without much difficulty and not without treading a very long road, the message which came forth to rid the people of ephemeral rites and ceremonies, and priests and temples and to help the wayfarer along on a road, the beginning of which was unknown, but to a goal towards which he could aspire. It was the message to Man in Man. To the latent powers which are in man to grow, to develop, to purify, and to become perfect, to reach as the highest aim that happiness for which Mrs. Rhys Davids uses the word "well", "das Wohl", or, one might say the "summon bonum" or "beatitude" if that did not own a peculiar connotation. It was a difficult task, and as Mrs. Rhys Davids rightly puts it the documents are few and so much overladen that it is very difficult to get to the core of that great message. A new conception of Buddhism had been growing up during the past fifty years by the publication of all these ancient documents which had up to then been practically unknown, and yet the material which they offer for her search is comparatively meagre. It depends on that keen insight and, as one might say, a complete immersion into the teachings of that great message, on the word which made men become more and, if possible, as the highest degree of perfection "most", rarely attained by anyone but still the ultimate goal. She expects that other light may come still from documents further east, old translations made in China and Japan, and as so much has already come to light during the past fifty years, that hope may be well founded.

In a series of chapters, some of which have already appeared in various journals and publications, now ranged together in one systematic whole, the fundamental principles of the Sakya are here set forth as clearly and convincingly as possible, always bearing in mind that they are the work of reconstruction. Still, as the author puts it, one must start with a hypothesis when dealing with a material so scarce and so much open to doubt and varying interpretations, and yet, if the hypothesis works out satisfactorily, it comes as near the truth as it is possible under actual conditions. Buddhas were many in the succession of time, the Sakya was one, he was the one who sent the message out first, and it is to Sakya that the new religion owes its origin. The time and the conditions under which the new religion saw the light are carefully set forth, and even the germs of some of the thoughts and ideas found in the older literatures are not ignored, but it is the new set which is of importance, it is the new aim which has been set before the people and has won their hearts, and this alone counts. It is difficult to set forth here, however briefly, the leading principles of that great message. Mrs. Rhys Davids has done her very best to give us all that can be gathered from the old teaching and from the old tradition, and those who are interested in the history of that great religion and its beginnings will know how to appreciate what has been offered here. There is one point, however, which one cannot help adding. There is no great religion which does not rest on a written book, such a book is always the starting point, the testimony for the truth which that religion wishes to convey, and it must remain an open question, therefore, whether also at the very beginning there was not such a written record, either prepared by Sakya or his immediate followers. It is too much to trust to the oral transmission, however strong the memory of the people may be, for, as Mrs. Rhys Davids herself owns, lapses will occur, changes will take place, circumstances will happen which cause some portions to be forgotten, or something else to be substituted

and, therefore, if a religion is to have a strong claim, and its apostles were able not only to communicate the truth confided to them but also to have it recorded, as it were, in some written form it is rather difficult to imagine that it could persist or propagate.

It is impossible to give, however briefly, in a survey of this book all its contents. It must be read fully from end to end and, possibly, other scholars will contend the arguments adduced by Mrs. Rhys Davids in deciding which is the original message, and which is merely a commentary of a later interpretation, but no one could help expressing their admiration for the keen intuition and consummate scholarship shown by Mrs. Rhys Davids. She herself speaks with great modesty of her achievement. She actually considers it as a starting point for others to follow, but she shows herself to be an excellent guide to the wayfaring man who is also in quest of the truth. It would have made it easier for the reader not so fully conversant with the material if the style had been occasionally less involved. True, the road along which Mrs. Rhys Davids had to tread was often beset with difficulties of no mean character, and yet she never loses sight of her ultimate goal, and this book is the result of it. All those who are interested in the subject will owe, therefore, a debt of profound gratitude to Mrs. Rhys Davids for this excellent piece of work.

M. G.

THE MYSORE TRIBES AND CASTES. By the late H. V. NANJUNDAYYA and RAO BAHADUR L. K. ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER. (Published under the auspices of the Mysore University.) Vol. iii. Pp. viii + 619, pl. 76. Mysore: Government Oriental Library; Bangalore: Government Book Depot, 1930. 12.8 rupees.

We welcome the third volume of *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, carrying on from "Christian" to "Koracha", the

second volume of this series which was issued in 1929. Volume iv is in the Press, and a first volume, summarizing the results of the survey, is understood to be in the course of preparation.

These four volumes, conforming to the scheme of the late Sir Herbert Risley, initiated during the progress of the Census of India of 1901, will supply the public interested in Indian ethnology with a very full survey of caste and tribe for the major provinces and states of India, for we have already available, from expert students, similar works prepared on closely uniform lines dealing with Bengal, the United Provinces, Madras, Bombay, the Central Provinces, the Punjab, Hyderabad and Cochin. Rao Bahadur Ananthakrishna Iyer, working with the materials supplied by the late H. V. Nanjundayya, has given us a most valuable work on some thirty-two castes and tribes between "Darzi" and "Koracha", with which the volume begins and ends. If an initial note of criticism may be allowed, we would venture to express a doubt concerning the suitability in a work of this nature of the inclusion of a rather lengthy article on Indian Christians. The compiler has permitted himself a rather unnecessary latitude in dealing with the Mysore Christians, whose ritual, prayers, birth, marriage and death ceremonies seem to us somewhat remote from a survey of caste and tribe. No doubt caste enters to some extent into the social conformation of Indian Christians; but the writer tells us little about caste among Mysore Christians and much concerning the Christian religion which is by no means a special feature of Christians in Mysore.

We regret also to observe that it has not been found possible to include in alphabetical order the synonyms to caste and tribal divisions, the omission of which detracted to some extent from the value of vol. ii.

The work is particularly valuable for the new and remarkably complete information regarding the totemistic divisions of many of the leading castes and tribes dealt with

in the volume. In this respect the pride of place must be allotted to the article on Komatis, a trading caste of considerable importance which claims as such the rank of *Vaisya*. Here, on pp. 579-82, we find 101 divisions named after trees, plants, animals, etc., which is of absorbing interest to the student of Indian ethnology. We find a close and remarkable parallel between these divisions and the 130 similar sections which have been listed in Bombay for the Marātha and allied castes of the Deccan. A more frequent mention of the botanical names of the trees and plants concerned would have been welcome, but we note particularly that the *Calotropis gigantea*, the *Prosopis spicigera*, the *Achyranthes aspera*, the *Pandanus odoratissimus* and the "Jessamine", among many others, are of common occurrence with the Komatis as is the case with the Marāthas. The co-incidence is of striking importance. The student is directed specially to the articles on Dombar, Gangādikar Okkalus, Gollas, Helavas, Halepaiks, Holeyas and Korachas for further interesting comparisons. For Holeyas, who correspond to the Mahārs of the Marātha country, the list of totemistic divisions is particularly full and interesting. The fact that the lowest castes, i.e. Holeyas in Mysore and Mahārs in the Deccan, exhibit the survival of a totemistic organization in its most complete form is of very special significance for those in search of the earliest forms of Indian caste and tribal organization. A further study of these totemistic divisions would lead us far beyond the scope of this review; but this much seems evident: the time is now ripe for a thorough review of caste and tribal origins based on the survival in more or less definite form of such an organization in all parts of India for which information is now available.

Two magical practices of a somewhat original description seem to us worthy of quotation. Under the heading of Golla we note that "when a man dies and is buried on a Tuesday or a Friday, a wooden doorbolt and live chicken (*sic*) are buried with the body" and a footnote explains that "this

practice is traced to a popular belief that when a man dies and is buried on a Tuesday or a Friday this will be followed by two more deaths in the village. The bolt and the chicken are intended as substitutes for the two persons." Elsewhere, we are told of a caste that holds it sinful to kill a cat; but the sin may be expiated by eating the cat after its death. This is presumably a form of sacrificial meal, based on the sacredness of the animal slain. In gratitude to the compiler, we would like to be sparing of criticism of this useful work. But it is impossible to ignore the numerous serious misprints that, as in the case of vol. ii, have been allowed to mar the pages. On p. 518 the word "tile" for "title" makes nonsense of a Kanarese quotation. The author of *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces* again appears as Russel, and the name of the writer of this review is spelt in three different ways on pp. 315, 512, 586. In certain articles lengthy verbatim quotations from other works have been included in the text without acknowledgment of their origin. We still find the writer doubtful regarding the form which he prefers for Okkalu (Kanarese for cultivator) and its plural form, and it is curious to note that Darzi becomes Darji when an illustration is offered of a caste member. *Kare Okkalu* (=Marāthi Kāla Kunbi) somehow becomes *Kara Okkalu* in the illustration, and takes alphabetical precedence of Kacha Gauliga, which seems somewhat unorthodox.

We must, however, conclude with a cordial acknowledgment of the many merits of this work, of which the two remaining volumes will be awaited generally with pleasurable anticipation.

R. E. E.

With reference to the review of "Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System", by V. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., published on p. 165 of the January number of the *Journal* for 1931, readers are informed that the misquotation mentioned in footnote 1 on p. 166 of the *Journal* as occurring on p. 138 of the book has been corrected by the author in a list of additions and corrections at the end of the Volume.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Dr. H. R. Hall

Harry Reginald Holland Hall, the son of Sydney P. Hall, M.A., M.V.O., the portrait painter, was born on the 30th September, 1873. He had always been attracted to historical studies and the collection of antiquities even as a boy, and at the age of 11 had written a history of Persia, and had a private museum of his own, and his later work carried on the promise of his early boyhood. He went to Merchant Taylors' School in 1886, where he ultimately specialized in history, and gained a William Lambe Scholarship at St. John's, Oxford, in 1891. His degree, a second class in *Lit. Hum.*, was but an indifferent indication of his later work, the probability being that he had cast his net too wide in his reading instead of confining himself to a rigid adherence to his subject. In 1896 he entered the Egyptian and Assyrian Department of the British Museum, under Dr. Budge.

Throughout his life he was always attracted by the early history of the *Ægean* and its connection with the Near East, and few Englishmen have had the same opportunities or facility as he to write of such things. His training in Greats had given him the necessary classical knowledge, while the facilities of his Department, annotated by his own private and official journeys to Crete, Egypt and Mesopotamia, gave him that enlarged view so necessary for the subject. Consequently he was able to build up for himself a reputation as a specialist in this direction, and his succession of books, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece* (1901, when he was 28), *Ægean Archaeology* (1915), and finally the *Rhind Lectures* (published under the title *The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*, 1923, and republished with new material two years ago), show how he had gradually widened his own knowledge of the subject and how great a grip he had of the whole. As a bye-product of this knowledge he produced

a large and important volume, chiefly intended for the use of those who were working for Greats at Oxford, his *Ancient History of the Near East* (1913), which was regarded as of such high value that it went into seven editions.

But not only was he a scholar ; he was also a practical Orientalist. For three seasons he dug at Deir el-Bahari (Thebes), attached to M. Naville's excavations, and frequently in charge of them for long periods, and it was during the first of these periods (1903) that he discovered the funerary chapel of Mentu-hetep II. Then again in 1918, when his colleague, L. W. King, who had been intended for the work, had fallen ill, he was sent out to explore the ruins in Southern Babylonia, Ur and Abu Shahrain, and what he had learnt in Egypt stood him in good stead in Iraq. His initial excavations at Ur were practical and successful, as also may be said of those at Abu Shahrain : but it was his quick appreciation of a situation which led him to try his luck at the mound of Tell el-'Ubaid, with such magnificent success. Here it was that he found the now historic copper bulls and lions, and the great copper relief of Im-dugud, which form such striking exhibits in the British Museum. His official account, written conjointly with C. L. Woolley, will be found in *Ur Excavations* : but those who wish to see what the man himself was like, with all his charm of manner and boyish vigour, will find it in his more unofficial book, *A Season's Work at Ur*.

Of his life and character it may be permitted to a friend to write with every pleasant and sorrowful memory. He worked hard as a scholar : in the open air he was a good walker (rarely were his holidays started without his bringing a wonderful rucksack—and a quiescent pipe—to the British Museum), and a good swimmer. He loved travelling, and many were the journeys he made to the Continent, and particularly the Ægean. He was a good linguist, knowing French, German, Arabic and modern Greek. In his younger days he had been a keen volunteer in the H.A.C., and when

War came he was made at first a member of the Military Section of the Press Bureau, and subsequently was transferred in 1916 to the Intelligence, until he was sent out to Mesopotamia to dig, attached to the Political Service, where he was mentioned in despatches. He became Assistant Keeper of his Department in 1919 and Keeper in 1924, and was made D.Litt. at Oxford in 1920. He served as Chairman of the Palestine Exploration Fund and was a Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries, and a member of Council at one time of this Society, and in 1929 was elected an Hon. Fellow of St. John's, Oxford.

R. C. T.

Sir Richard Temple, Bart.

A much wider circle than the members of the Royal Asiatic Society will mourn the loss of Sir Richard Carnac Temple, whose death occurred at Territet on March 3rd. In his many-sided activities he represented a type of Indian administrator to which Oriental research is so largely indebted, but which is rapidly disappearing, with the march of events. Temple, with Ibbetson, Crooke, Campbell, Fleet, and Risley, to mention only a few of a large and distinguished company, combined the art of efficient public service with a gift of scholarly research which has furnished numerous and valuable contributions to our knowledge of Indian history and folklore.

Born at Allahabad on 15th October, 1850, Temple was educated at Harrow and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. He joined the Royal Scots Fusiliers in 1871, went out to India, and was transferred to the Indian Army. After serving in the Afghan War of 1878-9, when he was mentioned in despatches, he commenced his administrative career as cantonment magistrate in the Punjab, and was soon afterwards called upon to deal with the pacification and settlement of Mandalay on the annexation of Upper Burma. At Rangoon, where he was the official head of the Municipality and Port Trust, he left a

permanent mark on the development of the Port ; and thence proceeded to the Andamans, of which he was Chief Commissioner from 1895 till his retirement in 1904.

Space does not permit of a detailed account of his many-sided activities after his official career in India had closed. As Chairman of the Worcestershire Territorial Association, as Assistant Director of the St. John Ambulance Association, and as a member of the Joint War Committee of that body and the British Red Cross, he was active in assisting in the organization of the home front during the War. Temple was most widely known as the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, a publication which he controlled and financed in the face of many difficulties and discouragements from 1892 until the date of his death. In this task he was assisted by numerous scholars as joint editors, among whom may be mentioned the Bhandarkars, father and son, the late S. M. Edwardes, and C. E. A. W. Oldham.

Under Temple's capable management the *Indian Antiquary* has served a useful purpose in facilitating the publication of many valuable articles which would otherwise have failed to secure notice. It will be remembered that Sir James Campbell's "Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom" appeared in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* in the form of supplements extending over many years. Temple himself contributed largely to the contents, both in original articles and in reviewing the works of Oriental scholars.

At times the financial and literary burden of the journal fell heavily on his shoulders, but he never relaxed his industrious supervision until almost the end of his busy life.

Among the numerous works on Oriental subjects for which he was responsible we would quote his census reports on Burma (1891) and the Andamans (1901); *Legends of the Punjab* (1883-90); the revised edition of Dr. Fallon's *Dictionary of Hindustani Proverbs* (1885-7); a revised edition of Burnell's *Devil Worship of the Tuluvas*; the *Thirty-seven Nats*; his *Theory of Universal Grammar as*

Applied to Savage Languages ; the *Travels of Peter Mundy* ; *The Journals of Streynsham Master* ; the *Bowrey Papers*, and a last work appearing shortly before his death on the mysterious *Tragedy of the Worcester*, a flagrant miscarriage of justice in the eighteenth century in which he was greatly interested. He also had in preparation a series of monographs on Indian Muslim saints.

In the year 1913 Temple was President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association, which led to the publication of his work on *Anthropology as a Practical Science*. In 1928 he presided over the congress held in London to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Folklore Society. In his scholarly address to the assembly, he outlined a theory of primitive religion which bore evidence of the acute interest with which for many years he had observed and recorded the practice of primitive rites in India, Burma and the Andamans. Temple's keen interest in his environment led him to be as alive, in the Andamans, to the special development of caste in a convict settlement as he was in later years to the evidence of Roman occupation on the shores of the Lake of Geneva.

Such a summary of work achieved in the administrative and literary field speaks for itself. But Temple was much more than administrator and scholar. To failing health, in his later years, was added the burden of undeserved misfortune that deprived him of many of the comforts and solaces of old age. For over ten years he struggled on, by the shores of the Lake which he loved so well, occupied ever in his work, and ready to extend a smiling welcome to a chance visitor who might drop in to gain valuable knowledge from his interesting reminiscences of a busy life. Successful as an administrator, erudite as a scholar, Temple will be remembered longest for his courage and personal charm, which earned him the respect of those who knew him slightly and the love of those who knew him well.

Temple succeeded to the baronetcy conferred on his

father in 1902. In 1894 he was made a companion of the Indian Empire, and in 1916 a Companion of the Bath. In 1922 he was made Honorary Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, and he was an Honorary Fellow of his old college, Trinity Hall, Cambridge. He was also a Fellow of the British Academy and of the Society of Antiquaries.

R. E. E.

Sir Charles Eliot.

The Right Hon. Sir Charles Norton Edgecumbe Eliot G.C.M.G., C.B., M.A., Hon.D.Litt.(Oxon), Hon.LL.D.(Edin.), Hon.D.C.L.(Durham), British Ambassador at Tokio from 1919 to 1926, died on board the Japanese mail-steamer *Hakone Maru* on 17th March last, while on his homeward voyage from Japan to England.

To the majority of members of the Royal Asiatic Society, Sir Charles Eliot's name is best known as that of a learned and accomplished Orientalist, to whom they are indebted for one of the best books ever published in English on Hinduism and Buddhism; but he was greatly distinguished in other spheres. Besides being one of the best linguists and classical scholars of his time he served his country with conspicuous success in administrative and diplomatic capacities; and he found time for some fruitful researches into certain branches of marine biology.

Eliot was born in 1862. Going up to Oxford from Cheltenham College he took a scholarship at Balliol and was soon recognized by his seniors and contemporaries as one of the most outstanding men of his academic generation. Between 1881 and 1886 he gained the Hertford, Ireland, Craven, and Derby scholarships, the Syriac Prize, and the Boden scholarship in Sanskrit. His study of Sanskrit, which he originally regarded as subsidiary to philological studies, soon awakened in him a permanent interest in Oriental

religion and philosophy. On taking his degree he became a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and in 1923 received the honorary fellowship which he held up to the time of his death. He remained in touch with Oxford throughout his life, and All Souls is one of the colleges in which he was a familiar figure and where he will be greatly missed.

Entering the diplomatic service in 1886 he served in St. Petersburg, Constantinople, Morocco, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Washington. From 1901 to 1904 he held the post of High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the British East African Protectorate. After his resignation from that post, which was the result (entirely honourable to Eliot) of a difference of opinion on an important matter of public policy between himself and the home government, he returned to England and soon afterwards became Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield. In 1909 he was a member of the Royal Commission on Electoral Systems. In 1912 he became first Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the newly-founded University of Hong-Kong, and this appointment he held till 1918, when he re-entered the service of the Crown and became British High Commissioner in Siberia during the period of Kolchak's struggle against Soviet Russia.

In the following year he was appointed British Ambassador at Tokio and became a Privy Councillor. This was his last public appointment, and when he retired seven years later he made no secret of the fact that he intended to devote the next few years—which proved to be the closing years of his life—to researches into the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Japan.

The first of Eliot's publications appears to have been a *Finnish Grammar*, produced in 1890. It was followed by *Turkey in Europe* (1900), *The East African Protectorate* (1905), *Letters from the Far East* (1907), and *Hinduism and Buddhism* (1921). He was the author, as already indicated, of sundry papers on marine biology, and contributed valuable articles to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th edition) on the History

of Asia, on Esthonia, the Hungarian language, the Huns, Kashgar, the Khazars, the Tartars, and the Turks.

Eliot could be brilliant and vivacious in conversation when he found himself in congenial company, but he did not suffer fools gladly. He was wholly free from race-prejudice, and had a genuine liking for the many Asiatic peoples with whom his interests or duties brought him into contact. If the Japanese came first in his estimation and affections, the Chinese were not far behind; and for Indian achievements in philosophic and religious speculation and in poetry he had warm appreciation. He was a loyal friend and a charming correspondent.

None of the many honours conferred upon him by his own Government and by various British Universities was more highly prized by him than that of membership of the Japanese Imperial Academy, which he received in 1926. This honour had up to that time been reserved for Japanese, and its bestowal upon him is an indication of the admiration and respect which his scholarly attainments obtained for him in Japan.

During his residence in Hong-Kong and Japan Eliot paid several visits to China, and the writer of this Notice had the pleasure of entertaining him in 1914 at Wei-hai-wei and ten years later at the Summer Palace, near Peking. He met him again in 1926, in London, shortly after his retirement from the diplomatic service; and saw him for the last time on 9th October, 1930. Eliot was then living at the Nara Hotel, in Japan, where for some time he had been leading a very quiet and retired life, putting the final touches to his book on Japanese Buddhism. Nara is situated in a district which for the student of Buddhism in its Japanese varieties possesses unique attractions; and it will not be surprising if when Eliot's work is published we find that something of the charm and tranquillity of Nara and its wonderful temples has passed into the pages of his book. It is pleasant to know that the closing months and years of

his life were spent amid surroundings which to him must have been ideally congenial and a constant source of inspiration. He informed the present writer, in the course of a last conversation, that he intended to leave for England in the ensuing spring, bringing with him his completed manuscript. He duly left for England when the time came, but never reached it. His book, fortunately, is in the hands of his executors, and its publication, it is reasonable to hope, will not be long delayed.

Eliot was a sick man when the *Hakone Maru* passed through Hong-Kong. He was unable to go ashore, but he was visited on board by several of those who had been his friends and colleagues during his period of office at the University. A fitting tribute of respect was paid to his memory there when the news of his death reached the Colony a few days later. The members of the University Court and Senate and the resident graduates and undergraduates stood in silence in the Great Hall while Sir William Hornell moved a resolution deploring the loss of the distinguished scholar, diplomat, and administrator who had been the first of his predecessors in the office of Vice-Chancellor.

It happened that there was no Christian priest on board the *Hakone Maru* when Eliot died, and the Japanese captain, who, as the Singapore correspondent of *The Times* observed, knew something of Eliot's "intense interest in Buddhism", decided that his body should be committed to the sea in accordance with the Buddhist rites ordinarily observed on such occasions. "With this simple and impressive ceremony a great scholar and noted diplomatist was buried by a people whom he knew and loved."

REGINALD F. JOHNSTON.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

14th May 1931

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The proceedings opened with the reading and confirmation of the Minutes of the last annual general meeting and the unanimous election of the following candidates proposed for membership :—

Mr. J. I. David.

Dr. A. N. Mondal.

Prof. W. L. Dyer.

Mr. C. A. Naidu.

Dr. A. R. Khastgir.

Sahebzada A. S. Baig Timori.

Five nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1930-31

The Society has lost by death an eminent Honorary Member, Geh. Reg. Prof. Edouard Sachau, a distinguished Member of Council, Dr. H. R. Hall, an ex-Vice-President, Lieut.-Col. Sir Richard Temple, and the following ordinary Members :—

Rt. Hon. Sir C. Eliot.

Mr. E. E. P. Rose.

Mr. J. Hilditch.

Lt.-Col. E. R. Rost.

Sheikh Wali Md. Naiyar.

Mr. Moti Sagar.

Lt.-Col. D. C. Phillott.

Rev. R. Zimmermann.

The following members have resigned :—

Mr. S. K. Banerji.

Miss S. B. Jagumal Narsian.

Rai Bahadur G. L. Bonnerjee.

Mr. H. R. Nevill.

Mr. R. Ganguli.

Mr. H. J. Oppenheim.

Mr. H. L. O. Garrett.

Mrs. Pollard.

Lady Holmwood.

Mr. G. M. Sewell.

Prof. P. C. Lahiri.

Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.

Miss L. B. Jagumal Narsian.

Babu K. N. Tagore.

Library members :—

Miss Hull.

Under Rule 25*d* the following have ceased to be members of the Society :—

Mr. M. N. Ameen.	Mr. J. M. Menzies.
Mr. P. N. Arora.	Mr. R. J. Moses.
Mr. Syed M. Ahmad.	Mufti Md. Sadiq.
Mr. P. Banerji.	Mr. K. S. Hussain Mohamed.
Mr. M. M. H. Begg.	Mr. R. N. Mattu.
Mr. J. N. Bose.	Mr. Abdul Majid.
Mr. K. M. Banthiya.	Mr. R. Narayanaswami.
Mr. G. C. Barua.	Mr. J. Narain.
Mr. Syed Abdul Wahab Bokari.	Mr. S. M. Naidu.
Mr. L. M. C. Bhatia.	Mr. Y. Nakahara.
Mr. F. C. Bugga.	Mr. T. A. K. Pathy.
Mr. B. Batra.	Mr. A. Pargal.
Mr. R. K. Chaube.	Md. Ibadur Rahman Khan.
Mr. S. K. Chowdhury.	Mr. Syed Riaz-ul-Hassan.
Mr. A. R. Davar.	Mr. D. N. Rozdon.
Mr. S. A. Durai.	Mr. M. S. Rao.
Mr. Lakshmi Dutt.	Mr. S. Babu Reddy.
Mr. R. C. Dhar.	Mr. R. N. Saha.
Mr. N. C. Ghose.	Raja Jawahir Singh of
Mr. M. L. Gupta.	Mr. B. Sarraf. [Sarangarh.
Mr. R. K. Goel.	Mr. L. M. Ram Sekhri.
Mr. C. A. Ghani.	Mr. S. R. Shanker.
Mr. M. H. Ismail.	Mr. Khazan Singh.
Mr. J. P. Jain.	Mr. Sayyad Sajjad.
Mr. Amrit Lal Jain.	Mr. V. S. Subrahmanyam.
Mr. K. C. Jones.	Mr. R. S. Sharma.
Mr. Abdul Khaliq Khan.	Mr. Radha Krishna Shastri.
Mr. M. Krishnamachariar.	Mr. S. Bhagat Singh.
Mr. Aziz Ahmed Khan.	Mr. I. Y. Suleman.
Mr. Abdul Hakim Khan.	Mr. N. N. Sharma.
Mr. A. R. Khaki.	Raja D. N. P. Singh, of
Mr. L. U. Koraishy.	Monghyr.
Mr. P. D. Kora.	Mr. C. K. Sarda.
Mr. G. Krishna.	Mr. T. E. V. Sarma.
Mr. A. R. Kaushic.	Mr. M. R. Tauheedi.
Mr. Asharfi Lal.	Mr. S. Vadivelu.
Mr. S. Lal.	Mr. G. A. de Z. Wickramaratne.

To fill the vacancy in the roll of Hon. Members caused by the death of Prof. Sachau, the Council selected the eminent Oriental Scholar, Prof. Dr. August Fischer, of Leipzig.

The following have taken up their election as Resident Members :—

Mr. W. E. D. Allen.	His Excellency Sheikh Hafiz
Mr. A. Gamal El-Din.	Wahba.
Sir J. M. MacLeod.	

The following as Non-Resident Members :—

Mr. Paramananda Acharya.	Md. Abdul Hamid Khan.
Pir Nazir Ahmad.	Nawab Ali Md. Khan.
Mr. M. K. Aravamudhu.	Sultan Sahib Bahadur
Mr. B. P. Banerjee.	Kutbudin.
Mr. S. P. Banerji.	Mr. K. K. Kurup.
Mr. S. S. Basawanal.	Mr. Ernest Main.
Mr. B. R. Bhandari.	Mr. A. K. Mathur.
Mr. Kailash Nath Bhatnagar.	Sayyid Ghulam Murtaza.
Capt. S. Cursetjee, Sirdar- Girami.	Lieut. D. R. N. Puri.
Mr. S. K. Das.	Mr. Md. Iftikhar Husain Qarni.
Kumar Bejoy Pratap Singh Deo.	Prof. Choeth Ram Renjen.
Dr. A. L. Dutta.	Mr. Md. Jamaluddin Roomi.
Mr. Jogendranath Dutta.	Mr. M. Abdus Sattar.
Mr. H. A. Elsberg.	Lieut. N. L. Sen.
Mr. S. G. Vesey-Fitzgerald.	Mr. Chimanlal J. Shah.
Mr. G. C. O. Haas.	Mr. R. Lal Sharma.
Mr. H. F. al Hamdani.	Babu S. Srivastavya.
Mr. H. H. Hart.	Mr. V. D. B. Taraporevala.
	Dr. R. N. Varma.

The following as Non-Resident Compounders :—

Mr. R. M. Antani.	Major A. Deane Molony.
Mr. C. J. Edmonds.	Dr. G. Sarton.
Mr. V. I. Mannadiar.	Mr. L. de Saram.

The following as a Student Member :—

Mr. Theodore Gaster.

The following has transferred from Non-Resident to Student Membership :—

Mr. B. A. Saletore.

Lectures.—The following lectures have been delivered :—

“Sidelights on Islamic History and Customs in the Fourth Century A.H.,” by Professor D. S. Margoliouth.

“The Excavations at Nineveh, 1929–30,” by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson and Mr. R. W. Hutchinson.

“The Excavations at Ur, 1929–30,” by Mr. C. Leonard Woolley (in conjunction with the Central Asian Society).

“The Archæological Work of the École Française d’Extrême Orient in Indo-China,” by M. Victor Goloubew.

“Yunnan,” by Miss Mary Lumsden.

“Persian Book Illustration,” by Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson.

“Persian Carpets,” by Lieut.-Col. W. G. Grey.

“The Story of Sind,” by Mr. P. R. Cadell.

“The Chinese Dragon,” by Prof. W. E. Soothill.

“The Origins of Trade between England and Persia,” by Sir William Foster.

“Nejd,” by His Excellency Sheikh Hafiz Wahba.

An Exhibition of Photographs and Articles of Interest from Thibet was given by Mr. H. L. Shuttleworth.

It has been realized that interest is not sufficiently and widely felt amongst Public Schools in general with regard to the terms of the Deed governing the Public Schools Gold Medal and Prizes Trust, under which a Medal and prizes are given for essays written on a selected Oriental subject. Only a very few Schools evince a desire to compete, and head masters explain that there is not room in the curriculum for such detailed Indian history as is contemplated. The Council therefore decided to alter the terms and to transfer the competition to the Universities. The question was referred to the Charity Commissioners, who replied that their powers in such subjects were now vested in the Ministry of Education. After due consideration the Ministry of Education agreed to the alteration and new recommendations are now being prepared to accompany the official request for the sanction of the Minister of Education. These will embody the proposal to open the competition to Undergraduates at certain

Universities in the British Isles, to be selected at the discretion of the Council. It is thereby hoped that the desires of the originators of the Trust and the donors of the Trust Funds will more nearly be met than has hitherto been the case. Owing to the pending negotiations no competition took place during the current year.

The Burton Memorial Medal has been awarded to Mr. Bertram Thomas, in recognition of his recent journey of exploration across the Great Desert of Southern Arabia; the Memorial Lecture will be delivered by him, probably on 18th June. The Society has published a monograph, as a reprint from an article in the *Journal*, "The Kumzari Dialect of the Shihuh Tribe, Arabia, and a Vocabulary," by Mr. Bertram Thomas.

The third and last of the annual grants of £400 from the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust has been used partly for the binding of old MSS. and for the purchase of volumes to complete imperfect series and other books of special interest, and part has been retained in hand towards the expenses of the forthcoming publication of the new Library Catalogue. This is in addition to the sum of £800 originally promised by the Trustees for the Catalogue. In connection with the above, the Council arranged with the Carnegie Trustees to devote £120 a year of the Society's funds for binding and buying books, and a further £30 a year for extra assistance in the Library until the Catalogue is published. The revision of the Library Catalogue is proceeding under the direction of Sir J. Stewart Lockhart, Mr. A. G. Ellis, and Dr. H. N. Randle, to whom the Society is greatly indebted for generously placing their services at its disposal for this purpose. The Society is similarly indebted to Dr. L. D. Barnett, who undertook part of the work and, but for regrettable indisposition, would have continued to give his services until the work was brought to completion. It is hoped to have the revision complete in a year's time.

Suitable new cases have meanwhile been made for some

two-thirds of the Chinese books in the Chinese Library to take the place of the old covers which were beginning to show signs of wear. They have been arranged in shelves in the Chinese room and the revision of the Catalogue above referred to will include these volumes.

The Auditors elected to represent the Society report that "we met the professional auditor and discussed the Accounts with him. He reports that they have been kept excellently, and there are no suggestions to be made regarding them".

Some of the Art Treasures of the Society were lent to the Directors of the recent Persian Art Exhibition and were shown at Burlington House; they were transferred to the Persian Art Exhibition at the Manchester City Art Gallery so that they might be seen in the North of England, and have since been safely returned to the Society's charge.

In connection with the former loan the Council gave permission to the India Office and the Oxford University Press to publish a restricted number of copies of miniatures from the Society's *Shahnamah*. They were beautifully produced in book form, together with a short history of the *Shahnamah*, and fifty copies were presented to the Society.

Under Rule 29, the President, Lord Zetland, retires from the office of President, and the Council recommend that Sir Edward Maclagan be elected to succeed him. As the office of Director thus becomes vacant, the Council recommend Professor D. S. Margoliouth to be Director, and that Professor F. W. Thomas should take his place as a Vice-President.

Under Rule 31 the Council recommend the re-election of the Hon. Officers, Sir J. H. Stewart Lockhart, Mr. Perowne, and Mr. Ellis, as Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Librarian respectively.

Under Rule 32 the following members of Council retire and are not eligible for re-election as such:—

Dr. Blackman, Sir Edward Gait, Professor Nicholson, and Professor Thomas.

The Council recommend the election in their places of :—
Sir Richard Burn, Mr. Reuben Levy, Mr. Sidney Smith, and
Mr. Perceval Yetts.

Under Rule 81 the Council recommend the election of

(1) Mr. L. C. Hopkins.
and (2) Sir Edward Gait.
together with Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co. as Auditors
for the ensuing year.

Sir Edward Maclagan, in proposing the adoption of the
Report of the Council, said :—

“ I think the Report is in the hands of all members and so
it need not be read through. We have lost a certain number
of valuable members of the Council. May I mention three
in particular. That distinguished Orientalist, Dr. Hall, that
indefatigable scholar, Sir Richard Temple, and that extra-
ordinary genius, Sir Charles Eliot. I mention these three
in particular as they were always very good in helping us
both by contributing to the *Journal* and by helping on the
Council. Their death is a very real loss to the Society.
In regard to the members of the Society, the Report does not
say exactly how many members we have gained and lost,
but we can make them out from the lists that are given.
There is a long list of members who under Rule 25*d* have
ceased to be members of the Society, but that need not
trouble us because that somewhat cryptic reference really
relates to people who are only members in name. Our
Treasurer will tell you that nobody is a real member who does
not pay his subscription, and all these were gentlemen who
had not paid their subscription.

As regards the *Journal* referred to in the Report, that
has been keeping up its usual standard, but I should like
to support what was said by the President last year about
the *Journal*. It is sometimes said that the articles in it
are too technical, but the object of the *Journal* is to help

a certain class of people within certain limits which will be technical. The popular side of our work is more or less represented in the lectures, which have become a little more popular than they used to be, and that is a move in the right direction. Then there is the Library. The Library has been getting on very well, except that we have not got our catalogue ready yet. This work has now received a check owing to the illness of the gentleman who was helping us with the catalogue. I refer, of course, to Dr. Barnett, whose eyesight has failed, and I should like to take this opportunity of thanking him on your behalf for all the work he has done for us. We have received a great deal of help from Mr. Ellis, who is here, and we had hoped to get him a successor on it, but there is some difficulty about that which has not yet been got over. The Chinese books have been put in order with the help of Sir James Stewart Lockhart. The Report does not mention one point, and that is that we were told last year we were losing our Secretary, Mrs. Frazer. She actually went away in the autumn and was then succeeded by Colonel Hoysted, and I think we will all agree that the Society is to be congratulated on having a Secretary such as Colonel Hoysted. (Applause.) The only other point I wish to mention is a rather sad one, and that is that we are losing our President. He has presided over us for three years, and our rules require that he should vacate the chair at the end of this period, and he is precluded from re-election. This will be a great loss to us. (Applause.) He has been a very busy man in other ways and yet has found time to give full and particular attention to all the work connected with this Society. On your behalf I thank him for his help and for the courtesy with which he has always carried out the work of this Society. (Applause.)

The Chairman: "We now require a seconder, and I understand Colonel McIver Smith is prepared to second the adoption of the Report.

Colonel McIver Smith: In seconding the adoption of the

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members	291	9	0			
Non-Resident Members	959	7	10			
Student Members		10	6			
Non-Resident Compounders	66	0	0			
				1,317	7	4
RENTS RECEIVED				565	0	0
GRANTS FROM INDIA AND COLONIAL OFFICES—						
Government of India	315	0	0			
„ Hong-Kong	25	0	0			
„ Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
„ Federated Malay States.	40	0	0			
				400	0	0
SUNDRY DONATIONS				36	4	0
GRANT FOR LIBRARY FROM CARNEGIE TRUST				400	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	509	6	6			
Additional Copies sold	253	2	1			
Pamphlets sold	5	1	9			
				767	10	4
DIVIDENDS				79	7	9
REPAYMENT OF INCOME TAX (for three years)				47	19	3
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES				13	2	
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES				17	0	
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS				5	17	3
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT				17	10	4
SALE OF LIBRARY BOOKS				35	8	6
BALANCE IN HAND 31st DECEMBER, 1929—						
Current Account.	234	19	8			
Deposit Account.	300	0	0			
				534	19	8

£4,208 14 7

INVESTMENTS.

£350 5 per cent War Loan, 1929-47.
 £1,426 1s. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
 £132 16s. 3d. 4½ per cent Treasury Bonds, 1932-34.
 £777 1s. 1d. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960-90.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1930

PAYMENTS		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—							
Rent and Land Tax		496	0	6			
Rates, less contributed by Tenants		36	12	4			
Gas and Light, do.		74	1	3			
Coal and Coke, do.		25	7	9			
Telephone		15	3	3			
Cleaning		16	6	5			
Insurance		35	18	0			
Repairs, Renewals, etc.		88	9	0			
					787	18	6
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND					20	10	6
SALARIES AND WAGES					795	18	0
PRINTING AND STATIONERY					72	14	3
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—							
Printing		1,023	18	7			
Postage		75	0	0			
					1,098	18	7
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE					303	12	10½
Of which £150 is allocated to the Grant from the Carnegie Trust.							
GENERAL POSTAGE					65	15	5½
AUDIT FEES					10	10	0
SUNDRY EXPENSES—							
Teas		19	10	4			
Lectures		39	18	0			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance		11	5	0			
Other General Expenditure		74	6	3			
					144	19	7
DONATION TO GERTRUDE BELL MEMORIAL FUND					10	10	0
BALANCE IN HAND, 31ST DECEMBER, 1930—							
Current Account		97	6	10			
Deposit Account		800	0	0			
					897	6	10
					£4,208	14	7

NOTE: £250 of this £897 6s. 10d. represents the unexpended balance of the Grant received from the Carnegie Trust.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
 { RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

SPECIAL FUNDS

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.
1930.			
Jan. 1. BALANCE	271	17	11
" 8. SALES	66	5	9
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT	3	2	5

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.
1930.			
BINDING VOL. VIII.		5	3 6
" " XVII.		1	17 6
" " XX.		2	3 9
SUNDRIES		2	7 11
Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	11	12	8
	329	13	5
	£341	6	1

ASIATIC MONOGRAPH FUND

	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1. BALANCE	42	18	0
" 8. SALES	51	11	3
	£94	9	3

	£	s.	d.
BINDING VOL. XIX		4	12 3
" " XXI		5	4 9
Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY		89	4 6
	£94	9	3

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

CASH AT BANK—	329	13	5
On Current Account	89	4	6
" Deposit Account			
	£418	17	11

On Current Account	168	17	11
" Deposit Account	250	0	0
	£418	17	11

LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND

		1930.		1930.		BALANCE—			
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	Dec. 31.	Represented by £219 3s. 5d.	£	s. d.
1930.							5 per cent War Loan,		
Jan. 1.	BALANCE			204	2 0		1929/47 . . .	224	12 6
	TRANSFER FROM GENERAL ACCOUNT			20	10 6		CASH AT BANK . . .	10	19 2
	DIVIDENDS RECEIVED TO BE INVESTED			10	19 2			235	11 8
				£235	11 8			£235	11 8

TRUST FUNDS

PRIZE PUBLICATIONS FUND

		Dec. 31.		BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY . . .			
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Jan. 1.	BALANCE			48	6 10		98 0 4
	SALES			31	13 6		
	DIVIDENDS			18	0 0		
				49	13 6		
				£98	0 4		£98 0 4

GOLD MEDAL FUND

		Dec. 31.		BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY			
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Jan. 1.	BALANCE			66	1 5		65 16 5
	DIVIDENDS			9	15 0		
				£65	16 5		£65 16 5

[illegible]

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND . . .	98 0 4	
GOLD MEDAL FUND . . .	65 16 5	
PUBLIC SCHOOLS' GOLD MEDAL FUND .	96 1 2	
	<hr/>	
	£259 17 11	

CASH AT BANK—	
On Current Account .	259 17 11
	<hr/>
	£259 17 11

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable " B " Stock (Prize Publication Fund),
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable " A " Stock (Gold Medal Fund),
£645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable " B " Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund),
£40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund),

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

March, 1931.

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
1930.		1930	
Jan. 1. BALANCE	2 18 2	Dec. 31. CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	4 16 4
DIVIDENDS	1 6 2		
REPAYMENT OF INCOME TAX	12 0		
(Two years)			
	<u>£4 16 4</u>		<u>£4 16 4</u>

INVESTMENT.
£49 0s. 10d. 3% Local Loans.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

		PRINTING AND BINDING VOL.	
Jan. 1. BALANCE	33 3 2	1X	63 8 0
DIVIDENDS	196 15 11	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES	42 0 0
SALE OF BOOKS	111 19 3	10% COMMISSION ON 1929 SALES	5 17 3
REPAYMENT OF INCOME TAX (2 years)	60 6 8	SUNDRIES	1 2 6
		Dec. 31. CASH AT BANK—	289 17 3
		On Current Account	<u>£402 5 0</u>

INVESTMENTS.

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942-62.
 £1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940-60.
 £1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
 Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
 RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

March, 1931.

Report, I would like to raise afresh the question which was broached a few years ago by a gentleman who then seconded the adoption of the Report—Colonel Lorimer. His point was that it was a question whether it was sufficient for us to carry on in the traditional way, or whether it would be possible for us to extend our activities. In particular, I think his suggestion that we ought to be able to subsidize research work was a very valuable one. Of course, there is a very obvious objection to that, and that is that funds will not permit. But I think that if we were even in a small way to make a start it would perhaps interest more people in our activities and so increase our membership and our facilities. I am not speaking as an expert in any branch of our activities, but merely as an ordinary member, and I feel quite confident that there are a number of people who would become interested and would join us and so enable us to carry on the work to which Colonel Lorimer referred. I have been rather led to this by the fact that two or three years ago I paid a visit to Cyprus, which, strictly speaking, is within our territory. I found there a certain amount of research work being carried on, very ably, but the gentleman who was doing it was a Swede and he was financed from Sweden. I think that in the interests of British policy it would be a good thing if such work were carried on by a man of our own race and financed from our own country. I do not know of any other Society than this which could include such work, and I hope that those who are on the Board of Development will consider this suggestion. I have very great pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report.

The Chairman: "The Report includes the accounts of the Society, and the Hon. Treasurer asked me to express his regret to the meeting that he is unfortunately absent. He has written a short note on the finances of the Society which he would like submitted to the meeting before the adoption of the Report is put, and I will now ask Mrs. Davis if she will read this."

The Hon. Treasurer submits the Society's accounts for the past year, with the following observations :—

I am sorry to say that the first item of receipts, namely, subscriptions, shows a falling off for this year of £50, where I had hoped for an increase of that amount. Last year I mentioned that the number of our members showed a general tendency to increase. I said "tendency" because the increase was a slow one and subject to frequent oscillations. At the end of last year we had 936 members on our effective list, as against 968 at the end of 1929, and 965 at the end of 1928. but are still considerably up on the 1926 and 1927 figures. The position is therefore still hopeful, though I would earnestly ask each member to do what he can to obtain new members, as it is only by increasing our income that we can possibly hope to keep the Society's work at the high level of scholarship and utility for students of Oriental subjects and works for which it is so well known.

In this connection I call your attention to our Student members, who have the assistance and encouragement of the Society for a nominal fee of 10s. 6d. per annum. This membership does not seem to be so well known as it deserves, so I give it a special place in my remarks in the hope that the seed sown may not fall on barren soil.

As regards the other items of receipts our rents have dropped some £80. This is owing to one of our sub-tenants having left and the Council having decided not to re-let, as the room was necessary for the Society's increasing requirements for the Library.

The grant for the library from the Carnegie Trust has been dealt with to a certain extent in the Council's report. I shall have some further remarks on this subject a little later on.

As to the *Journal* account, you will be glad to know that this maintains its position with a decided tendency to increasing revenue, thus showing in the most practical way possible how our work is appreciated and esteemed in the world of scholars.

You will also note a three years' repayment of income tax amounting to £47 19s. 3d. The repayment of this tax has been in abeyance pending the decision of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue as to whether, in view of a recently decided case, we came under the definition of a "Charity" to entitle us to this relief. I am glad to say that, after submitting our case, the Commissioners held that the Society is entitled to repayment of the tax. This, I think, disposes of the receipt side, the other items, which are of a more or less normal character, fluctuating to a certain extent each year but call for no special comment.

Turning now to the payment side of the account, the House Account shows upward of £50 less spent than last year, practically the whole of which, however, is attributable to repairs and renewals, which formed a heavy item in the 1929 accounts. The salaries and wages (which naturally fluctuate) are some £30 less than last year, while the printing and stationery show £14 increase.

The *Journal* Account is within 2s. 6d. of the same figure as last year, and the expenditure on this account is, I may say, about one-third of our total income. Against the library expenditure you will observe the note stating that £150 is allocated to the grant from the Carnegie Trust. I will deal with this a little later on. Meantime, the £153 balance paid out of the Society's funds shows about £15 increase on the previous year's expenditure. It is the policy of the Society to be as liberal as possible in its expenditure on the library, which it wishes to make as accessible and as serviceable as possible for the use of students. Of the other items on the payment side I need only refer to the sundry expenses, which again show an increase of some £29 over the previous year's accounts which, in its turn, showed an increase of some £21 over the 1928 accounts. This is an account which is bound to fluctuate according to the exigencies of each year.

To sum up, our total receipts last year, exclusive of balances carried forward, were £3,673 14s. 11d. as against

£3,757 19s. 4*d.* in 1929, while the payments were £3,311 7s. 9*d.* as against £3,560 3s. 8*d.* for 1929 ; but to the payments this year must be added £250, the balance of the Carnegie Trust payment of £400, after allowing for the £150 expended on the library, as this £250 is an earmarked sum as I will explain presently. Thus our surplus of receipts over payments this year is £112 7s. 2*d.* only, as against £97 15s. 8*d.* for 1929.

This premised, I now come to the balance in hand on 31st December last, with which is involved a statement in connection with the Carnegie Trust grant to which I have referred above. The original Carnegie grant was a sum of £2,000 for the purposes of the Society's library, and was to be paid over a period of years. The question of a new catalogue for the library was at that time under discussion, and it was agreed that the Trustees should grant us £400 per annum for three years to expend on the library purely and simply, and that the balance of £800 of the £2,000 grant should be allocated towards the printing and publishing of the catalogue. Subsequently an estimate of £1,250 was obtained as the cost of printing the catalogue. Thereupon we had further negotiations with the Carnegie Trustees, with the result that they agreed that, out of the last instalment of £400, £250 might be allocated towards the printing of the catalogue (in addition to the original £800 arranged), provided we on our side were prepared to allocate £200 out of our general funds to make up the total £1,250 required.

In the balances carried forward, you will note that there is £800 on deposit, in which is included the £250 not expended of the final annual instalment received from the Carnegie Trustees last year (the auditors have made a special note of this at the foot of the accounts), and £200 for our own contribution is also included in the £800 ; so that these sums are thus in reserve towards the printing of the catalogue as soon as the latter is ready. Of the £350, balance of the £800 on deposit, £121 was earmarked for other special payments shortly liable to become due, and the remainder is held for

the ordinary purposes of the Society and special expenditure. This is not by any means an excessive sum, having regard to the small margin of surplus between receipts and expenditure (which is occasionally reduced almost to nil) and to unforeseen or recurring heavy expenditure which has to be provided for each year, while no refusal is given to any reasonable demand for help for the library which, together with the *Journal*, are the first preoccupation of the Council.

As to the Special funds, these speak for themselves, and I do not think there are any special observations to be made. I hope I have not detained you too long, but I felt sure you would all be interested to hear as to the Carnegie Grant and its disposition, and that there is a good chance of the long expected catalogue being published during the coming twelve months, when we may expect at the same time to receive the £800 balance of the Grant.

I cannot conclude without once more expressing my grateful thanks to Mrs. Davis, the Assistant Secretary, for all the ready help and information which she has spared no trouble to give me from time to time and which have considerably lightened my task as Treasurer.

The fact that the Auditors have reported that the accounts have been kept excellently and that they have nothing to suggest as to them, you will, I think, agree is in itself a tribute to Mrs. Davis' work, which merits the best thanks of the members.

The Chairman: Before putting the adoption of the Report to the meeting I should like to remind you that if you pass this motion adopting the Report you also adopt the recommendations which are made to you by the Council for the filling of the vacant offices during the coming year, viz. as President, Sir Edward Maclagan. I am sure the Society will be very ready to welcome him back to a post which he has filled with so much distinction in the past. As Director, Professor Margoliouth, and here again we welcome back to the post of Director an old and well tried friend. As

Vice-President, Professor F. W. Thomas ; as Hon. Officers—Sir J. H. Stewart Lockhart as Hon. Secretary, Mr. Perowne as Hon. Treasurer, and Mr. Ellis as Hon. Librarian ; and may I, on behalf of this Society, express to those gentlemen your gratitude for the very large amount of honorary work which they do on your behalf. (Applause.) And finally, the recommendations of the Council for filling the four vacancies on the Council—Sir Richard Burn, Mr. Reuben Levy, Mr. Sidney Smith and Mr. Perceval Yetts. Now, ladies and gentlemen, the adoption of this Report having been proposed and seconded, I have much pleasure in putting it to you. Carried unanimously.

It is usual at the annual general meeting for the President to say a few words with regard to the position and work of the Society, and I have to confirm what has been said by a previous speaker with regard to the losses which the Society has sustained during the past year. We have suffered heavily both by resignation and by death, the number of those who have resigned or died during the past year being ninety-nine. As against that we have enrolled fifty-four new members, so that the net result during the past year has been that we have suffered appreciable losses in our numbers. Amongst those whom we have lost by death is one of our distinguished honorary members, Professor Edouard Sachau, an eminent philologist, Professor of Semitic Languages at the University of Vienna as far back as 1872, who was later called to Berlin and in 1887 became Director of the newly founded School of Oriental Languages in that city. In the place of Professor Sachau your Council invited Professor Dr. August Fischer, of Leipzig, to become an honorary member, and we are fortunate in having the acceptance of that distinguished Orientalist of the invitation which we gave him. Amongst other distinguished men who have died, mention has already been made of Dr. H. R. Hall, who died very suddenly at the comparatively early age of 57. Dr. Hall, as you all know, was an eminent Egyptologist and Assyriologist at the British

Museum. In the course of an expedition to Mesopotamia, which he undertook about the end of the War, important finds were made, and Dr. Hall will be a great loss to all those who are interested in those particular sciences. Those who knew Dr. Hall will bear me out when I say that he was a man whose conversation and writings were enriched by very keen powers of observation and also by a keen sense of humour. Then another distinguished member whose name has already been mentioned was Sir Richard Temple, an Orientalist of very wide attainments, who was an expert in many branches of history, religion, ethnology, linguistics, numismatics, folklore and archaeology. All these subjects came alike to Sir Richard Temple, and the world of Oriental scholarship has indeed sustained a loss by his death. Lastly, Sir Charles Eliot, whose name was also mentioned, was another gentleman who made a great name for himself in the sphere of our interests. Beginning as a member of the Diplomatic Service in St. Petersburg, he ended up his life more particularly as an educationalist, being at one time Vice-Chancellor of the Sheffield University, and later first Principal of the Hong Kong University. Many of you will be familiar with the delightful books written by Sir Charles Eliot on different Oriental subjects, notably *Study in Europe*, which he published first under the pen name of "Odysseus". Then, later, came his *Letters from the Far East* and his *Hinduism and Buddhism*. By the death of all these men the world of Oriental scholarship has suffered a great loss.

Just turn for a moment to our activities during the past year. In the course of our lectures we have covered an unusually wide field. The Near and Middle East have been covered by Professor Margoliouth, who spoke to us on "Sidelights on Islamic History and Customs in the Fourth Century, A.H."; by Mr. Leonard Woolley, who spoke of his excavations at Ur in the year 1929-30 and Dr. Campbell Thompson who told us about Nineveh; by Col. Grey, who spoke to us about Persian Carpets; by Sir William

Foster, who spoke of "The Origins of Trade between England and Persia"; and His Excellency Sheikh Hafiz Wabha, who spoke of "Nejd"; also by Mr. Wilkinson, who gave us a lecture on "Persian Book Illustration". Passing from Asia we come to India, about which we had a lecture on the Province of Sind by Mr. P. R. Cadell. Passing on from India to the Far East, we had lectures by Professor Soothill on "The Chinese Dragon" and by Miss Mary Lumsden on "Yunnan", and by M. Victor Goloubew on the Archæological Work of the École Française d'Extrême Orient in Indo-China. So within the course of our lectures we have covered a very large field of interest.

There are just one or two items during the current year of interest to all members of this Society, though they were not carried out directly under its auspices. There was the reception at India House to the delegates to the Indian Round Table Conference, which was organized by the India Society, at which an account of the work in the interests of Indian art which has been carried on by that Society for some years past was given. Then the year was marked by the International Congress on Persian Art and by that really magnificent Exhibition which was a child of the International Congress. This Society contributed towards the success of the Exhibition by lending some of its own treasures for display. We lent our famous *Shahnamah*, and members of the Society will be interested to know that some of the illustrations from our *Shahnamah* have been reproduced—very beautifully reproduced—and a description of the work written and published under the auspices of the India Society. Then we also lent a specimen of Persian bookbinding, a picture of Fath Ali Shah and his Court, and that celebrated manuscript of ours, *The Story of the World*. Of this we actually own only one half, but by a curious and interesting coincidence the other half of the manuscript was found to be in the possession of the Edinburgh University Library, and the result of our lending our half and the Edinburgh Library

lending their half was that the two halves of this manuscript were brought together again after an indefinite and unknown period of years. Finally, may I remind the members of this Society that there is another Exhibition of very great interest and one of a very high class, viz. the Exhibition of Indian Art, which is at the present moment in progress at the rooms of the Burlington Fine Arts Club. Those members of this Society who have already seen the Exhibition will agree with me when I say that it really is a magnificent collection of works on Indian Art and one of the very greatest interest. I can strongly recommend anybody who has not yet seen it to take early steps to obtain permission of the Burlington Fine Arts Club to go and inspect the exhibits. The only other point to which I think I need refer is the question of the gold medal which for many years past has been offered by this Society under the terms of the trust deed for an essay on some Oriental subject laid down by the Council by boys in our public schools. For some time past it has been quite clear that the public schools of the present day are not able to spare the time to include in their curriculum the amount of Indian history or instruction in other Oriental subjects which is really necessary if this competition is to be a success. After prolonged negotiations, first of all with the Charity Commissioners and latterly with the Board of Education, who have now taken over the functions of the Charity Commissioners in this particular respect, we are on the verge of an agreement under which the prize will in future be offered not to members of our public schools, but to undergraduates at certain of our universities. We hope in that way to attract a number of persons who may be contemplating service abroad in the East to our new competition. The only other business before we adjourn for tea, and later re-adjourn to General Bruce's lecture on "Nepal" is the election of auditors. The Council nominate for your consideration the names of Mr. L. C. Hopkins, who has very kindly placed his services at our disposal for some time past

in this capacity, and Sir Edward Gait, who will become eligible to represent the Society as an ordinary member of the Society since his term as a member of the Council comes to an end to-day. May I, therefore, formally propose that Mr. L. C. Hopkins and Sir Edward Gait be elected auditors for the ensuing year. This was seconded and passed.

NEJD

On 23rd April a lecture was given before the Royal Asiatic Society at the lecture theatre of the Royal Geographical Society, by the kind permission of the President and members of the R.G.S. The lecturer was His Excellency Sheikh Hafiz Wahba, the Minister of Hedjaz and Nejd, and the subject was "Nejd".

He described the country now known as Nejd, though the ancient Arabs applied the term to every highland. The centre consists of fertile land where water is plentiful and the population numerous; the rest is desert sparsely inhabited by Nomadic tribes of Arabs, whose occupation is the tending of cattle. Most cereals and vegetables are grown as well as many varieties of fruits, such as dates, grapes, peaches, apricots, pomegranates, and figs.

Nejd exports dates, hides, clarified butter, cereals, wool, sheep, horses, and camels.

Previous to the advent of the Sheikh Mohammed Ibn Abdul Wahhab the country had a tribal system of government. Every village and district had its own Sheikh or Ruler, whose power did not extend beyond its immediate surroundings.

Perpetual disorder and chaos were the result. After the coming of the Sheikh, religious law was enforced under Al Saud, whose rule gradually extended to include all Emirates.

Unhappily, the country was invaded by the Turks and

Egyptians, who swept away all the reforms ; all commerce and caravans were again at the mercy of the Bedouins, who spared no one.

Then in the midst of this general chaos, Arabia's young man of destiny appeared. This young man was Abdul Azeez Al Saud. He conquered one Emirate after another, and in the space of thirty years extended his rule over the whole of Nejd and the Hedjaz.

The population of Nejd is about three million and is divided into two groups—the Town Dwellers and the Bedouin or Nomadic tribes ; the former are usually more faithful and intelligent. The Emirs always recruited their armies from among the former ; the latter proved more of a curse than a blessing to the Emir whose standard they joined, for, at the first sign of defeat, they would pillage their own side. The Bedouin knew no law but that of plunder.

To change all this His Majesty King Ibn Saud founded villages where ever water existed and ordered the Bedouins to dwell in them, while for each village His Majesty appointed a man of learning to teach the people their religion and explain to them their duty towards God, towards the King, and towards their fellow beings. They already are so changed in their habits as to forget their old animosities and to have earned the name of Ikhwan or The Brethren.

The Government of Nejd is essentially a religious one, headed by the King, who appoints an Emir, or Governor, and a Judge for every district. The King has the final word in everything except civil disputes, which he refers to the judges to decide, according to Islamic Law. The religious taxes on agricultural produce, sheep, and camels are those which have always been levied in Nejd. To them King Ibn Saud added Customs duties, as a result of the expansion of the country.

The great tribes still persist in marrying their equals, and not a member of them would dream of marrying into a tribe in whose lineage their exists the slightest doubt.

The ruling families do not condescend to let their women

marry into any tribe whatever ; they may only marry into their own family, though the men have free choice.

To the tribesmen, all industries, certain trades, occupations, and professions are anathema and are only practised by foreigners, or common Arabs. But agriculture, commerce, cattle-tending, camel-driving, and the profession of medicine are considered honourable. Hence all the wealth is in the hands of foreigners. The most insulting epithet one can apply to an Arab is to call him " Son of a tradesman ".

One of the great occupations practised by Bedouin and Town Dwellers is pearl fishing. No definite salaries are paid. After all expenses in connection with provisions, etc., are defrayed, the diver gets two shares of the rest and the man who pulls him out of the water, one share.

No pearl fisher will ever accept a definite salary ; he insists on trying his luck on terms with the owner of the boat. About two hundred thousand men, Arab and Persian, are so employed during the five months of the pearling season. The method of diving is simple, the divers refuse all modern improvements. A big stone is tied to a rope, the diver, holding the stone, jumps overboard and is down on the sea bed almost at once. He gathers as many shells as he can and returns ; when in distress he tugs the rope and is hauled up into the boat. The boats move from place to place in search of good beds and the merchants move from boat to boat purchasing the pearls.

The Arab of Nejd is truly democratic. For him titles do not exist. He is completely unaware of such phrases as " His Majesty, His Excellency ". The meanest Bedouin calls the King by his first name. At meals, all males in a house eat with the fingers out of one dish. The King sits at the table with his servants ; there is no indignity. Women generally dine by themselves.

In the desert there is just the slightest evidence of the seclusion of women, a negligible minority wearing a veil of the finest texture, but the majority share everything with their husband, even the fighting.

Early marriage is frequent, the girl of thirteen or fourteen, the boy of fifteen or sixteen.

King Ibn Saud has been alive, from the first, to the fundamental truth, that until law and order were established no reform would be possible. In this fight he enlisted the aid of the motor car and the wireless apparatus. The car proved invaluable for patrolling the desert and the wireless for knitting the different parts of the Kingdom together. Some determined opposition had to be overcome, as the origin of these instruments was at first attributed to Satan. But His Majesty is slowly educating his people : he sends young Arabs to study abroad to learn modern science and art, so that they may teach in schools on their return and pass on their knowledge to the younger generation.

It is my firm belief, that it is the opinion of all who are in a position to study the country and accurately estimate its rate of progress, that it is assured of a very bright future.

FOUNDATION OF A PROVISIONAL BUREAU FOR THE STUDY OF EXOTIC CUSTOMARY LAW

I. Half the globe is still under the sway of non-codified Oriental and Tropical law. The anticipation of the nineteenth century that these law systems were destined to disappear shortly has not been fulfilled, and juridical science acknowledges their importance more and more.

II. The difficulty is to know its tenor, to study its contents without prejudice, and to know who are the persons occupying themselves with it.

III. By way of a provisional sketch and for practical use, we may distinguish eight systems of exotic law, namely :—

- (a) Oceanic law ;
- (b) Japanese, Chinese, Annamite and Siamese law ;
- (c) Indonesian law (Formosa, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Malay Peninsula, etc., the Chams of French Indo-China, Madagascar). The International Academic Union, founded in 1919, has just evinced its interest in a

practical way, by taking up the printing of a provisional dictionary of Indonesian law ;

(d) the indigenous law of India ;

(e) the law of western Asia ;

(f) the indigenous law of north-western Africa, of Tripoli and of Egypt ;

(g) the indigenous law of central and south Africa ;

(h) the law of the indigenous populations of north, central, and south America.

IV. In order to facilitate the study of these systems of law, we need to know first the work that has already been done and the various persons (students of law or not, especially those who live on the spot) on whose collaboration we may rely.

V. For the study of Indonesian law (see above, III (c)) the Dutch have founded at Batavia an " Adat law Section " (1926) of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (1778) and at Leyden an " Adat law Foundation " (1917).

VI. For this reason and at the instance of the Adat law Foundation at Leyden mentioned above, the " Salle de travail d'ethnologie juridique ", founded in 1929 in the Faculty of Law of the University of Paris, has resolved to declare itself prepared to act provisionally as a central bureau for the study of exotic customary law. It therefore calls upon all those who are able to give information about data concerning the non-codified law of one of the eight groups mentioned under III. It proposes to publish all information received in a bulletin once or twice a year in order gradually to furnish the indispensable organization for this study, the urgent need of which is felt more every day.

VII. Communications may be addressed to M. le professeur René Maunier, 7 avenue d'Orléans, à Paris-14e.

C. VAN VOLLENHOVEN,

Professor in the University of Leyden.

RENÉ MAUNIER,

Professor in the University of Paris.

Will any member give or sell to the Society *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. ii, pts. 1 and 2, 1908, complete with the coloured plate to pt. 1, also title pages to both parts and the index which were issued in a supplement.

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works, of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed :—

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Note.—There are other libraries which subscribe through the booksellers. The Secretary would be much obliged by the Librarians of such libraries sending their names to be added to the above list.

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	April 1, 1930.	June 30, 1931.
Resident Members (including S.B.A. 10)	99	97
Resident Compounders (S.B.A. 3) .	12	14
Non-resident Members (S.B.A. 19) .	741	656
Non-resident Compounders (S.B.A. 2) .	83	87
Library Members	3	2
Honorary and Extraordinary Members .	30	30
	968	886
Subscribing Libraries, etc	289	290
Total	1257	1176

The difference between the above totals is greater than usual because the 1931 list is corrected up to June 30th instead of to April 1st, and is consequently affected by the loss of those members who did not renew their subscriptions for 1929 as well as 1930.

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1931

PART IV.—OCTOBER

The *sar-gudhasht-i sayyidnā*, the “Tale of the Three Schoolfellows” and the *wasaya* of the Nizām al-Mulk

By HAROLD BOWEN

THE original version of the Assassin biography of al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ, called *sar-gudhasht-i sayyidnā*, is not extant. All we possess are two recensions of it, if such a term is apposite, in the notes taken on the work by the two seventh/thirteenth century historians, ‘Atā-Malik al-Juwaynī (work completed 658/1260)¹ and the Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (work completed 710/1310–11).² For unless we may suppose that al-Juwaynī, who discovered the book in the library of the Assassin headquarters at Alamūt,³ afterwards condensed the notes that he first took, and that the Rashīd later incorporated these first longer notes in his history, we can only conclude that the Rashīd consulted the original work afresh, since his version is in fact very much fuller than al-Juwaynī’s.⁴ Which the Rashīd did it is impossible to say. There is one fact, however, that points to the first course as the likelier, namely that in introducing their extracts both use almost the same words (which cannot have appeared

¹ See Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 65.

² Ibid., p. 72.

³ See the *ta’rikh-i jahān-gushā* (B.M. codex Or. 155—hereinafter referred to as *Juw.*—f. 255a).

⁴ Cf. the conclusion come to by Mr. R. Levy in his note of correction, *JRAS.* 1931, p. 151.

in the original work).¹ Moreover, the copy used by al-Juwaynī was burnt after perusal with the other pernicious writings of the heretics. So the second course would involve the (improbable) existence of another copy.

Of the account of the Assassins supplied by these histories I have read only the part dealing with Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ himself, since even this goes far beyond the end of the period—that of the Nizām al-Mulk—with which I was concerned. Nor am I sure whether the *sar-gudhasht* is their authority only for this part, as its name would imply, or in fact included the lives of some of his successors. But in the part I have read I have noted, first, that the *Rashid* includes many details, often valuable, omitted by al-Juwaynī, and omits practically nothing included by him; and, secondly, that al-Juwaynī's version, as compared with the *Rashid*'s, shows signs of "editing" in a way that seems to me to forbid the supposition that it was the *Rashid* that in fact effected this rearrangement.

As an example of the first I may quote the *Rashid*'s mention of Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ's arrival in Damascus from al-Raḥbah "on the day of the Feast", to find that "the Turk named Āt-siz had been to Egypt and had fallen back in flight on Damascus. For this reason there was insecurity, till he [i.e. Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ] came to Sidon, Tyre, Acre and Caesarea".² Now this passage, though seemingly irrelevant enough to have been omitted by al-Juwaynī, in fact contributes greatly to the general credibility of this part of the *sar-gudhasht*. For Āt-siz had in fact been defeated and driven back into Syria by the Fatimids in 469 (1076-7), the year of Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ's departure from Persia; and the Damascus district continued in a state of disturbance till the city was taken over early in 471 (1078-9) by Malik-shāh's brother Tutush³—soon after Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ's arrival in Cairo.

¹ See Juw., loc. cit., and the *jāmi' al-tawārīkh* (B.M. codex Add. 7628—hereinafter referred to as *Rash.*—f. 290a).

² *Rash.*, f. 290b.

³ See Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Cairo, 1290/1873—hereinafter referred to as *Ath.*—x, 38-9, 41).

As examples of what I take to be al-Juwaynī's editing, I may note (1) his avoidance of the words "caliph" and "court" (*ḥaḍrah*), used by the Rashīd in connection with the Fatimids; (2) that wherever the Assassin missionary Ibn al-ʿAṭṭāsh is referred to, whereas the Rashīd calls him *shaykh*, al-Juwaynī does not; and (3) that whereas in the Rashīd's version the narrative changes, at the point of Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ's setting out for Egypt, from being in the first to being in the third person, in al-Juwaynī's it continues in the first. These changes (if such they are) may be put down, I think, to orthodox prejudice: al-Juwaynī will not allow the heretics of Egypt royal attributes, the heretic Ibn al-ʿAṭṭāsh to be an elder, nor above all, the arch-heretic Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ to be referred to as *sayyidnā* "our lord".

Perhaps the oddest feature of the *sar-gudhasht*, in both versions, is its ambiguity about Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ's doings in Egypt. The great importance of his visit from the Assassins' point of view lay, of course, in their belief that al-Mustansīr then informed Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ that he was to be succeeded as *imām* by his son Nizār.¹ But this is actually not recorded in the *sar-gudhasht* at all. On the contrary, it is even stated there that Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ was never permitted to have audience of the monarch, who was at this time all but helpless in the hands of Badr al-Jamālī, his commander-in-chief. Indeed, Nizār himself is only once mentioned, where it is said that Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ, "in accordance with his principles, made propaganda for him". It is stated also that al-Mustansīr, on hearing of his activities, praised him so vehemently as to arouse the jealousy of the court, and that Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ so provoked the wrath of Badr, who was the principal supporter of Nizār's rival brother al-Mustaʿlī, that he had in the end to flee the country. But that is all.²

On the other hand, what chiefly distinguishes al-Juwaynī's account from that of the Rashīd (apart from the differences

¹ Ath. ix, 167; x, 118.

² Rash., ff. 290b-291a; Juw. (shorter version), f. 256a.

I have already noted) is the omission in the former of the "Tale of the Three Schoolfellows". This tale is well known to English readers because FitzGerald recounts it in his introduction to *Omar*. It tells, of course, how Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ, the Nizām al-Mulk and 'Umar (to spell his name in conformity with the others) were educated together and made, with fateful consequences, a pact of mutual aid. But it has been pretty conclusively rejected¹ as an invention on account of the evident difficulty of reconciling the ages of the "schoolfellows". For whereas the Nizām al-Mulk was born probably in 408 (1018),² and certainly not later than 410 (1019-20),³ Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ died in 518 (1124-5),⁴ and 'Umar died probably in 517 and possibly considerably later,⁵ each of them at an unknown age. Even if both had lived to be a hundred, therefore, they would still have been some years junior to the Nizām al-Mulk.⁶

Now I think it probable that al-Juwaynī omitted the Tale as set out in the original version of the *sar-gudhasht* on purpose, not because he was aware of the objection I have mentioned, to be sure, but for another very good reason, namely that its data cannot be reconciled with the chronology of the first part of the *sar-gudhasht* itself. For, whereas the Tale has it that the conflict between Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ and the

¹ See Sir E. Denison Ross's biographical introduction to the *Rubā'iyyāt* (ed. Methuen, 1900, 62 sq.), and Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, ii, 190-3.

² So Ibn Khallikān (trans. de Slane, i, 414).

³ This date is given by our earliest authority, the sixth/twelfth century *ta'rikh bayhaq* (B.M. codex, Or. 3587, f. 43a).

⁴ Juw., f. 262b; Rash., f. 296b.

⁵ See Ross, op. cit., 72.

⁶ Our doubt that these personages should have been centenarians is strengthened by an observation of their younger contemporary, the historian al-Silafi (*apud* Ibn Khallikān, i, 88): "I may add that I have not heard of any person within the last three hundred years who lived for a century, much less of one who lived for more, the kadi Abū't-Tayib at-Tabari excepted." Al-Silafi himself lived to be over a hundred, dying in 576 (1180-1). See al-Subkī, *ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'iyyat al-kubrā* (ed. Cairo, iv, 1324/1906, iv, 46).

Nizām al-Mulk occurred during the reign of Malik-shāh and before Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ's conversion to Ismailism,¹ the first part of the *sar-gudhasht* states that his conversion took place before 464 (1071-2)²—a year before Malik-shāh came to the throne.

Al-Juwaynī evidently wished to preserve of it what he thought at all credible, nevertheless. Thus he does relate the episode of Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ's prophesying to his host Abū'l-Faḍl in Iṣfahān that with two friends he will attain to power. But he preserves it only by changing an awkward detail (in the story as told by the Rashid)—that the episode was enacted before al-Ḥasan went to Egypt. Al-Juwaynī places it instead, where it fits in comfortably, after his return.³

"The Tale of the Three Schoolfellows," as a whole, has more against it, therefore, than the discrepancy in age of its protagonists. Another Persian historian, however, has made an attempt to remove the main difficulty that I have mentioned—namely Ḥamd Allāh the *mustawfī* (work completed 730/1330). It is clear that Ḥamd Allāh used some version of the *sar-gudhasht* (his dating is enough to prove that). But desiring, apparently, to preserve the story of the conflict between Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ and the Nizām al-Mulk (he does not mention the three schoolfellows), he places it, not in the reign of Malik-shāh, but in that of Alp Arslān.⁴ The difficulty, however, is only very slightly diminished by this emendation—for which, moreover, we know of no good ground. For we should have to fit in Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ's sojourn at court (where Ḥamd Allah gives him a post as chamberlain) between his first coming under the influence of Ismailite missionaries at the age of seventeen, and his conversion before 464. And the *sar-gudhasht* clearly implies, though it does not actually state, of this period in his life, that it was chiefly occupied with

¹ Rash., f. 292b.

² Ibid., f. 290b.

³ Juw., ff. 259b-260a; Rash., ff. 292b-293a.

⁴ *ta'rīkh-i guzīdeh* (Gibb Trust ed., 439 sq., 517).

religious inquiry, that it was passed at Ray, and, above all, that it was not very long.¹

Again, there is not only one (main) version of the Tale; there are two. The first, that of the *sar-gudhasht*, is, of course, favourable to Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ. It shows him as having provoked the jealousy of the Nizām (who had made good his promise in giving him a place at court) by gaining the favour of Malik-shāh—on which the Nizām resorts to a trick to discredit him. But the other version is favourable to the Nizām. It shows Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ as ungrateful for the Nizām's kindness, and as attempting to oust him. It appears in the eleventh/fifteenth century compilation, known as the *waṣāyā*, or *naṣā'ih*, of the Nizām al-Mulk.²

This work has been stigmatized as spurious.³ But it can be so regarded only in the sense that as it stands it is evidently not from the pen of the Nizām al-Mulk himself; and in fact it makes no claim to be. The author actually remarks in the introduction that he had compiled it partly from books and partly from oral tradition handed down in his own family, which was descended from the Nizām al-Mulk.⁴ Moreover, most of the anecdotes with which the *naṣā'ih*, or precepts, are illustrated, and which make up quite half the matter, begin with the phrase *khwājah nizām al-mulk mī-gūyad*.

Again, there is reason to think that the material he used does indeed date, if not from the time of the Nizām al-Mulk himself, at least from considerably earlier than that of the compilation. Thus when the author writes that the Precepts had long been known everywhere, he is borne out (as far as time goes) by a reference, dating from at least two hundred years before (and scarcely a hundred and fifty years after the death of the Nizām), in the *jawāmi'* *al-hikāyāt* of 'Awfī

¹ Juw., f. 255b; Rash., f. 290a-b.

² There are two B.M. codices of this work: Or. 256—hereinafter referred to as *w. (A)*—and Add. 26, 267—hereinafter referred to as *w. (B)*.

³ See Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, ii, 212.

⁴ *w. (A)*, f. 5b; (*B*), f. 4a. Cf. Ethé, in *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, ii, 348.

to a "*waṣīyyat-nāmeḥ*" written by the Nizām al-Mulk for his son.¹ Also in the sketch of the Nizām's life that follows the introduction several tales about his infancy and childhood are given on the authority of a certain jurist, 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Fundūrajī, described as "one of the superior and pious persons of the age, who during the childhood of the Nizām al-Mulk was his tutor, and to the end of his life his adherent. The Nizamian *waqfs* in most provinces were arranged by him on the *khwājah's* behalf".² Now this 'Abd al-Ṣamad was a real person. He is mentioned repeatedly by the contemporary al-Bākhārī in his anthology the *dummyat al-qaṣr*. Al-Bākhārī calls him "*al-shaykh al-faqīh* Abū Muḥammad al-Fundūrajī, the *nāṣiḥ al-dawlah*", and states that he built a library in the 'Uqayl mosque in Nishāpūr.³ He is mentioned also by another contemporary, the poet Ibn al-Habbāriyyah, in a satire on the Abbasid and Seljuqid courts: "and the Nāṣiḥ al-Fundūrajī at the vizier's side."⁴ Two authors of the following century, again, refer to him, namely, (1) al-Sam'ānī, who calls him "the Nāṣiḥ al-Fundūrajī", and adds "an intimate of the Nizām al-Mulk"⁵; and (2) the Zāhīr al-Dīn al-Bayhaqī,

¹ B.M. codex Or. 2676, f. 157b. See, too, the "Introduction" to this work by Mr. Muhammad Nazim (Gibb Trust, New Series, viii, 206). Another possible source for the *waṣāyā* is a book still in existence in the seventh-twelfth century, compiled by one of the Nizām's chief officials, dealing with the "excellences of his conduct". It was consulted by the author of the Arabic history, *zubdat al-tawārīkh*, who quotes from it. See B.M. codex Stowe 7, f. 40^a sq.

² w. (A), f. 7a-b; (B), f. 5a. (A) has Fundarūjī, and (B) Qundizī (?)—but the proper reading is evidently that of al-Bākhārī and al-Sam'ānī—see below. Fundūraj was a village in the Nishāpūr district. See Yāqūt, *mu'jam al-buldān* (ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 119).

³ See the unpublished edition of Mr. S. J. Hussein (London University Library, Imperial Institute, D.Litt. Thesis, 1926), 840, 851, 935, 960.

⁴ See the *kharīdat al-qaṣr* of the 'Imād al-Dīn of Iṣfahān (B.M. codex Add. 18,524, f. 134a), also al-Bundārī (ed. Houtsma, p. 64, l. 12 and note (d)). The reading *al-ghundūru ḥayya* (for *al-fundūrajiyyu*) is evidently wrong in this place, as is also the editor's conjecture that the person referred to is the *qāḍī* Abū Bakr (as a Hanafite a most unlikely preceptor for that light of Shafeism, the Nizām).

⁵ See the *kitāḥ al-ansāb* (Gibb Trust facsimile, f. 432), where a man, evidently his grandson, 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad of Isfarāyīn,

in his notice of the philosopher Abū'l-Faṭḥ ibn Abī Sa'īd al-Fundūrajī, "the Nāṣiḥ's grandson."¹ So I think we may safely consider the part of the *waṣāyā* connected with him as of an early date.

It would not be impossible, indeed, to regard a very large part of the *waṣāyā* as an edition of actual utterances of the Nizām. It contains few enough anachronistic allusions and provably unhistorical episodes to imply a considerable critical sense on the part of the compiler, if he in fact drew his illustrative anecdotes from various works of a later date. Yet I suppose there is little doubt that he did so. And as regards the "Tale of the Three Schoolfellows" there can be scarcely any doubt at all.

The *waṣāyā* version of the Tale differs materially, as I have indicated, from that of the *sar-gudhasht*, though its main features—the names of the three chief actors, the Nizām's fulfilment of his promise to 'Umar and his quarrel with Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ—are the same in both. Certainly the most interesting part of the *waṣāyā* version is its opening.² For certain details of this have the air of truth. To begin with, it is the *faqīh* 'Abd al-Ṣamad—evidently al-Fundūrajī again—who takes the Nizām from Ṭūs to school in Nishāpūr. Secondly, the *imām* al-Muwaffaq,³ with whom the Nizām is here said to have been set to study, was actually at the time head of the Shafeite persuasion in Nishāpūr, and so actually the most

is mentioned as "*munshi*, in the *diwān* of the sultan and the vizier". As he was born in 489 (1096), the sultan was probably Sanjar, and the vizier very likely the Shihāb al-Islām (the Nizām's nephew, in office 511–15/1117–21) or Ṭāhir, son of the Fakhr al-Mulk (and so the Nizām's grandson, in office 528–48/1134–54).

It is a curious coincidence that the name of the vizier al-Tuḡhrā'ī, author of the famous "*lāmiyyat al-'ajam*"—born about 450 (1059), killed 513 (1119–20)—should have been (Abū Isma'īl) Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad. See Ibn Khallikān, i, 462 sq.

¹ See the photographic facsimile of the Berlin MS. of his *ta'rikh ḥukamā' al-islām*, in the Library of the School of Oriental Studies, f. 72.

² *w.* (A), f. 36a; (B), f. 29a.

³ His *kunya* was Abū Muḥammad, his name Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad. As well as al-Muwaffaq he had received the *laqab jamāl al-islām*.

likely master for the Nizām's father, a Shafeite, to have chosen. The only detail in this opening that seems intrinsically improbable is the age attributed to the *imām*. For if he was already, as is here stated, over eighty-five when the Nizām went to him—say in 422 or 424 (1031 or 1033) when he was fourteen—al-Muwaffaq must then have lived to be over a hundred, since he died in 440 (1048–9).¹

I suggest that the "Tale of the Three Schoolfellows" was engendered in the following way: The Assassins had before them the striking fact that the first and most famous murder attributed to them was that of the Nizām al-Mulk. It was known, again, that the Nizām had regarded them with particular loathing—this from his own work, the *siyāset-nāmeḥ*—and also, probably, that he had first made special efforts to lay Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ by the heels, and later ordered a siege of Alamūt.² But to admit that such hatred might be based merely on religious and political considerations may well have been distasteful, even incredible, to them. They therefore dramatized the relationship between their hero and the minister, using a model already to hand in the theme of the three schoolfellows' pact.³ This adaptation would account for introduction of 'Umar Khayyām, which is really pointless. The Tale was evidently in being, and received as gospel truth, when the *sar-gudhasht* was composed. It was therefore included despite its inconsistency with the rest of the narrative.

¹ Al-Dhahabī, *ta'rīkh al-islām*, supplies a short notice of al-Muwaffaq (B.M. codex Or. 49, f. 189b) and a longer notice of his son Abū Sahl (B.M. codex Or. 50, f. 61b sq.), the latter copied in part by al-Subkī, *ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'iyyat al-kubrā*, iii, 85. References to al-Muwaffaq occur also in al-Bayhaqī's *ta'rīkh-i āl-i subuk-tikīn*, the *saḡar-nāmeḥ* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the *dumyat al-qaṣr*, and the *nuṣrat al-fatrah* of the 'Imād al-Dīn of Iṣfahān. His family history is further elucidated by a notice of his father in al-Sam'ānī (op. cit., f. 81b) and of his maternal grandfather in al-Qazwīnī's *āthār al-bilād* (ed. Wüstenfeld, 318–19).

² Ath., x, 118.

³ Cf. the tale, dating from the third/ninth century, in the *jawāmi'* *al-hikāyāt* (MS. cited, f. 168a); also Dozy, *Moslems in Spain*, p. 357 sq. The likeness in the latter, however, is less close.

The second stage, I suggest, was reached after the Tale became generally known on its incorporation in the *jāmi' al-tawārīkh* of the Rashīd al-Dīn. The alternative version would then be invented to show that the villain was not the Nizām al-Mulk but Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ. And to add convincing local colour, all three were sent to school with the *imām* al-Muwaffaq in Nishāpūr, since he was known to have been really the Nizām's master.

The *waṣāyā*, as we know it, was evidently composed earlier in the ninth/fifteenth century than the *rawḍat al-ṣafā* of Mīr-khwānd (d. 903-1498), since this historian quotes the Tale word for word from it by name.¹ And by this time other historians as well had embroidered on the episode of the conflict between Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ and the Nizām al-Mulk: for Mīr-khwānd follows his quotation from the *waṣāyā* with no less than three accounts of the conflict culled from unnamed works, all unfavourable to the Nizām, the first and third being reminiscent of the version of Ḥamd Allāh. Other later Persian histories in which the Tale appears are the *ḥabīb al-siyar* of Khwānd-amīr (completed 929/1523),² the *ta'rīkh-i alfī*,³ and the *dābistān-i madhāhib*⁴ (both of the eleventh/seventeenth century). But they furnish no new material for criticism.

So much for this theory of the Tale's genesis. Attempts have been made by Orientalists, however, to explain it on other lines—by supposing that while historically true as describing actual events of the fifth/eleventh century, it has been fancifully applied to one or more of the chief figures concerned.

¹ See lithograph edition of the *rawḍat al-ṣafā*, Teheran, 1853-4 (unpaginated), *jild* iv.

The excerpt said to be from the *waṣāyā*, published by Schefer in his *Supplément* to the *siyāset-nāmeḥ*, p. 48, is evidently taken in fact from some history in which the work is quoted. It is not Mīr-khwānd's, though the account (except for its ending) differs only verbally from his.

² See lithograph ed., Teheran, 1855, ii, 166 sq.

³ See B.M. codex, Add. 16,681, f. 475b sq.

⁴ See Shea and Troyer's trans., ii, 423 sq. According to this account—for which the *waṣāyā* is not quoted as source—the Nizām failed to keep his pact, not only with Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ, but with 'Umar as well.

Thus Professor Houtsma, in the introduction to his edition of al-Bundārī,¹ suggests that the Nizām's place in the Tale should be taken by the later Seljuqid vizier, Anūsharwān ibn Khālid (the dedicatee of the *maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī), on the strength of Anūsharwān's remark, given in translation (from Persian to Arabic) by the 'Imād al-Dīn, that of some persons who had been at school with "us", one had turned Ismailite (this is implied by the heading), seized castles, and perpetrated murders on a large scale—an accurate description of Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ.² But, alas, unless we are to reject the chronology of the *sar-gudhasht* out of hand, we must conclude that Anūsharwān can scarcely have been at school with Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ. For whereas Anūsharwān was born in 459 (1067),³ Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ was, as I have mentioned, converted to Ismailism only five years later, in 464 (1071-2), and this at an age greater, at least, than seventeen. The least possible difference in their ages, therefore, is thirteen years.

The late Professor Browne, again, in a note to his translation of the *chahār maqāleh*,⁴ quotes a suggestion of Mirzā Muḥammad of Qazwīn that the poet al-Bākharzī and the vizier al-Kundurī were the real subjects of the tale, which later became attached to 'Umar and the Nizām al-Mulk—this because al-Bākharzī himself states⁵ that he and al-Kundurī had attended al-Muwaffaq's lectures together in Nishāpūr in 434 (1042-3); also we know from other sources that al-Kundurī was a pupil of al-Muwaffaq.⁶ But the story that al-Bākharzī goes on to relate in this place about his dealings with al-Kundurī bears very little resemblance to

¹ *Recueil de Textes Relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjucides*, ii, xiv sq.

² *Ibid.*, 66 sq.

³ See Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, ii, 192.

⁴ p. 138.

⁵ See the *dumyat al-qasr*, 640 sq. This passage has been published in Schefer's *Supplément*, 115 sq., the editor there stating—in error (?)—that he had taken it from the *kharīdat al-qasr* of the 'Imād al-Dīn (introduction v). It is also quoted in Yāqūt, *irshād al-arīb* (Gibb Trust ed., v, 124).

⁶ See al-Bundārī (*Recueil*, ii), 30 and *Ath.*, x, 12.

any part of the Tale: its point, indeed, is that whereas al-Bākharzī mocked al-Kundurī whilst he was still a person of no importance, when the latter grew great he bore no malice and rewarded the poet for a panegyric.

Nevertheless I think that in a slightly different way al-Kundurī and al-Bākharzī may conceivably have been models for two of the Schoolfellows—if we suppose that the third was actually the Nizām al-Mulk. Al-Kundurī would then be the “original”, not of the Nizām, but of Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ. To begin with, it is quite likely, as I have shown, that the Nizām was in fact also a pupil of al-Muwaffaq’s; and as there was no more at most than seven, and possibly only five, years’ difference between his age and that of al-Kundurī, who was born in 415 (1024–5),¹ they may very well have attended his lectures together. Then the subsequent history of all three is by no means unlike that of the Schoolfellows. In the first place, the Tale makes Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ a rival at court to the Nizām, who contrives his disgrace—which is precisely the case of al-Kundurī.² In the second, it makes the Nizām show favour to ‘Umar Khayyām—and he in fact became al-Bākharzī’s patron, the latter’s chief work, the *dumyat al-qaṣr*, being not only dedicated to him in terms of extravagant adulation, but also devoted in great part to his praise by poets of the age.

If this interpretation be valid, it is possible, I think, that a tale resembling that of the Three Schoolfellows was told of the Nizām al-Mulk from the first; that the *sar-gudhasht* version is one adaptation of this, and the *wāṣayā* version another. But the absence of any early reference to it remains, of course, a very grave objection to the belief that the Tale has any foundation in fact at all.

¹ See al-Dhababī, *ta’rikh al-islām* (B.M. codex Or. 50, f. 61a), quoting the *kitāb al-wuzarā* of ‘Abū’l-Ḥasan al-Hamadhānī.

² Al-Kundurī was dismissed from the vizierate of Alp Arslān in *ṣafar* 456 (Jan.–Feb. 1064), and was executed rather less than a year later as a result of the Nizām’s machinations. Our fullest account of these events is that of the contemporary Muḥammad b. Hilāl al-Ṣābi’, *apud* the *sibt* of Ibn al-Jawzī, *mir’āt al-zamān* (Paris codex, Arabe 1506, f. 104a sq.).

The Libraries of David and Solomon

By A. H. SAYCE

A LITTLE to the north of Latakia on the Phœnician coast important discoveries have been made by French excavators. Bronze Age necropolises, now known as Minet el-Baida, and dating from about 1700 to 1200 B.C., have been found, and on an adjoining site, Ras Shamra, the remains of a palace have been uncovered, the most flourishing age of which would seem to have been the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. In the ruins of the palace an armoury, or, rather, workshop, filled with bronze weapons and implements has been brought to light, as well as a library. The latter was not only once filled with inscribed papyri, but fortunately also with clay tablets which have survived to our time. At least five different languages are represented by the cuneiform texts of which the clay tablets were a necessary accompaniment. One of these was the official Babylonian of the Tel el-Amarna period. Another was Sumerian, a third probably Mitannian, while a fourth proves to be Canaanite, that is to say, Early Phœnician or Hebrew, written in a very simplified form of cuneiform script which has been reduced into an alphabet of twenty-eight letters. The words, moreover, are divided one from the other.

The discovery of this early cuneiform alphabet is sensational, more especially when coupled with the discovery of the Phœnician inscription on the tomb of King Akhiram at Gebal (Jebêl), which is proved by the inscription on the rock-wall of the shaft of the tomb to be of the same date as the articles found with the sarcophagus, that is to say, the age of Ramses II, or the thirteenth century B.C. Another inscription of a little later date has been found recently at Byblos (Gebal).¹ The discoveries push back the use of the

¹ This inscription belongs to Yakhi-melek, king of Gebal (Dunand, *Rev. Biblique*, xxxix, 3, July, 1930).

Phœnician alphabet by nearly four centuries, and show, moreover, that the forms of the letters underwent surprisingly little change during that period. This means that they had already been stereotyped by long usage, and must have been extensively employed: hence the imitation of them in the cuneiform script. Unfortunately only in the dry climate of Upper Egypt would the papyrus (or parchment) upon which they were written have been preserved. And as yet no stone or metal monuments have been discovered upon which the earlier pictographic originals of the letters would have been engraved, unless it be at Sinai, where recent research has made it probable that in certain "scribings" of the twelfth dynasty period we really have the primitive alphabet of Phœnicia. That the letters originated in a pictographic script can be inferred not only from their names, but also from some of their forms.

The new discoveries entail important consequences. It becomes necessary to revise what have hitherto been accepted beliefs as regards the use and antiquity of the Phœnician alphabet. It is no longer necessary to believe that in the Mosaic or even in the Tel el-Amarna age the only form of script and of writing material in the Near East, apart from Egypt, would have been the cuneiform syllabary and the clay tablet. On the contrary, the libraries of Canaan would have been filled with inscribed papyri, which accounts for the fact that excavations in Palestine have brought to light so little in the way of early literary remains. There is no longer any difficulty in believing that there were abundant literary documents for compiling the earlier books of the Old Testament, or that we have in the latter copies of works which go back to the age to which they profess to belong. The Song of Deborah and Barak, for example, could easily have been preserved in a Palestinian library. The "writing-staff of a scribe" is already mentioned in it, implying the use, not of the tablet and stylus, but of the ink and pen (see also Gen. xlix, 10). The educated world of the East had long been acquainted

with the libraries of Babylonia and Egypt ; history and law, theology and philosophy, and even the novel, had long been represented in them ; and what held true of Babylonia and Egypt would have held true also of Canaan. The story of Sanchuniathon can no longer be regarded as a myth.

Consequently there is no longer any need of our believing as I formerly did that cuneiform tablets lie behind the text of the earlier Biblical books. Doubtless use was made from time to time of cuneiform materials ; the library of Ras Shamra shows that they existed side by side with papyrus rolls—as, indeed, they also did in Babylonia—but except where the account is manifestly derived from a Babylonian source, as in the case of Gen. xi, 29, or xiv, 5,¹ we need no longer expect to find traces of a cuneiform original.

On the other hand, the scribes included “ translators ” or *targumanni*, as they were called in Hittite. At Ras Shamra they studied Sumerian, Babylonian, Mitannian, and possibly Cypriote ; in the libraries of the Hittite capital at Boghaz Keui the foreign languages were Sumerian, Babylonian, Mitannian, and Proto-Hittite. Among the records of the Tel el-Amarna foreign correspondence were letters in Hittite and Mitannian, as well as lists of foreign words. The royal library of Jerusalem also may have carried on the old tradition ; in fact, the Biblical account of the Deluge seems to have been derived from a Mitannian rather than a Babylonian source, if we may judge from the name of Noah, which goes back to Nakham according to Gen. v, 29,² and the whole of

¹ Gen. xi, 29 : “ The father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah ” ; alternative readings, the same cuneiform character having the values of *mil* and *is*. Gen. xiv, 5 : “ The Zuzim in Ham ” as compared with the “ Zamzummim ” and “ Ammonites ” of Deut. ii, 20, the cuneiform *w* (*u*) and *m* being expressed by the same character like *h* (*a*) and ‘*a*. The list of Israelitish encampments in Num. xxxiii, 2–49, implies a Hebrew rather than a cuneiform (or Egyptian) original. And “ the book of the Wars of Yahveh ” (Num. xxi, 14) like the Song of the Well (Num. xxi, 17–18) must certainly have been written in the Phœnician alphabet and the Hebrew language.

² In the fragments of the Mitannian version of the story of the Deluge found at Boghaz Keui the hero’s name is Nakhma-ul-el, where (*e*)*l* is the nominative suffix and *-ul* an adjectival formative.

the foreign literature would not necessarily have been upon clay tablets. The Babylonians made use of papyrus (*linu*) as well as of clay, and Professor Dougherty has made it clear that *sipru* signified a "papyrus-roll" in opposition to *duppu* the clay "tablet". *Sipru* is already found in the Cappadocian tablets (2300 B.C.). Egyptological discovery has also shown that Prov. xxii, 17-xxiv, 22, is translated from an Egyptian original,¹ and Prov. xxx and xxxi are also derived from foreign sources.

A royal library was naturally established as soon as David had made himself master of Jerusalem and had entered into rivalry with the other kings of the Oriental world. It was a necessary proof, as we now know, that he was really a king. Accordingly, by the side of the Chancellor of the Exchequer we find the *mazkîr* or "Chronicler", together with "a scribe" Shiya, who is associated with the two chief priests, as well as Ira, the king's chaplain (2 Sam. xx, 24). In 2 Sam. viii, 17, "Seraiah a scribe" is named after the two priests; at the beginning of Solomon's reign (1 Kings iv, 3) his place is taken by the two "sons of Shisha, scribes". Shisha is the Shusha of 1 Chron. xviii, 16, where his name has been substituted, erroneously it would appear, for that of Seraiah. It will be noticed that in all cases there is no definite article; Seraiah, like Shiya, is simply "a scribe", a single member of a class.² It is also noteworthy that Shusha resembles an Aramaic rather than a Hebrew name. In 1 Kings iv, 5, the scribes are classed with the priest Zabud, son of Nathan, who was

¹ Erman, *Sitzungsberichte d. Preussischen Akademie*, 1924, pp. 86-92. Erman shows that the enigmatical *shalshim* of the Hebrew text (xxii, 20) is a reference to the "30 chapters" into which the corresponding "Wisdom of Amen-em-ap(t)" was divided. The latter work may have been compiled out of earlier materials about the same time as when the library of Solomon was established.

² "Zadok son of Ahitub and Ahimelech son of Abiyathar (were) priests, Seraiah being a scribe"; "Eli-horeph and Ahijah sons of Shisha being scribes, Jehoshaphat son of Ahilud being the chronicler". So in 2 Sam. xx, 24, 25: "Jehoshaphat son of Ahilud being the chronicler, Shiya (? Shisha) a scribe and Zadok and Abiyathar priests." In 2 Sam. viii, 16, and 1 Chron. xviii, 16, the definite article is omitted also before *mazkîr* "chronicler".

"the king's friend", a title borrowed from the court of Egypt.

Nathan himself, if not the actual author of a book on the history of the reigns of David and Solomon, was at least the source or dictator of one according to 1 Chron. xxix, 29, and 2 Chron. ix, 29. Here we read: "The history of David the king from first to last, behold it is written according to the account of Samuel the seer and according to the account of Nathan the prophet and according to the account of Gad the diviner"; "the rest of the history of Solomon from first to last, is it not written according to the account of Nathan the prophet and according to the prophecies of Ahijah of Shiloh and in the visions of Y'adi the diviner regarding Jeroboam?" The "account" or "history" of Samuel the seer possibly refers to our books of Samuel. In 1 Kings xi, 41, the only source of the history of Solomon that is mentioned is "the book of the history of Solomon". On the other hand, in 2 Chron. xii, 15, "the history of Rehoboam from first to last" is stated to have been "written in the history of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the diviner relating to . . .", where it is noteworthy that we have "in the history" and not "according to (*al*) the history". After Rehoboam and the division of the Solomonic kingdom, the references in the books of Kings are always to "the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah" and "the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel", while the Chronicler's references are to "the Book of the kings of Judah and Israel", by which our present books of Kings would be meant. The only exception is 2 Chron. xx, 34, where we find: "the rest of the history of Jehoshaphat from first to last, behold it is written in the history of Jehu, son of Hanani, which is an addition to the book of the kings of Israel." These "histories" and "accounts", literally "words", corresponded to what Dr. Weidner has called "chronicles" in Babylonia which were based on the official annals of the kingdom and of which the account of Kudur-lagamar's campaign against Babylonia,

published by Professor Pinches, is an example. While the royal annals were carefully dated, the "Chronicle" was usually content to mention only the name of the reigning king.

The royal and temple libraries of Western Asia and Egypt went back to an early date. In Egypt the surgical papyrus recently edited by Professor Breasted proves that they were already established in the age of the third dynasty, that is to say, in what used to be supposed to be the beginning of Egyptian history.¹ In Babylonia they already existed in the days of the dynasty of Akkad (2750 B.C.). Wherever Babylonian civilization extended the scribe and the library accompanied it. Such was the case in eastern Asia Minor, in Syria, and in Canaan, the meeting-place of the culture of the Euphrates and the Nile. And it was not only the royal and the temple library that existed, private individuals also had their collections of written documents. As far back as the time of the third dynasty of Ur (2300 B.C.) and in distant Cappadocia the agents of the Babylonian *illati* or "companies" who worked the copper and silver mines of the Taurus had their "safes" at Ganis on the Halys filled with commercial and legal documents as well as private letters. Different languages, moreover, could be represented in the same library, together with bilingual and trilingual vocabularies. In the two libraries of the Hittite capital at Boghaz Keui, for example, there were literary works in Mitannian and Proto-Hittite, as well as in Sumerian and Babylonian, and the recent French discoveries at Ras Shamra have shown that in Phœnicia also the same was the case. In the Mosaic period the Oriental world was as well stocked with books and what we should call public libraries as it was in the Greek epoch. But except in Upper Egypt only the books which were inscribed on clay have unfortunately survived.

¹ Baedeker's *Handbook to Lower Egypt* (p. 164), published in 1894, describes Zoser, in whose reign the treatise was written by his Minister and medical adviser, Imhotep, as "the mythical king Zoser".

That a royal library already existed at Jerusalem in the reign of Solomon we know from a passage in the book of Proverbs. In Prov. xxv, 1, we are told that the proverbs of Solomon, which may have included some of those of his contemporaries like Ethan or the sons of Mahol (1 Kings iv, 31), or the proverbs which, as we now know, were translated from an Egyptian collection, were re-edited in the reign of Hezekiah. How carefully the work was done we learn from documents in the library of Assur-bani-pal. Characters and passages which were defective were marked as *khibi* or "wanting", and where a character was doubtful and admitted of more than one reading the fact was stated. At the same time, re-editing, especially in the case of religious hymns and the like, allowed the excision of passages or words which were out of date, of the substitution of one word for another as, for instance, of "Merodach" for "Ellil" in the Epic of the Creation, of other adaptations to changed conditions, and more especially of additions. An example of the last in Hebrew literature is to be found in Isaiah (xvi, 13, 14), where we read: "This was the prophecy of Yahveh concerning Moab long ago, but now there is a prophecy declaring," etc.

The royal library of David and Solomon would have been preceded by temple libraries in the age of the Judges, as well as by collections of written documents in the prophetic schools when once these latter were organized (see 1 Sam. x, 25). Samuel as law-giver or *mehogêq* would have been accompanied by his scribe, as is indicated in Judges v, 14 and Gen. xlix, 10, and at Shiloh there would have been a temple library after the fashion of the surrounding countries and of the Canaanitish cities themselves. It is significant that as late as the reign of Solomon the "prophecies" of Ahijah the Shilonite were still being committed to writing.

At first sight it is surprising that the libraries were not destroyed from time to time by the invasions of foreign enemies and the looting and destruction of the cities them-

selves. But as a general rule it would appear that the civilized conquerors of the old Oriental world did not wage war against books. On the contrary, we find Assur-bani-pal carefully carrying tablets to Assyria from the libraries of Babylonia, or having copies made of the latter for his library at Nineveh. It was easier to transport papyrus rolls than clay tablets, and it thus becomes intelligible how the earlier records of Judah and Israel could be utilized by Jewish exiles in the reign of the Babylonian king Evil-merodach (2 Kings xxv, 27).

The chief ground for my old belief that the earlier Hebrew literature was written in cuneiform was that it is only with the fifth year of Rehoboam that annalistic dating begins in Israelitish history ; before that we have only the indefinite " 40 years ", even the extracts from the annals of David in 2 Sam. viii-xi being undated ; and I therefore concluded that the older records of the kingdom had been destroyed when Jerusalem was captured by Shishak. But the name of Jerusalem is conspicuous by its absence in the Karnak list of Jewish and Israelitish towns captured by Shishak, and both the books of Kings and the books of Chronicles emphasize the fact that Jerusalem was surrendered without a siege to the Egyptian invader and that no damage was done to the temple or the palace, the treasures contained in them alone being carried away by the conqueror. The library would have remained intact.

The library must have been a rich one, like the other libraries of the ancient world of the East. All branches of literature would have been represented in it. Of one branch in the Solomonic library a single example only remains in the Song of Solomon. And yet we are told in 1 Kings iv, 32 that there were once a thousand and five similar songs which would have been numbered and catalogued like the tablets in the libraries of Assyria and Babylonia. Of a parallel class of literature in the library of Samaria all that survives is Psalm xlv, which seems to celebrate the marriage of Ahab.

The Dragon Terrestrial and the Dragon Celestial

A study of the *Lung*, 龍, and the *Ch'ên*, 辰

By L. C. HOPKINS

PART I

(PLATES VI-VII.)

THE Dragon is a Being, or rather, a nonentity, that though he never existed, has had to be invented. The human race soon found that it could not get on without him, and the imaginative fecundity of primitive man was called in to redress a biological oversight of Nature. When summoned to mythologic but influential life, he discovered no sinecure in his functions. Constant appeals from Oriental Rulers, Shamans, and the populace generally, to “co-ordinate” and “rationalize” his resources, in other words, to distribute rain more often, more widely, and more seasonably, may have seemed hardly compensated by his decorative popularity, or the flattering attentions of his pious but insistent devotees. Still *noblesse oblige*, and so the Dragon reigns among the thunder clouds above, and the thunder clouds (sooner or later) rain upon the earth beneath. Considerable research has been devoted to the Dragon by Western scholars, among whom may be mentioned Elliot Smith, and especially M. W. de Visser,¹ who cites abundant passages from Chinese and Japanese authorities in his attractive volume. And much earlier than either of the above, Gustave Schlegel had descanted fully upon the Dragon and its astronomic symbolism.² The present essay, however, has a less ambitious aim, and a more restricted scope. Its object is twofold. In the first part it will present and publish (among the others) a form of the character 龍 *lung* “dragon”, which seems to

¹ *The Evolution of the Dragon*, by G. Elliot Smith, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., 1919; *The Dragon in China and Japan*, by Dr. M. W. de Visser, 1913.

² See especially his *Uranographie Chinoise*, vol. i, chap. ii, and pp. 453-9.

have escaped the notice of all the Oriental epigraphists, whether Chinese or Japanese, so far as I can ascertain, but must be one of the most archaic, as it is perhaps the most elaborate, of the designs for the character in question.¹ An examination of this type, as well as of several other undoubted or alleged variants, must increase the length, but I hope add to the value of this part of the paper, if it should succeed in clearing up some of the confusion prevailing both before, and even more since, the discovery of the Honan Finds material. The second object in view concerns the character 辰 *ch'ên*, an astronomical term, best rendered by the late M. L. de Saussure as *repère sidéral*, "a star of reference," or Beacon-star. I shall endeavour to prove the origin of this hitherto misunderstood and virtually unexplained sign; to show that while it has a Dragonic origin and presents a Dragonic aspect, the archaic form in question is not, as believed by Lo Chên-yü, Wang Hsiang, and Tadasuke Takada, a variant of the character *lung* 龍, but an independent pictogram, and the parent of the modern 辰 *ch'ên*; to suggest (though this is not essential to the argument but merely an interesting side-issue) that its shape may well have been modelled upon certain stellar groups forming part of the larger sidereal aggregate known by Chinese astronomers as the Verdant Dragon, 青龍 *ch'ing lung*, and to Occidental astronomy as the Scorpion; and finally, to show by a sequence of recorded examples, arranged typologically, how the passage from the obviousness of a primitive picture to the meaningless formula of a graphic symbol, had already been made in the age of the Shang dynasty, during the second millennium B.C.

¹ I had at first written "publish for the first time", but on referring to a paper by myself in the *Journal of the R.A.S.* for July, 1913, I found two examples of this form are there printed. In the seventeen intervening years, not a breath of suspicion of the existence of such a character appears to have reached the Chinese or Japanese scholars who deal with these subjects. I may be allowed, therefore, to repeat these two among the examples photographed in Plates VI and VII in this number of the *Journal*.

LUNG 龍, THE DRAGON


It is not a very audacious conjecture to suggest that the syllables *lung* "dragon" and *lung* "high, exalted", written 隆, were at first not merely related, but identical; that is, that these words, now so different in function, are etymologically shoots from the same semantic stem, a stem expressing the idea of loftiness, of being or rising aloft. For the Dragon, though in Chinese and Japanese tradition at times resting in marshes and caverns, is essentially an incarnation of the power to rise aloft, where soaring among the rainclouds, he "rides upon the storm".

This conception, this idea, of the Dragon, is disclosed most fully, and in unusual detail, in the type of which four examples are shown on Plates VI and VII from photographs of three miniatures and one bone fragment in my own collection, and one example from a miniature in the British Museum. These five are the only ones known to me, and strange to say, the type has not been recorded by Lo Chên-yü, Wang Kuo-wei, Wang Hsiang of Tientsin, nor by Tadasuke Takada in his vast thesaurus, the *Ku Chou P'ien*, so far as I can discover.

Typologically considered, these five Figures seem to represent the earliest design for the character for Dragon, though chronologically several other scriptions found on the oldest Bronzes and on the Honan Bones and miniatures, can equally claim the antiquity of the Shang dynasty, beyond which age we cannot pierce.

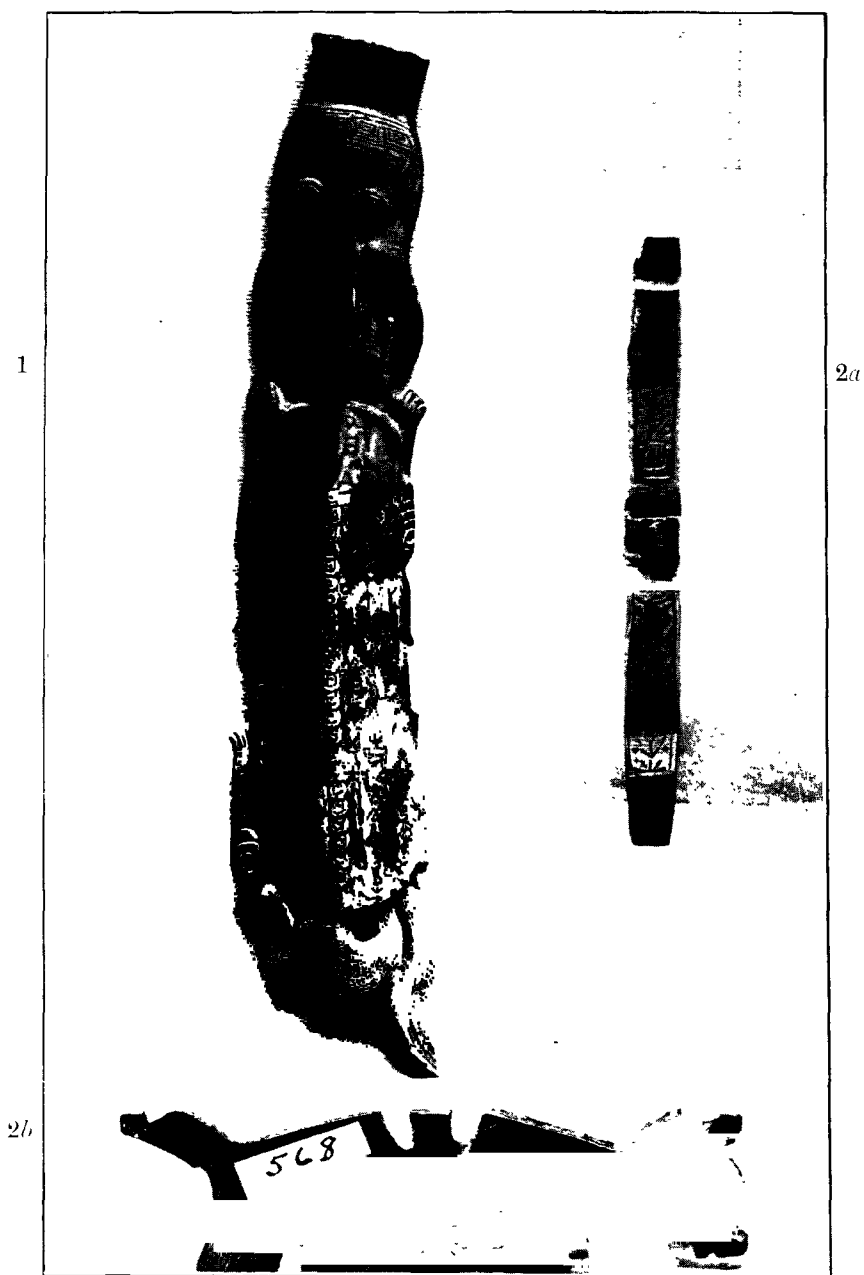
When we examine Figures 1 to 5 shown in the photographs, we shall find that this type may be dissected into two parts, a main and more complex left-hand unit, and on the right, a simpler linear curving line, each end of which usually seems to be trifid, but the lower end is an arrowhead, while the upper is a trident. In one or two of the specimens certain minute circlets appear, the depictive aim of which is at present obscure.

So much then for the construction of this elaborate symbol: what was its artistic intention? Surely it was

to represent by the left half, the head and forepart of the Dragon's body, as it swirled through the clouds; and by the serpentine and linear right part, the supposed convolutions of its lashing tail. I do not doubt, despite small difficulties of detail, that the left half of this complex is the prototype of the corresponding half of , the Lesser Seal script and of the modern character. But it is more difficult to discern in the bizarre right lateral of the Lesser Seal a development, or corruption, of the forked tail in the archaic shape.

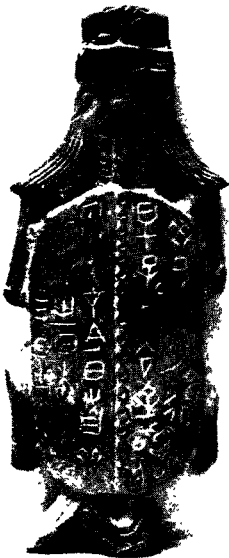
At this point I venture on what is, strictly, a digression from the main argument, but inasmuch as it concerns the immediate contexts of the five archaic forms in question, will, I hope, throw some light on the circumstances in which these inscriptions were composed.

And first I will take Figs. 2a and 2b. This beautifully finished little object was illustrated and described by Mr. Perceval Yetts, so long ago as 1912, in a paper read before the China Society, under the title of *Symbolism in Chinese Art*. There he regarded it as probably representing the heads and fore quarters of two tigers or leopards. I have not been able to see eye to eye with him in that view, and prefer to identify it with "the familiar monster found painted on the screen-wall in front of every *yamen*", as illustrated in his paper, which monster Mr. Yetts suggested was "a direct descendant of the *k'uei* dragon". The general aspect of the two creatures, in the miniature and on the wall, is similar, and the two heads especially resemble each other closely. The Chinese artists indeed seem to have displayed a wide latitude of imagination in their treatment of Dragons. Some they pictured as aerial, serpentiform and cloud-wrapped, as in the five examples in the Plates; others were horned and tufted, short-legged, and alligatorean, as in the larger miniatures in my collection; and some again are hornless and prick-eared, ponderous, quadrupedal, and chthonic, as shown by Fig. 2b, and the monster on the screen-wall of the Weihaiwei *yamen*.



INSCRIBED BONE MINIATURES OF DRAGONS FROM THE HONAN FINDS.

3a



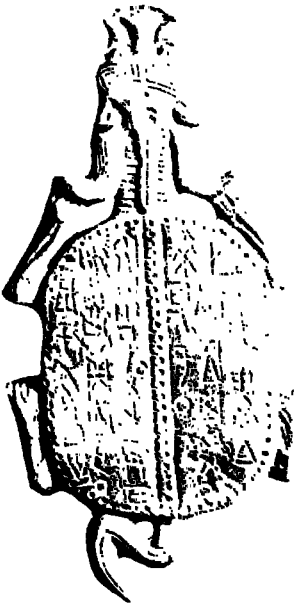
3b



4



5



PART OF INSCRIBED SCAPULA AND MINIATURES OF DRAGONS FROM THE HONAN FINDS.

From the two small holes drilled in the lower surface of Fig. 2*b* (H. 568), and from the word *pi*, disk, in the inscription itself, it is a matter of certainty that this finely executed figurine was a decorative attachment on the edge of a large Disk of Honour 璧 (*pi*). And this conclusion is confirmed by the wording of the minuscule inscription on the narrow upper surface, the interrupted length of which, with the varying angles the surface presents to the lens, has made a satisfactory photograph difficult, but the eleven characters are nevertheless quite legible. In modern script they would be, reading from the left. 丙午王惠士護龍璧合祥吉. *ping-wu wang hui shih hu lung-pi ho hsiang chi*, which may be tentatively rendered, "On the day *ping-wu* [43rd of the Cycle of Sixty] the King graciously bestowed upon the Officer Hu a Dragon Disk blending felicity and good fortune."

The only material doubt in this passage springs from the sixth character, which seems to be a personal name here, unless it can be understood as the title of a musical composition, the 大護 *ta hu*, alleged to have been made in honour of T'ang the Victorious, the sense Lo Chên-yü attributes to the four examples of the character cited by him, though I cannot see much evidence in the short and fragmentary contexts. But whatever else may be doubtful, this at least is certain, we have here the clear and beautifully cut characters *lung-pi* or "Dragon-disk", a term not to be found in any Dictionary, so far as I know, but evidently at one time betokening a decoration of honour bestowed by the Sovereign in recognition of signal services rendered. The Disk itself we have not been able to see,—is it, I wonder, still extant in some private Chinese collection?—but we may safely presume that this delicate miniature was an attachment on its margin, and an embodiment of the Dragon named in the term *lung-pi*. It may be noted that the very small available space has compelled a certain cramping of the style of the character in the display of the dragonian body and limbs.

On a larger scale, and of more normal construction in this type, is the next specimen, in the British Museum collection (Fig. 5, Plate VII). But even here the exact design of the right side of the Dragon character is rather hard to determine, though the trifid tail can be made out. The form is the 9th in an inscription of 28 characters. It is, on the whole, very clearly cut. I transcribe in modern Chinese, so far as I can, the relative passage on this miniature Dragon, and add below a tentative English translation, premising that the 6th and 7th characters, though of constant occurrence, are of unknown or dubious equivalence and sense, but that I conjecture the 7th to be, perhaps, an archaic form of 占 *chan* "to interpret an omen", though this equation has not been proposed by any others, and is not free from difficulty. I also propose to read the last character as an abbreviated form of 雩 *yü*.

甲 <i>chia</i>	卜 <i>pu</i>	來 <i>lai</i>
戌 <i>hsü</i>	口 ?	得 <i>té</i>
象 <i>lu</i>	占 <i>chan</i>	于 <i>yü</i>
伯 <i>pé</i>	其 <i>ch'i</i>	
	龍 <i>lung</i>	

"On the day *chia hsü* [11th of the Cycle of 60] Lu Pê took an omen by the tortoise as to [?], which being interpreted was that (? if) the Dragon came, (the inquirer) could offer the great Rain Sacrifice (雩 *yü*).` Here the 3rd column ends, leaving space sufficient for two characters. On the left side of the well-marked dotted line denoting the spinal scutes of the figurine is a further text, of which I need only quote the six characters of the column immediately to the left of the dotted spine. They run, 不 雨 子 至 辰 日 *pu yü tzü chih ch'ên jih*, viz.: "No rain from *tzü* until *ch'ên*-day." This formula needs a few words of explanation. It is the practice on the Honan relics that when an initial day-date has been given (in this case 甲 戌 *chia hsü*, the 11th of the Cycle of 60, and the 1st of the 2nd decade therein), other days

within the same decade are noted by the *second* member only of the usual two-character dates. Hence here, in the decade beginning *chia hsü*, the only day ending with 子 *tzŭ* is 丙子 *ping tzŭ*, the 13th of the Cycle, and the only day ending with 辰 *ch'ên* is 庚辰 *kêng ch'ên*, the 17th of the Cycle. Therefore a period of five rainless days was apparently guaranteed by the Dragon. And from this and many other instances we can deduce that the Royal inquirers were often concerned to learn on what days they could expect rain *not* to fall.

The third example to be noticed (Fig. 4, on Plate VII) has a special value as the only instance occurring on fragments of plain bone as distinct from the carved miniatures. The bone appears to be the scapula of, perhaps, a sheep, on one side of which is a long inscription, while the other face shows a row of seven characters, with (above), the last, just visible, termination of the left upright of another character, probably 貞 *chêng*, the rest of which has been destroyed with the fracture of the bone. Assuming *chêng* to have stood first, the remainder runs as follows: 帝上行龍午不雨 *ti shang hsing lung wu pu yü*. I hesitate to make a translation of the first two characters, partly because *ti* is used in the Honan relics not only in the sense of an apotheosized ancestor, but also, and more commonly, as the term for some special sacrificial service (in one case, the victims are specified as 3 sheep, 3 pigs, and 3 dogs). In the text before us I incline to this second meaning as the only one allowing a tolerable sense to be made of the passage. In some doubt, therefore, I offer the following tentative rendering: “(Inquired whether) for a sacrificial service to the Dragon in motion, it would not rain on the day *wu*.” The day *wu* would be the cycle-date ending with *wu* within the then current decade. If we refer to the inscribed entries on the other face of this bone, we find two dates mentioned, one beginning with *chia yin*, the 51st day of the Cycle of Sixty, and the first of its last decade, the other *kuei hai*, the 60th and last of the Cycle, and the last day also of this same decade of *chia yin*. And if we may further

assume that "the day *wu*" fell within that decade, then it would have to be 戊午 *wu wu*, the 55th of the Cycle.


But whether the above rendering of the whole passage can withstand criticism or not, is relatively of little consequence for the moment. What I desire to call attention to is firstly the form of the Dragon, and secondly, the expression 行龍 *hsing lung* "the moving Dragon", we may suppose more or less equivalent to the much commoner 飛龍 *fei lung* "the flying Dragon".

As to the first point; while the figure of the left side of the character is very distinct, the precise shaping of the right-hand element, and particularly, its junction, if any, with the left or main trunk, is not so clear. The trifid tail is quite plain on the original bone, but less so in the Photograph (Fig. 4). But a vertical fissure of the surface has impaired the decipherment of the lower part, and makes it hard to detect what is due to bone fissure and what to imperfect graving.

The second point relates to the expression *hsing lung* "the moving Dragon" or "Dragon in motion". I have been unable to find this dissyllabic term in any Dictionary, Chinese or Occidental. Nevertheless, the expression does occur in Chinese literature, as the following passage from the *Yüan Shih*, 元史, *History of the Yüan Dynasty* (chüan 78, fol. 18), shows. The text in question is part of a description of a 金輅 *chin lu*, or "gilded chariot", and runs, 輅之前額金行龍二奉一水晶珠後額如之 "On the head-board in the front of the chariot, two gold dragons in motion proffering a crystal orb; on the head-board behind, the same".

And, in reversed order, the phrase is cited in the *Tz'ü Yüan Dictionary* from the *History of the Southern Sung*, where of 劉裕 Liu Yü, the founder of that line, it is said, 龍行虎步視瞻不凡恐必不爲人下, a sentence well rendered by Professor Herbert Giles, "Liu Yü moves like a dragon; he has the tread of a tiger; he appears

not to be of mortal mould ; I fear he will not act as a subordinate."

Another example of this same type, also occurring in the same expression 行龍 *hsing lung*, is seen in my collection (H. 433), in Fig. 3a of Plate VII. The Photograph does not bring out, unfortunately, as clearly as might be wished the right-hand side of the character *lung*, which portion therefore I supplement here by a hand-copied figure, on a larger scale than on the original, .

The inscription is interesting, epigraphically and otherwise, but owing mainly to its conciseness, not easy to translate. I shall however attempt a provisional rendering in a chastened spirit, and a transposition into modern Chinese with rather more confidence.


Text.

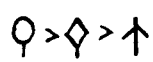
廿	其	雨	甲	癸
四	卜	午	子	巳
日	士	在	占	六
吉	日	今	合	月
	惠	曰	至	行
	于	吉	丁	龍
		祥	亥	

"On the day *kuei ssü* [30th of the Cycle of Sixty] in the 6th moon, the Dragon was in motion ; from the day *chia tzü* [1st of the Cycle] omens were announced (*chan*) on all the days up to *ting hai* [24th of the Cycle] that rain [will] fall on the *wu* days [7th and 19th of the Cycle] ; that to-day will be an auspicious date. The day of divining by the tortoise to make the sacrificial service in the 24 days would be a fortunate one."

"The 24 days" are no doubt those from *chia tzü* up to and including *ting hai*. The above halting attempt to translate a very well executed text satisfies me as little as it probably will do the reader. But imperfect as it is, it suffices to show

the general nature of the inscription, and further it provides several unusual or novel epigraphic points. But I may say here that in these thirty words are included a very rare and previously unrecognized variant of 甲 *chia*, the cyclic character, and the strange fact that cheek by jowl in the first and second columns of the original text are the two characters (子), in the first, standing, as almost always on the Honan relics, for 巳 *ssü*, in the Cycle-complets, and in the second, with the very rare value of 子 *tzü*, rare, be it understood, in that scription as a cyclic character, and as far as I know, never thus written except after 甲 *chia*.

The fifth and last instance of the type under review is seen on one of the larger Dragon miniatures in my collection (H. 779), where, however, it is not preceded by 行 *hsing*. By some fatality, the character, especially its right side, is again not very clearly shown in the photograph on Plate VI (Fig. 1), but on the original it appears to be thus, .

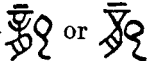
This completes what I fear must have proved a tediously minute examination of this complex but archaic type of the character. Reviewing this group of five then, we may safely see in them not merely a fanciful picture of a Dragon with scaly and curving body on the left, and a linear, twisted, and trifold tail on the right, but probably likewise the real origin of the Lesser Seal (and later the Modern) character, discrepant as the right-side formation appears therein. I should add that the Dragon's unsuitable arrow-headed termination in the place where the head ought to be is due to stylistic contraction, and treads the same road as did the archaic forms of 虫 *ch'ung* "snakes and insects", viz.: .


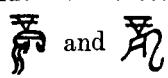
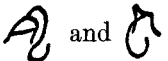
Lung is also a frequent character on the ancient Bronzes. On them the left side is virtually the same as in the Lesser Seal, but the element on the right is peculiarly elusive. It does not recall the trifold tail of the group discussed above. Moreover, in a small minority of cases there appear to be

two elements. These are best seen in Fig. 6



compound character 龔 *kung* "to proffer", the two hands presenting a Dragon, viz. a dragon of jade, such as 璫 *lung*. (On the face of it, a "jade-dragon" might either be a miniature Dragon of carved jade, or an object of jade bearing an incised figure of a Dragon. In either case, according to the *Shuo Wen* it was some object of jade needed in praying for rain, more literally, "praying against drought," 禱旱玉 *tao han yü*.)

Returning to the early form of 龔 *kung* (apart from the lower *two hands* addition), the two elements of Fig. 6 seem to be 兄 *hsiung* "elder brother" and 虫 *ch'ung* "creeping things". But oftener one only of these is present, usually the creeping thing (on the right), thus—. It is a perplexing combination, occurring as it does. But, on the whole, the Bronze examples appear to have proceeded farther down the primrose path of stylization than their compeers of the Honan relics.

One other and much simplified specimen of *lung* from a Bronze, , will serve as a liaison officer between the latter and certain much contracted linear forms on the Honan relics, such as , themselves reduced to greater simplicity in , these latter being without the element which I suppose to represent the Dragon's horns. When *lung* forms part of archaic compound characters, it is these more or less contracted shapes that are found.

Lo Chên-yü has a good note on the nine examples of *lung* (as he believes them all to be) cited by him from the Honan Bones, but before translating it, I had better add the *Shuo Wen's* analysis of the Lesser Seal version (see *ante*, p. 794), with

which Lo begins his own note. This analysis is as follows : 從肉飛之形童省聲, i.e. "Composed with 肉 *jou*, flesh flying, and 童 *t'ung*, immature, contracted for the Phonetic". This dissection of the Dragon character can hardly be reckoned one of Hsü Shên's successes. Such as it is, however, Lo thus annotates : "In the oracular sentences the character is sometimes composed of the element 𪛗, which is what Mr. Hsü calls '童 *t'ung* contracted', and of 𪛘 depicting the Dragon. The head 𪛘 is what Hsü mistook for 肉 *jou*, flesh, and 𪛙 is the body. Sometimes the 𪛗 is omitted, and the figure represents only the head, the horns, and the entire body. Sometimes the feet are added." But surely Lo is mistaken about the horns, and 𪛗, however awkwardly, must stand for these. Thus shaped the whole figure recalls less a Dragon than a portly harebell on a stem bending beneath its weight. But I should like to draw attention here to a curious fact regarding this element 𪛗. Written thus, or sometimes more fully 𪛘 or 𪛙, it forms the imagined crest of another of the 四靈 *ssü ling*, or Four Supernatural Creatures, namely the Phoenix *fêng*, as shown on the Honan relics, where it often stands for the homophone *fêng*, wind. We may probably see in these apparently irrational complexes a stylized reduction of two differing animal appendages having in common the fault of being too elaborate to represent in accurate detail.

We reach now a new type (Figs. 7 to 12). As to these I



FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.



FIG. 11.



FIG. 12.

wish I could write with more assurance than the present evidence seems to warrant. However, as against my own doubt we have the agreement of Lo Chên-yü, Wang Hsiang,

and Takada, that these forms present a variant type of 龍 *lung*, Dragon. Moreover, in the one instance where this character forms part of a complete sentence, if we read it with that value, and if further we accept Takada's equation of the preceding character with 速 *su*¹ "to hasten, summon at once", we should have (in modern text), 癸未卜速龍 *kuei wei pu su lung*, a statement we should be warranted in rendering, "On the day *kuei-wei* took omen by the tortoise as to summoning the Dragon." This would be equivalent to an inquiry as to praying for rain. It may well be that my doubts are meticulous, and that the above named authorities are right.

Yet another type is included in Lo Chên-yü's examples, and again I hesitate. In this we see a quite terrestrial creature, as reminiscent (to my eyes) of a Tiger as of a Dragon. As so often with these Bone fragments, the contexts are too broken or brief either to prove or disprove the equation with *lung* Dragon, or *hu* Tiger. Five examples are known to me, of which Lo cites only the first. They are Figs. 13 to 17.



FIG. 13.



FIG. 14.



FIG. 15.



FIG. 16.



FIG. 17.

On the whole, however, I incline to accept Lo's identification.

Lastly we must face a very different and most ferocious presentment of our Dragon theme. The original, alleged to be on a Bronze, has long disappeared, but Hsieh Shang-kung's well-known work records at the opening of *chüan* 7, the name of the Bronze Bell, the 遲父鐘 *ch'ih fu chung*

¹ The original is composed of 束 *su* "to bind" and 步 *pu* "to go on foot", which latter Takada treats as a determinative equivalent to the later 走 *cho*.

or "Bell of Father Ch'ih",¹ as the source of the inscription, four versions of which the author cites, the text of 36 words being identical in all. The four Figures here following are in order from Fig. 18, 維揚石本 *Rubbing from the Stele of Wei Yang*; Fig. 19, from the *Pê Ku Lu*, the well-known work, from which my Figure is directly copied; Fig. 20, from the 考古圖 *K'ao Ku T'u*, from which my Figure is also directly copied; and Fig. 21, from the 古器物銘 *Ku Ch'i Wu Ming, Inscriptions from various ancient vessels*, a work about which I can give no information.

Now it will be seen at once that of the four scriptions



FIG. 18.



FIG. 19.



FIG. 20.



FIG. 21.

of *lung* disclosed by these versions of the same text, three are virtually identical in form, as indeed we should expect, while one is of quite different aspect, but of a type that occurs continually on the early Bronzes, and with which we are already familiar. How is this singular anomaly to be accounted for? Both types cannot be true copies or rubbings from the same original. If one of the two is a falsification, which one is it? Moreover, the mystification is the stranger, inasmuch as Fig. 19 occurs in the *Pê Ku Lu*, and Fig. 20, the type of the Dragon's Head, in the *K'ao Ku T'u*, both these works being reprinted and edited by the same scholar, 黃曉峰 *Huang Hsiao-fêng*, in 1752.²

But besides these four scriptions collected and reproduced by Hsieh I am able to show still another *soi-disant* facsimile from the same Bronze Bell. This version is reproduced in the 六書故 *Liu Shu Ku*, a work completed apparently in A.D. 1320, my edition being the recension of 李鼎元 *Li Ting-yüan*, printed in A.D. 1784 (49th year of Ch'ien Lung).

¹ The Bell is cited by Takada (*chüan* 98, p. 36), but with 避 *pi* instead of 遲 *ch'ih*, for the first character, and apparently with more correctness.

² See Giles, *The Wade Collection of Chinese Books*, p. 29.

Li states that being employed in the Han Lin Academy he had access to the original Sung Edition of the *Liu Shu Ku* there preserved, and that he personally copied the text, carefully collated it, and selected a skilled hand to recut the type (手自抄錄細加讐校選工重刻). It is therefore to be assumed that the ancient forms reproduced in this recension are faithful copies of those inserted by Tai T'ung in his original manuscript. Now under the entry character 龍 *lung* in the above edition of the *Liu Shu Ku*, is introduced as from this same Bell of Father Ch'ih, the very

interesting form Fig. 22, . In this version of the

design, while the head is drawn in a more naturalistic manner (if the word "naturalistic" is applicable to a mythical monster), the addition of the old form of 又 *yu*, the right hand, does not accord with any of the four versions previously cited. But it probably represents the dextral appendage below the chin in three of those versions. All these variously drawn appendages, including also those that appear in the same position in certain examples in my own collection, are, in my belief, symbolical and impressionist, rather than delineative, representations of the convoluted body of the Dragon as he soars above, half revealed and half concealed by the pregnant rain-clouds.

In bringing to a close the above intensive study of the representational forms of the Chinese Dragon, as they appear in the most archaic written and sculptured remains accessible to us, we cannot fail to remark the wide variety prevailing. The several types do not even suggest one another. But as to this, we shall remember that, as the *Shuo Wen* states, the Dragon can assume at will what avatar he chooses. He can be visible or invisible, minute or immense, he can be short or he can be long. (And this particular contrast of configuration is shown by the examples in Plates VI and VII.) Hence the variation of shape evident in the archaic characters need not

surprise us. But one thing is certain. When the artist-diviner of the Shang era desired not a character but a concrete image of the Dragon, for display in the service of prayers for rain, or to ascertain when rain would fall or hold off, he had recourse for his model to the contemporary alligator. Some were shaped with the long body natural to those reptiles, and others, in that respect the more remarkable, were carved with tortoise carapace and plastron, to which was added the unmistakable huge plumed and horned head by which the artist marked the power-working Dragon of his imagination from the sluggish Alligator of his acquaintance.

I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. R. L. Hobson, C.B., Keeper of Ceramics and Ethnography, for the photograph of the original miniature in the British Museum, reproduced in Fig. 5.

REFERENCES FOR FIGURES IN TEXT AND PLATES

ABBREVIATIONS

B.M. = British Museum.

H.S.C.T.K.C. = *Hsieh shih chung ting k'uan chih* 薛氏鐘鼎款識.

H. = Hopkins Collection.

I.S.T.P. = *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* 藝術叢編.

L.S.K. = *Liu Shu Ku* 六書故.

M. = Mackenzie. *Oracle Records of the Waste of Yin.*

T.Y.T.K. = *T'ieh Yün Tsang Kuei* 鐵雲藏龜.

Y.H.S.K. = *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* 殷虛書契.

Y.H.S.K.T.H. = *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tsing Hua* 殷虛書契菁華.

FIG. 1. H. 779.

„ 2a and b. H. 568.

„ 3a and b. H. 433.

„ 4. H. 338.

„ 5. B.M. (C. 2003), 1911. 6. 15
18.

„ 6. I.S.T.P., vol. xxiv, p. 14
of Addenda to 金存
ch'in ts'un.

„ 7. Y.H.S.K., 4, 54.

„ 8. Y.H.S.K., 5, 38.

„ 9. Y.H.S.K., Hou Pien, 下
p. 6.

„ 10. Y.H.S.K.T.H., p. 11.

FIG. 11. H. 729.

„ 12. H. 730.

„ 13. T.Y.T.K., p. 62.

„ 14. M., p. 127.

„ 15. H. 727.

„ 16. H. 181.

„ 17. B.M. (C. 1545).

„ 18. } H.S.C.T.K.C., chap. vii,
pp. 1 to 3.

„ 19. } See also T. Takada's *Ku*

„ 20. } *Chou P'ien*, chap. 98,
p. 36.

„ 21. }

„ 22. L.S.K., section 18, p. 1.

Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan.

V: (a) The Dru-gu (Great Dru-gu and Drug-cun; the Dru-gu cor and the Bug cor; the Dru-gu and Ge-sar; the title *Bog-do*; conclusion); (b) the Hor; (c) the Phod-kar

By F. W. THOMAS

SOME texts mentioning the Dru-gu have been given above (1927, pp. 68, 80, 85, 808; 1929, pp. 78 sqq., 559, 560, 583; 1930, pp. 56, 84-5, 274, 281), and reference was made to the divergent views of Colonel Waddell and Professor Pelliot, the former having identified the Dru-gu with the Tu-yü-hun of Chinese history, and the latter with the Turkish Uigurs. The name *Drug-gu* was first made known by Rockhill, who cited (*The Life of the Buddha*, p. 240) from the Tibetan Annals of Khotan a reference to a destructive invasion of the Khotan country by that people during the reign of King Vijaya-Kirti, whose date is not known, but who evidently belonged to a comparatively early generation. The name of the Dru-gu king appears as 'A-no-śos or 'A-no-mo-śoñ. From the same Annals some further citations were given in an appendix to Sir A. Stein's *Ancient Khotan* (pp. 581-3). Thus a certain King Vijaya-Saṅgrāma retaliated for the apparently forgotten Dru-gu invasion by devastating the country of that people, causing great slaughter, to atone for which he built the monastery Hgu-gžan or Hgu-žan-ta. A subsequent Vijaya-Saṅgrāma was killed by the Dru-gu in the course of a journey to China; and a daughter of a still later king, Vijaya-Hzah-la, was married to the king of Gu-zin, who may have been a Dru-gu. Unfortunately, these citations contain no clear geographical or temporal information.

References in the Tibetan Chronicle

Dated references to the Dru-gu are, however, furnished by the Tibetan chronicle which was described in an earlier paper

(*JRAS.*, 1927, pp. 51-2). The passages may be cited in order.

1. Chronicle, ll. 11 : Year 4 (a Hog year) = A.D. 675.

Blon . Btsan . sñas | Žims : gyi . Gu : ran . du : Žaṅ . zuṅ . gyi : mkhos : bgyiste | Dru . gu . yul . du : Ltaṅ . yor . mchis .

“Councillor Btsan-sña, having defeated the Žaṅ-zuṅ in Gu-ran of Žims, went to Ltaṅ-yor in the Dru-gu country.”

Notes

In A.D. 673, two years before, the Mgar Btsan-sña Ldom-bu had joined with Khri-ḥbriṅ Btsan-brod (concerning whom see *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 54) in raising a force in Stag-tsal of Duṅs.

Žims and Gu-ran should be in the region of Gu-ge, in the Himālaya, where Žaṅ-zuṅ is usually located. Ltaṅ-yor appears to be not elsewhere mentioned; but the syllable *yor*, found also in the name of Gtse-nam-yor (in Mdo-smad), possibly means “cairn”, since it occurs in *tho-yor* “boundary cairn”.

2. Chronicle, ll. 14-5 : Year 5 (Mouse) = A.D. 676.

Blon . Btsan . sñas : Dru . gu . yul : du . draṅste | ldum . bu : Khri . bśos : khrom . ḥtsald .

“Councillor Btsan-sña, having marched into the Dru-gu country, sent vegetables to Khri-bśos town.”

Khri-bśos seems not to be known, see *infra*, pp. 825-6.

3. Chronicle, ll. 41-2 : Year 15 (Dog) = A.D. 686.

Blon : Khri . ḥbriṅ . gyis | Dru . gu : yul . du : Draṅ . žes : bgyi . bgyi¹ . pa . las | phyi . dalte | dbyar : ḥdun . Śoṅ . snar : ḥdus .

“Councillor Khri-ḥbriṅ, lingering outside [on the way] from a [place] called Draṅ in the Dru-gu country, held the summer assemblage in Śoṅ-sna.”

Concerning Draṅ and Śoṅ-sna, see *infra*, p. 825. These “assemblies” or gatherings of ministers or armies have been mentioned already several times (see *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 70; 1928, p. 575).

¹ Repeated in error.

3a. Chronicle, ll. 58-9: Year 21 (Dragon) = A.D. 692.

Btsan.po . Ñen . kar . bžugs . śiñ | dbyar . ḥdun . Śoñ . snar .
ḥduste | Mñan.chen.po.drug.du.bskos |

“The Btsan-po residing in Ñen-ka, the summer assemblage being held in Śoñ-sna, the Mñan-chen-po was levied in six [battalions] or the Mñan-chen-po was levied in [or for] the Drug country.”

The Mñan-chen-po, mentioned also in l. 197—the Mñan being mentioned again in ll. 108, 153, 168—seems to be a regiment. Since the alternative rendering which brings in the Drug is probably not correct, the only reason for quoting this passage here is the verification of the place-name Śoñ-sna.

4. Chronicle, ll. 44-5: Year 16 (Hog) = A.D. 687.

Blon.Khri.ḥbriñ.gyis | Dru.gu : Gu.zan.yul : du.drañs.

“Councillor Khri-ḥbriñ marched into the Dru-gu Gu-zan country.”

Notes

Concerning Gu-zan, see *infra*, pp. 822 sqq.

5. Chronicle, l. 50: Year 18 (Ox) = A.D. 689.

Blon.che.Khri.ḥbriñ.Dru.gu.yul.nas : slar : ḥkhorte |

“The great Councillor Khri-ḥbriñ returning from the Dru-gu country.”

6. Chronicle, ll. 79-80: Year 29 (Mouse) = A.D. 700.

Btsan.po . . . | Ton.Ya.bgo : Kha.gan.Dru.gu.yul.du.
btañ |

“The Btsan-po . . . sent the Khagan Ton Yab-go into the Dru-gu country.”

Notes

Of this Ton Yab-go Khagan, who is mentioned previously (ll. 64 and 77) as having done homage (*phyag-htsald*) in A.D. 694 and 699, and whose Turkish name and titles remind us of a famous early Khagan (see Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue occidentaux*, index), nothing further seems to be known. Is Ton Yab-go related to the Khagan A-che-na T'oei

tse, a "creature of the Tibetans", mentioned by Chavannes, pp. 77 and 281 ?

7. Chronicle, ll. 201-2: Year 58 (Serpent) = A.D. 729.

Blon . chen . po : Cuñ . bzañ . gyis | dgun . ḥdun : Skyi . Śo .
ma . rar . bsduste | Mun . magi : snon . god . brtsis | dmag :
Dru . gu : yul . du . drañs : pha : slar : ḥkhord.

"The Great Councillor Cuñ-bzañ, having held the winter muster in Śo-ma-ra of Skyi, made a counting of the reinforcements and losses of the Mun troops, and led his army into the Dru-gu country and returned."

Notes

Cuñ-bzañ Ḥor-mañ of Ḥbro in Mdo-smad (l. 194) became Chief Minister in the year 57 = A.D. 728 (l. 198); he is frequently mentioned in the Chronicle.

On Skyi and Śo-ma-ra see *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 816. The district must have been in or near Mdo-smad, and probably on the northern or Turkestan side of it.

The expression *mun-dmag*, denoting some kind of troops, has been cited previously (*Two Medieval Documents from Tun-Huang*, by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, p. 129). The exact meaning being unknown, we may here take note of—

7a. M.I. iv, 132 (paper, c. 30.5 × 8 cm.; a fragment of a verso; l. 1 of good, cursive, *dbu-can* script, rather faint).

ཨ | : | -i. [lo. la] || skun . mkhar . | Nob . chuñu . G-yuñ . druñ .
rtser | rkyen . gyi | mun . dmag . Spu . tshugs | dkar |

"Year —. At G-yuñ-druñ-rtse of Little Nob town. Of the property. Spu-tshugs (? *not a proper name*?) of the *mun* troops. White (wheat)."

Concerning G-yuñ-druñ-rtse in Little Nob see *JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 586-7.

In the other occurrences of *mun-dmag* in the Chronicle (ll. 6, 51-2) it is again a question of countings.

8. Chronicle, ll. 221-2: Year 65 (Mouse) = A.D. 736.

Cog . ro . mañ . po . rje . Khyi . chuñ . gyis | Dru . gu . yul .
du . drañs .

“The Great Chief Khyi-chun of Cog-ro marched into the Dru-gu country.”

Notes

On Cog-ro in Mdo-smad and on the expression *mañ-po-rje*, denoting a feudatory chief, see *JRAS.*, 1927, pp. 57 and 65.

In these passages we have reports of expeditions into the Dru-gu country ranging from A.D. 675–736. The places named, Ltañ-yor, Khri-bśos, Drañ, Śoñ-sna, Gu-zan are all recur provisionally unidentified; but to some of them we shall *infra* (pp. 822 sqq.). There are no other special indications as to the direction in which the Dru-gu country is to be sought.

References in the Documents

When we turn to the documents from Mirān, Mazār Tāgh and Tun-huang (Śa-cu), we are no longer furnished with definite dates. Some of the documents are indeed dated in years of the twelve-year cycle; but this indication is provisionally almost useless. Nor among the numerous officials mentioned has any one been found who can be identified elsewhere. Hence we can rely only upon the general dating furnished by Sir Aurel Stein's explorations, which attribute the forts at Mirān, Endere, and Mazār Tāgh to the eighth century A.D. The general probability that Mirān is the earliest is reinforced by the date (A.D. 717) of a Chinese coin found there; while similar, but more abundant, finds assign the occupation of Mazār Tāgh to the latter half of the century.

It is a curious fact that the Mirān documents, numerous as they are, never refer to Śiñ-śan, while those from Śiñ-śan, although mentioning, not infrequently, places in the eastern parts of Chinese Turkestan, do not name Ka-dag, or Nob, or—recognizably—Endere or Mirān. This may be partly due to the fact that the documents, in spite of their number, are probably in each case collections covering comparatively short periods. The failure of mention of identical *persons* is, however, somewhat notable, and we may

regard it as due to difference of period, so that the Mīrān collections would belong to the first half of the eighth century, and be thus at least one generation prior to those from Mazār Tagh. We cannot suppose that such records as we have, relating, as they do, to passing matters, would be preserved in the local archives over any considerable period of years.

9. M.I., iv, 71 (wood, c. 19.5 × cm., complete ; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can*, script ; hole for string at right).

[A 1] ལྷོ || ya.la.mchis.paḥi.rje[s].la.slar.mchis.pas.non.te.lam.po.cher.žugste.sla[r] [A 2] mchis | Dru.gu.sṇa.ma.Dro.dgorsu.btab.paḥi.braṇ.sa.brtaḡs.naḥ | braṇ.rdal.lṇa [B 1] tsam.mchiste | rta.sna.rol.gchig.bkum.nas || stsaṇ.śa.dag.kyaṇ.bsregste(°to?).ḥtshal.[B 2] braṇ.naḥ.gla.dar.gchig.daṇ.gri.śubs.gchig.kyaṇ.rñede | Cha.mdoḥi.Be-ti(°to? Ce-ni?).steṇ.du.gdar.[B3]bcug.ste.[pyad? bya l?].daṇ.khram.bu.bžag.ste.ces | gñer.Hglems.gsol.ba.laḡs.

[A 1-B 1] “Returning after going to the up-country, and with effort reaching the high road, we came back. Having observed a Dru-gu station previously established at Dro-dgors, some five scattered houses, and having killed a horse outpost, we set to work burning the corn and flesh (*or* station, if we read *braṇ.sa* in place of *stsaṇ.śa*). [B 2-3] In the dwellings we found a banner and a sabre-sheath. Being appointed to be up in Be-ti (°to? Ce-ni?) of Cha-mdo, we have left the articles (*byad?*), and a schedule (*khram-bu?*). Petition of store-keeper Hglems.”

Notes

A. 2, *Dro-dgors* : Unknown.

braṇ-sa : “station” or “halting-place”. This expression is common in the names of stopping-places in the mountains, e.g. Saser Braṇ-sa on the Karakoram route.

B. 2, *stsaṇ-śa* : If not a miswriting for *braṇ-śa*, would mean “the store of corn and (dried) meat”. Be-ti (°to? Ce-ni?) is not known.

10. M.I. xxiii, 009 (paper, fol. no. 63 in vol. ; c. 28.5 × 6 cm. ; nearly complete ; obscure : ll. 6 *recto* + 6 *verso* (a different hand) of ordinary *dbu-can* script).

[A] 1 . | glañ.gi.lohi.dpyid.|| blon.Btsan.Sug.bžer.dañ |
blon.[Giñ.z]igs.dañ | blon.Dpal.bzañ.la.stsogs.las | | ḥdun
.sa.[Dru].gur. [A2] . . [Dr]u.gu.yul.du.myi.ḥdzin.cha.
gsum.[bkye¹].bañi.rta.pa.cha.gcigi.dpuñ.pon.pa | tsa.
rñu.Khoñ.rgid.btus.pas | ḥtshal.bahi.g-yar.ḥog.rta . . [3]
ma.ḥbyor.nas : | | rlañ.Ḥbrug.legs.kyi.rta.phros.pa.glaste|
gla.[rgod.po.cuñ.phyugs (stsus ?)] .pa.gcig.yanu.sbdus.so.
ri[ba.mtha.ral ma m-chis la] . . [4] [sgur.dañ.sgrad.]mam-
chis | srañ.drug.ri.ba.gcig.stsal.par.bgyis.pa.dañ|| rta.pho.
nañ.pa.dños.gum.stor.ma.gyur.te | slan.[chad.m] . .
[5] na.yañ.[skad].rmyig.[l]as.skyon.žug.ste.bkol.spyad.ltam
gnod.par.gyur.ḥam.khoñ.gcoñ.žugs.na. || Śi.[ñ]ir.gi.ri . .
[6] sum.cur.b[tab] ste. | rta.pho.rgod.gañ.ḥbyor.ḥbyor. . .
gcig is. [ba.mtha.bži] . . .

[A 1] “Spring of the Ox year ; from Councillor Btsan-sug (sum ?)-bžer and Councillor Giñ-zigs and Councillor Dpal-bzañ and others. Assemblage in [Dru]-gu . . . [A 2-3] The *tsa-rñu* Khoñ-rgid having been attached as commander of a horse-company belonging to three companies to be dispatched into the Dru-gu country to take prisoners (*myi-ḥdzin*), the requisite horse was not available, high or low (*g-yar-ḥog*). He having hired a spare horse of *rlañ* Ḥbrug-legs, the hire (*here follow some particulars which cannot be clearly read*) . . . [A 4-6] it was arranged that he should give six *srañ* as one [part of the] price. The tame stallion not having died or been lost and afterwards being found faulty in voice or hoofs or injured . . . or with a cough it was left at the Śi-nir hill, at Sum-cu : whatever untamed stallion is available . . . one . . .”

Notes

1. A. 3, *phros-pa* : “Additional,” “remaining.”

gla as a verb is not found elsewhere. The following passage no doubt stated the price.

¹ bgyi ?

A. 4, *nañ-pa* (*ñañ-pa* ?): "Domestic" (i.e. tame ?), is apparently contrasted with the *rgod* "wild" (i.e. "not broken in" ?), of l. 6.

A. 5, *bkol-spyad-ltam*: The sense is uncertain: *bkol-spyod* has the sense of "boiling".

Śi-ñir: On this place-name see *infra*, p. 825.

Sum-cur: This means "at thirty"; but it seems likely that a place-name is intended, and this might be *Sum-chu* "Three Waters", since in the Chronicle we have such a place-name (ll. 5, 35: 'Sum-chu-bo in Śaṅs'), though the place may not be the same.

The Great and Little Dru-gu, and the Upper Dru-gu

In connection with the *Ha-ža* (*JRAS.*, 1927, p. 80) and with *Śa-cu* (*ibid.*, p. 808), we have already met with the name *Drug-cun*, which may have been understood to mean the "Little Dru-gu" (*Drug-chuñ*). Further examples are the following:—

11. M.I. iv, 57 (a) (paper fragment, fol. no. 19 in vol.; c. 6 × 6 cm.; parts of ll. 4 of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script; similar to Ch. 56, 51).

[1] . . . [mtshams.tho.rgya] . . . [2] . . . hi.su.tug || nub.ma . . . [3] . . . [mtsh]ams.tho.rgya.can.la.thug . . . [4] . . . mthon.khyab.Drug.cun.gyi . . . [5] . . . -i . . . [l]ags . . .

" . . . boundary-stone mark . . . came upon. West . . . came upon a boundary-stone with a mark . . . watch-tower, of the Drug-cun . . . "

Notes

1. 1, *mthsams-tho*: The expression is frequent in another document.

1. 4, *mthon-khyab*: On this expression see *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 559.

12. M.I. iv, 57 (a) (paper fragment, fol. 19 in vol.; c. 4 × 10.5 cm., discoloured; parts of ll. 6 of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script; similar to Ch. 56, 51).

[1] . . . gyi (gi | ?) | byañ.m . . .

[2] . . . gi.mtshams . . .

[3] . . . [g] | ཏོག་ | | rtse.h-(l-?) . . .

[4] . . . || lho.dag.kuñ (śod ? śor ?) . . .

[5] . . . [tsh]añ.stod . . .

(A line is perhaps lost here.)

[6] . . . -un.gyi.rje.ñiñ . . .

[7] -i . . -o

“ . . . north . . . boundary of . . . Rtse-[hthoñ ?] . . .
South . . . Upper [Rgod (?) -tsh]añ . . . king's land of the
[Drug-c]un . . . ”

On *rje-ñiñ*, see *JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 562, 564, 570.

That the expression *Drug-cun* was understood by the Tibetans to mean “ Little Dru-gu ” is clear from the mention of the “ Great Dru-gu ”, which is exemplified in—

13. M.I., iv, 81 (wood, c. 10 × 2.5 cm., fragmentary at right and left; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script, rather obscure).

[A 1] . . . Ldoñ.bzañ.Lha.sgra.[gsas].kyi.gñi . . .

[A 2] . . . s.kyis | stod.gyi.Dru.gu.dma[g] . . .

[B 1] . . . gñan . . . [g]y-h . . .

[B 2] . . . [bla.Drug.]che.chu[ñ].gi.[sts] . . .

[A 1] “. . . estate of Ldoñ-bzañ Lha-sgra-gsas . . .

[A 2] . . . army of the upper Dru-gu . . .

[B] . . . [*crop*] of the Great and Little Drug . . . ”

This document is evidently connected with M.I., iv, 49 (printed in *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 559), where the same Ldoñ-bzañ Lha-sgra-gsas is mentioned in connection with the Upper Dru-gu (and with Tshal-byi).

We have found the “ Little Dru-gu ” associated with the Ha-ža, Śa-cu, Kva-cu, Stoñ-sar. The “ Upper Dru-gu ” are in the above passage associated with the “ Great ” and the “ Little ”, and in iv, 49 with Tshal-byi, which we have seen reason (*JRAS.*, 1928, p. 561) to regard as being the mountainous hinterland of Cer-cen.

The "Great Dru-gu" will recur in a passage to be quoted below (p. 819).

F.K. 1024 (Kha. 140, paper) merely states that a Tibetan donkey and a Dru-gu donkey are alike. In all the remaining occurrences (M. Tāgh. 0022, 0147, 0558, i. 0016, *a*, vi, 0031, *b*, ii, 0023) we have on wooden tablets merely the expression *Dru-gu-hjor*, except that in one of them (0022) the place-name *Tsehu.ca[g]* (*JRAS.*, 1930, p. 282) is appended.

The Dru-gu cor and the Bug cor

The word *cor* has been equated (*JRAS.*, 1927, p. 68) to the Chinese *tch'ouo* (*chur*), noted by Chavannes (*Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, s. Index) as applied to certain five subdivisions of the Turkish tribes and also the persons at the head of them. There can be, I imagine, little doubt that the term is identical with the Turkish *cur*, which Thomsen found (*Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, p. 155) in similar double employment. We might conveniently use "Count" and "County" as equivalent thereto.

The Dru-gu *cor* itself has been mentioned above (*JRAS.*, 1927, p. 68; 1930, pp. 56, 84). In the form *Dru-gu-hjor* it has occurred, *ibid.*, 1930, p. 85, and this is seen also in:—

14. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0031 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm.; l. 1 of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script: about 12 notches).

☉ | : | Drugu.hjor |

and in the documents mentioned above. We have also a parallel in *Khri-skugs-hjor* (1930, p. 259). Since the words on the wooden tablets are very often merely the names of places for which the objects accompanying them were kept or destined, there can be no doubt that here also the meaning is "the Dru-gu county", "the Khri-skugs county". A probably erroneous variant *Dru-gu-hjon* is found in one instance, viz.—

15. M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0043 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ☉ | : | Rgya.Sluñs.yan.chad.dañ.Dru.gu.hjon.

(man) [A 2] man.chad.kyi.phur.myi.stag.rnams.laḥ | [B 1] Lhaḥ.mthoṅ.gi.gsol.bā.sgya . ḥu.naḥdi.thugs.pag. [B 2] cig.nas.chig.du.mjed.par.gsol.ñiṅ.mchi.

“To the soldier officers (or swordsmen (?), *phur-myi*) up to Chinese Sluṅs and down to the Dru-gu-ḥjon; request of Lhaḥ(Lha)-mthoṅ. He requests that these things in the bag (*sgya-hu-naḥdi* ?) be conveyed (*mjed* ?) with care on from one to another.”

If this Lha-mthoṅ is the *ḥaṅ-khri* Lha-mthoṅ named in the Lha-sa Pillar inscription (*JRAS.*, 1911, p. 43) of A.D. 783 or 822, his “request” is a polite command. On Chinese Sluṅs and *phur-myi* see *supra*, 1927, p. 820 n.; 1930, pp. 55, 258.

In the passage last cited, and also in that given *supra* (1930, pp. 84-5), there is a question of missives to Śiṅ-śan by routes which reach down to the Dru-gu *cor* from the Tibetan highlands. The places mentioned in the same connection are Par-ban, probably in the region of Polu or Cer-cen (p. 264), and Chinese Sluṅs, probably in the mountains further east: elsewhere also Dru-gu are connected with (the mountain hinterland of) Tshal-byi and with the Ḥa-za, who have the same relationship.

It seems to follow from these considerations that the “Dru-gu county” or province, was, under the Tibetan administration, simply the “Nob region” or the old Shan-shan kingdom, for which the documents supply no other designation. That the term was not unreasonably applied we may judge from the statement of the Chinese pilgrim Sung-yun (A.D. 518, Chavannes, p. 390) that—

“The kings who had been designated by that city [Shan-shan], have been conquered by the Tu-yü-hun: at present the sovereign in that city is the second son (of the king) of the Tu-yü-hun: (he has the title of pacifier of the west, and commands 3,000 men, who are employed in withstanding the western Hu” (the people of Khotan).

We have other proofs that, prior to the coming of the

Turks and Tibetans, the Tu-yü-hun were rather powerful ; and it is to be presumed that, under Chinese suzerainty, they remained in possession of Shan-shan, until overthrown by the Tibetans. The latter would therefore, if the Dru-gu were Tu-yü-hun, have had good reason for styling that kingdom the Dru-gu *cor*. This would also account for the rather frequent association of the Dru-gu with the Ha-za, if the Ha-za were, as we have reason for believing, the people of Shan-shan, and its hinterland. We may also remark that the name *Mu-li-ye*n, attributed by the Chinese to the Tu-yü-hun king who invaded Khotan, has some resemblance to *Mug-lde*n, which at a later date (c. A.D. 640) we have found in a Ha-za connection (1927, pp. 61 sqq.).

It is, however, the Drug-cun who are in the documents most clearly brought into connection with the Ha-za ; and this name, which rhymes somewhat obviously with Tu-yü[k]-hun, suggests that the Great Dru-gu, who are placed in antithesis to the Drug-cun, may be found elsewhere.

What then of the Bug *cor* ? This is mentioned in the Tibetan Chronicle (l. 162), but only to say that in an Ape year (A.D. 719) an emissary came thence to present submission (*phyag-h̄tsald*) : the context is uninformative. There exists, however, a document which supplies more definite information. It contains an account (fragmentary) of the bad and better ages of human history.

16. Ch. 73, xv, 4 (vol. 56, fol. 35, a paper fragment, c. 25 × 46 cm., rather worn at left and right edges, yellowish ; l. 51 of cursive, *dbu-can* script, a small hand, obscure, and with some gaps due to holes in the paper).

The first forty-four lines are without historical attachments. On line 45 begins the following passage, which continues to the end of the MS. :—

[45] . . . || huñ.nas.bar.hdihi.tshe.ni.spu¹.skyin.dañ.
hbab.pahi.tshe.yin.no || huñ.nas.skyin.dañ.hbab.pahi : [46]
 [dus.lo].sum.brgyah.drug.cu.las.das(?) .dañ || Rgyah.yul.gyi.

¹ Crossed out.

hog || mtshoh.chen.po.žigi.pha.rol.nas.rgyal.po.gdoñ.nag.
 po.śiñ.rta [47] nag.po.žon.ba.žig.lo.drug.cuñi.bar.du
 dar.te | Rgya.mgo.nag.po.de.la.phyag.tshal.žin.des.bkol.
 bar.hoñ.noh | rgyal.po.deñi [48] tshe.lo.drug.cu.hdam.nas ||
 Bug.chor.gyi.rgya.sa.hdam.bañi.khuñ.bu.nas.byuñ.ste ||
 myi(myiñ ?).ni.hdi.Drug.chen.po.žes.bya.bañs || [49] Rgyañi.
 rgyal.po.gdoñ.nag.po.dañ. | Bug.chor.gyi.rgyal.po.gñis |
 myed.par.byas.te.Rgya.dañ.Bug.chor.gñis | hbañs.rgyal.
 po [50] des.bkol.žin.dphyah.hjal.bar.hoñ.ño || Drug.chen.
 poñi.rgyal.pos.lo.bdun.cu.rtsa.gñis.dar.toñ | lo.bdun.cu.
 rtsa.gñis. [51] dar.pa.dañ. | ñi.ma.sar.logs.kyi.Dru.gu.
 dañ | ñi.ma.nub.pa.logs.gyi.Dru.gu.gñis.hthabste | thog.
 ma.ni.nub.phyogs.kyi.Drug . . .

"Next the present period is the period of loans and taxes. When of this period three hundred and sixty years had passed, there came from a land on the far side of a great lake below (sc. west of) the country of China, a black-face king, riding in a black chariot, who flourished during sixty years. China did homage to that black-head and was subjugated by him. When of that king's time sixty years had passed, there arose from a small cave in the Chinese swamp country of the Bug *chor* a man called the Great Drug, who annihilated both the black-face king of China and the king of the Bug *chor*; the people of both China and the Bug *chor* were subjugated by that king and paid taxes. The Great Drug king flourished during seventy-two years. After he had flourished seventy-two-years the Dru-gu of the East and the Dru-gu of the West fought. At first the Dru-gu of the West . . ."

In this document, which comes from the hidden library of the Ch'ien-fo-tung and is therefore probably not later than the tenth century A.D., it seems as if the "Great Drug", who came from the Chinese swamp country of the Bug *chor*, no doubt the Lop-nor region, should be of Turkish stock. Following a "black-face" king, who might be a Tibetan (though these are usually 'Red-Face'), he could not be a Hiung-nu or a Juan-Juan. The division into

“Dru-gu of the East” and “Dru-gu of the West” is hardly decisive, since not only the division of the Turks into northern and western (which was also eastern and western), but also an earlier division of the Juan-Juan on the same lines (Cordier, *Histoire de la Chine*, i, p. 351), and the division of Anterior and Posterior Chü-shih, i.e. Turfan and Guchen (Stein, *Innermost Asia*, pp. 566 sqq.), might come into question. If the Turks are meant, the division might be either that into North and West, A.D. 582 (Chavannes, *Documents Chinois*, pp. 259 sqq.), or that into the five tribes Tu-lu and the five tribes Nu-she-pi, c. A.D. 630 (*ibid.*, pp. 265 sqq.): in the former case the periods of 60 years and 72 years, which numbers are likely to be correct, would correspond respectively to A.D. 450–510 and 510–82; in the latter case to A.D. 498–558 and A.D. 558–630. Both are out of the question, in case the Tibetans are to precede. Hence the probabilities may be in favour of the Uigurs, who about A.D. 850 did succeed the Tibetans in the mastery of Kan-su and who also underwent a process of division (see Klaproth, *Sprache und Schrift der Uigur*, pp. 33–4). But these are rather questions for Sinologists and Turkologists, who may be able to decide whether the particulars stated are reconcilable with what is otherwise known. The legendary character of the narrative renders it inadvisable to pursue the matter here.

The Bug *cor*, however, “the Chinese swamp country,” being clearly in the Lop-nor region, is, no doubt, identical with Kan-su, and perhaps *bug* = pug, attested (*JRAS.*, 1927, p. 299) as an old form of *pei* “north”. The native *people* of the Śa-cu country seem to have been named *Hbrug* “Dragon”, a term which we have recorded several times (*JRAS.*, 1927, pp. 67–8; 1928, p. 583).

It would seem, therefore, that we have evidence for the existence of two adjacent provinces, named respectively the *Drug-cor* and the *Bug-cor*, one of which we have identified with the old Shan-shan kingdom, while the other is Kan-su and probably includes the Śa-cu region as far west as Lop-nor.

Other References to the Dru-gu (Gru-gu)

In Tibetan literature generally the Dru-gu are practically unknown, and their name is not to be found in the dictionaries. Once or twice in documents from the hidden library of Chi'en-fu-tung the name of this people is mentioned, as is also that of the H̄a-ža; but the passages are uninformative. The same may be said of the references which we have previously cited from documents; in one document, however, from the Śa-cu region (1928, p. 583) a Dru-gu man is mentioned along with a H̄brug, while in another (of the eighth century A.D., 1928, pp. 78 sqq.) the Drug are named, along with the Chinese and the H̄jañ, as having been at war with the Tibetans.

As a representative people of the *north* the Dru-gu are mentioned as early as the Lha-sa Pillar inscription of A.D. 783 or 822 (edited by Colonel Waddell in *JRAS.*, 1909; see pp. 930, 948), where the four directions are represented by the Chinese (east), Nepal (south), Tibet (west), and the Drug (north). A like ascription of the Gru-gu (Dru-gu) to the north is to be found in a passage discussed *infra* (p. 828), derived from a literary notice of the Tibetan king Mu-tig-btsan-po (c. A.D. 800). The Bon literature, which in principle is fairly old, retains a souvenir of the Dru-gu people, and in fact locates them with some exactitude. Thus we are told that a range of mountains called Ba-dag-śan (Badakshan) separates the Gru-gu from the Tsha-gser people (perhaps identical with the Rgya-ser people conquered by Cingis Khan in his Sarikkol expedition of A.D. 1194; see Huth, *Hor-chos-byun*, p. 23) on the south, while another range, named Śañ-la-nag-po, separates them from the Turks (*Hor*).

Conclusion

It might be thought that the citations contained in the last paragraph are decisive in favour of an identification of the Dru-gu with the Uigurs, who about the end of the eighth century A.D. became a great power in the regions north of Chinese Turkestan: and we might suppose that, while the Turks generally are designated *Hor*, the Uigur Turks are

distinguished by the special appellation *Dru-gu*. Who else, in fact, are the *Dru-gu* to be, seeing that they cannot possibly be Hiung-nu, Juan-Juan (Ephthalites), or Mongols? Since, however, the former impossibility, based upon dates (for the Tibetans are fighting the *Dru-gu* as early as A.D. 675—not to mention the far earlier *Dru-gu* episodes in Khotan history), still stands fast, it is clear that there must be some way of escape from conflicting alternatives. A closer examination may help to discover such an expedient.

Starting with the fact that *Gu-zan* was in the *Dru-gu* country, we shall note first that this place must be the same in all the passages where it is named. The well-known passage in the Annals of Khotan, which states that the king of *Gu-zan*, and the king of Kanika and king Vijaya-Kīrti of Khotan made a joint expedition to India cannot be separated from the rest: for it was written in the eleventh century A.D., at which time the people of Chinese Turkestan and Tibet must have known quite definitely what they meant by the name *Gu-zan*, even if the statement which they made concerning a past event was contrary to fact. When, in the eighth century (c. A.D. 745), we hear of the Chinese being invited to come into Khotan and *Gu-zan*, the region meant must be the same as when, in A.D. 687, the Tibetan army marches to *Gu-zan* in the *Dru-gu* country.

The name *Gu-zan* is highly suggestive of Guchen. Situated to the north of the Bogdo-Ulā mountains, the most easterly extension of the Tien-shan, with Barkul to the east, Hami and Pi-chan beyond the range to the south, and the Turfan depression beyond another range to the west, it was the capital of what the Chinese designated Posterior Chū-shih, Anterior Chū-shih being Turfan itself. From the excellent account which Sir Aurel Stein has given of this region,¹ which is separated from Mongolia by the Dzungarian plateau and the

¹ *Innermost Asia*, pp. 566-86. For authorities see Klaproth, *Sprache und Schrift der Uigur*, pp. 44 sqq.; Chavannes, *T'oung-Pao*, 1907, pp. 210 sqq.; O. Franke, *Eine chinesische Tempelinschrift aus Idikutšähri bei Turfan* (Berlin Academy Abhandlungen, 1907), pp. 7 sqq.

Altai mountains, we see that, though subject to the dominion of the successive great kingdoms to the north, the Hiung-nu, the Juan-Juan, the Turks, as well as to the Chinese, it had a continuous internal history, until it became absorbed in the kingdom of the Uigurs, with its capital at Karakoram. Sir Aurel Stein remarks upon "the close intercourse which, since ancient times, must have existed between Anterior and Posterior Chü-shih, i.e. Turfān and the present Guchen region" (p. 554), and manifests a lively recognition of a difference between the character of the population, which must be of highly mixed descent, and that of their northern neighbours beyond Dzungaria, the true Turks and Mongols from the Altai (pp. 550, 558). As regards the presence of Tibetans in this region, he reminds us that "We know that in A.D. 670 the 'Four Garrisons' controlled by the Protectorate of An-hsi (Kuchā, Khotan, Kāshgar, Tokmak) were overrun by the Tibetans, who had in that year won a signal victory over the imperial forces north of the Kuku-nor, and that, notwithstanding the successes won by certain Chinese generals in 673 and 677-9, a Chinese supremacy in these regions was not re-established until 692. It seems difficult to believe that the Tibetans, who had then risen to formidable power, should have conquered the Tārīm basin and made their influence felt even north of the T'ien-shan, without having at least temporarily secured mastery over the oases from Tun-huang to Turfān, through which led the least difficult line of access to the former" (pp. 579-80). After its re-establishment, the Chinese authority was maintained, precariously after A.D. 766, with the aid of the Uigurs, until 790, when "the people of Pei-t'ing, tired of Uigur exactions, submitted to the Tibetans, together with the Sha-t'ō tribe, a branch of the Turkish Ch'u-yueh, who appear, as early as the first T'ang advance to Hāmi and Turfān, in semi-nomadic occupation of the Guchen region . . . Towards the close of 790 a fresh effort was made by the Uigurs to retake Pei-t'ing, but led to their signal defeat . . . The complete predominance which the

Tibetans appear to have gained in Eastern Turkestan during the early part of the ninth century accounts for the absence of further references to Turfan in the Chinese records for this period. But, soon after the middle of that century, Tibetan supremacy in that region and in westernmost Kan-su was broken by the Uigurs, whom Kirghiz attacks and internal dissensions had forced to move from their former seats in Mongolia to the south and south-west" (ibid., p. 581).

This history renders it highly probable that the Tibetan general who in the year A.D. 687 marched to Gu-zan in the Dru-gu country was really operating in the direction of Guchen. As regards the actual name, which in its Chinese form *Ku-ch'êng-tzŭ* means the "ancient town" (Stein, op. cit., p. 554), it seems possible that it has been adapted by the Chinese in order to provide it with a meaning. But there are other possibilities. Thus we have the pass Ku-chüan, which Sir A. Stein crossed on his way from Guchen to Turfan (ibid., p. 555). Further, the town of Pei-t'ing, which later appears in Turkish as Bēshbaliq "the five towns", was originally known to the Chinese by the same expression, which in its then Chinese form would have had the pronunciation **Gu-ziang*; and this also may perhaps be an interpretation of a native *Gu-zan*. These alternatives—and it may be added that vice versa *Gu-zan* might be a representation of the Chinese *Ku-ch'êng* or *Gu-ziang*—may seem not to strengthen the arguments from nomenclature connecting Gu-zan with the Guchen-Turfan region. But they do not weaken it: until a preferable alternative is found, the attribution of Gu-zan to the Guchen region retains its philological probability.

This probability would be enhanced if we could find in the same general region place-names identifiable with some of those which have occurred in our extracts. These are Dro-dgors, Ltañ-yor, Khri-bśos, Śoñ-sna, Śi-nir, and Drañ. The first named is not stated to be, though it must be agreed that it probably was, in the Dru-gu country. Ltañ-yor seems rather suggestive of north-eastern Tibet—

for the syllable *yor*, which recurs in the name of Gtse-nam-yor in Mdo-smad, may be a word of that region, meaning "cairn" or "boundary mark" of stones: this, however, is indecisive, since the syllable may be a Tibetan addition to the names, or may be of non-Tibetan origin, or the name in its entirety may have been bestowed by the Tibetans. But Śoñ-sna, where the General Khri-hbrin, returning from Drañ, in the Dru-gu country, and "lingering outside" (sc. of Tibet), held the "summer assemblage", might very well be in the Shonā-nor depression, between Hami or Pichan and the Quruk-tāgh mountains. Also the Śi-nir mountain, mentioned in the document M.I. xxiii, 009 (*supra*, p. 813), in connection with the Dru-gu country, is likely to be the "Sinir-tag" of Andree's *Atlas*, and in fact to be the "mountain of Singer",¹ which lies north of the western part of the Quruk-tāgh and may have been on a route from the Lop-nor district to Guchen, Pichan, and Turfān. That in all times there was regular communication between Lop-nor-Shan-shan and the Guchen-Turfān country is patent from the historical particulars cited by Chavannes and Sir A. Stein, as well as in other ways.² If these identifications are sound, then quite possibly Drañ may be Taranchi, which Sir A. Stein's map places south of the Bogdo-Ulā mountains. Taranchi is, no doubt, simply Turkish *taranchi* "land-cultivator", where the *chi* is the common suffix (Vamberg, *Kudatku Bilik*, pp. 5, 232. To a Turkish local name there can be no objection, since the country had known a Turkish overlordship during a long period commencing about a century previously. Lastly, Khri-bśos was probably identical with the lake Khri-śo, which, according to a Bon book, lies between the kingdom of Ge-sar and Tibet. This is, perhaps, the lake

¹ For the frequency of mountain names meaning merely the "mountain of such and such a place" (and the same applies no doubt, to other large natural features), see Conway, *Climbing in the Karakoram*, pp. 172, 297.

² In the passage quoted from the Chinese by Bushell in *JRAS.*, 1882, p. 454, the Tibetan king speaks of "one desert only, which horsemen can canter across in ten days", as the best approach to this region from Tibetan territory.

Bagrash (unless it is the Khri-bśor, or Koko-nor as seems to be indicated by the Tibetan Geography translated by Wassiliew (St. Petersburg, 1895, p. 55)); and *Khri-bśos-khrom*, "the Khri-bśos city," will be either Karashahr or Korla or some other place in the region of that lake.

The identification of the Dru-gu country with the Guchen-Turfān region seems, therefore, highly acceptable; and, since the region at the period in question was still under Chinese government and did not pass into the hands of the Uigurs until the middle of the ninth century, we have a further chronological proof that the original application of the name Dru-gu was not to the Uigurs. That at a later time, when the Uigurs became dominant in the region, the term was perhaps applied to them by the Tibetans creates no difficulty. In nomadic or semi-nomadic Asia the ethnic names seem to have two alternative destinies; either they cleave to the people who originally bore them, in which case they wander (e.g. Tokhari, Turk, Mughal) over the map; or they become attached to a district (e.g. Tokharistan, Turkestan) and so apply during different periods to different successive populations. The Tibetans, who in Chinese Turkestan appeared late, probably derived the term *Dru-gu* from the people of Shan-shan and Khotan. Originally it may have denoted not only the people of the Guchen-Turfān area, but generally the less civilized tribes of the whole Tien-shan region, including the "Wu-sun" of the Chinese. Possibly the name may have come to Khotan, along with some other impressions, from the Iranian sphere and may be ultimately identical with the *druj* or the Sanskrit *Druh-yu*, meaning, perhaps, originally "deceitful", "hated", "foreign", "barbarous", and applied to a people on the north-west of India. The Drug-cun, interpreted as the "Little Drug-gu", may have been originally the "Cun Dru-gu". Whether this name can be equated in part to that of the Tu-yü[k]-hun (stated to be the name of one of the early kings), I must leave to others to determine; but it certainly seems likely that it

was applied by the Tibetans to "Dru-gu" connected with the *Ha-za* country, which seems to be the Drug *cor*, originally Shan-shan. The relation of the name *Dru-gu* to that of the Turks, with which Professor Pelliot has reasonably connected it (*J.A.*, 1914, ii, p. 144), remains somewhat obscure: *Türk* is said to have been a *helmet-shaped* mountain. Is it certain that the Chinese *Tu-kine* does not represent *Dru(Dur)-gu* rather than *Türk*?

The Dru-gu and Ge-sar

In this connection it is impossible to avoid a reference to that most widely spread and most wonderful popular Epic legend of Central and Eastern Asia, the Ge-sar story, first made known in Europe by I. J. Schmidt's translation from the Mongol under the title *Die Thaten Bogda Gesser Chans* (St. Petersburg, 1839). Besides being familiar to the Chinese and Manchus, it exists also in a Tibetan oral tradition, partly made known in published editions and translations by the late Dr. A. H. Francke, who has also edited a Western Tibetan (oral) version in full; a Burushaski, also oral, form of it is being communicated by Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer. We have previously (*Festgabe Hermann Jacobi*, p. 65) had occasion to remark that a non-legendary Phrom Ge-sar is named in the Khotan Annals; and a similar observation was made by E. Schlagintweit concerning the (otherwise uninformative) references to Ge-sar in the Life of Padmasambhava (p. 522 of *Die Lebensbeschreibung von Padma Sambhava* in the Munich Academy *Abhandlungen*, 1903). But we do not realize the significance of this fact, until we reflect that such a reference carries back the question of Ge-sar and his story to a date far anterior to our other knowledge of it. Even if we ignore the date of the Khotan king¹ who is stated to have married a daughter of Phrom Ge-sar, the actual statement in the Annals is not later than the eleventh century. In fact, however, we have an earlier Tibetan text which identifies the kingdom of Ge-sar with

¹ *Ancient Khotan*, p. 580.

the Gru-gu (= Dru-gu). This is an account in verse, from the nature of its contents obviously quite early, of the achievements of the Tibetan king Mu-tig-btsan-po (c. 800), son of Khri-sroṅ-ldeḥu-btsan; it occurs in the *Rgyal-pohi-bkaḥi-thaṅ-yig* "Pronouncements concerning kings", being the second part of the *Padma-[byuṅ-gnas]-bkaḥi-thaṅ-yig*, the well-known "Pronouncements of Padma[sambhava]", a work of probably the tenth century A.D.; and it is quoted at length in the introductory Index volume to the Snar-thaṅ edition of the *Bkaḥ-hgyur* (fol. 14a 7, sqq.), where the lines read as follows (fol. 22a of the Padma xylograph shows small variants):—

17. byaṅ.phyogs.Ge.sar.Gru.gu.bzugs.pa.yaṅ ॐ
 bar.du.bkaḥ.hkhon.byuṅ.nas.bsdo.ba.la ॐ
 srin.po.Gdoṅ.dmar.Bod.kyi.dmag.g-yos.nas ॐ
 Gru.gu.yul.gyi.'On̄.du.yan.chod.la ॐ
 Bod.kyi.dmag.dpuṅ.sbra.nag.phab.nas.ni ॐ
 yul.brlag.mi.rnams.Mon.gyi.sa.la.bskyal ॐ
 khyim.mkhar.Mon.gyi.sa.la.btoṅ(d?).nas.kyaṅ ॐ
 yul.du.mi.nan.bsten.pa.sun.phyuṅ.ste ॐ
 spa.bkoṅ.ded.dpon.yul.h(m)khar.htsho.bar.bḥag ॐ
 Gru.gu.Ge.sar.Bod.kyi.bran.du.phyag ॐ

"The Gru-gu Ge-sar, residing in the northern quarter, having until then in resentment at commands, shown rivalry, the demon Red-Face army of Tibet was sent in motion. As far as 'On̄-du in the Gru-gu kingdom the army forces of Tibet set up the black tents and escorted the people, divorced from their land, into the Mon territory. Though given a home town in Mon territory,¹ they were discontented, relying upon evil men in the country. A terrifying leader (*ded-dpon* = *sārthavāha*) being posted to garrison the country, the Gru-gu Ge-sar gave his submission as a servant of Tibet."

¹ i.e. among the Mons, a non-Tibetan people, usually associated with the western parts of Tibet and the lower Himalaya. See the dictionaries, and also Schiefner, *Eine tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Čākjamunis*, p. 328; Laufer, *Klu" Bum bsduṅ paṅi sñiṅ po*, pp. 94 sqq.; A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Western Tibet*, vol. i (index).

From this extract it will be seen that the passage, which is being edited entire elsewhere, contains particulars of much verisimilitude concerning the king Mu-tig-btsan-po, the patron of Padmasambhava, far different from the meagre notices in later works such as the *Rgyal-rabs*.

The association of Ge-sar with the country of the Dru-gu is not a casual idea of the panegyrist of Mu-tig-btsan-po. It is current in the Bon literature, where the kingdom of Ge-sar is regarded as being in the north and separated from Tibet and from China by sand-deserts. In spite of the schematistic and fanciful features which appear in the geographical notions it is clear that the Tibetans generally place the realm of Gesar precisely where we have found the Dru-gu. We shall, therefore, reject the statement on p. 224 of Sarat Candra Das' Tibetan Dictionary that Ge-sar was "a powerful king ruling in Shensi in China. . . . According to some authors he lived in the seventh century A.D." in favour of his other statement (p. 845) that "*Phrom* is the name of a country situated to the north-east of Yarkand and north of Tibet. . . . This country in the sixth century A.D. is said to have been under the rule of king Gesar".

It would be inadvisable to lay any stress upon any part of the personal nomenclature of the Ge-sar story, since this varies in the different versions. But the general lines of the story, a journey to the east on a friendly visit to China, a journey to the north into the country of the Turks, a combat with the "Tangut" chiefs, who are in alliance with the king of Khotan, are not inconsistent with such a geographical situation as we have conceived. Moreover, the subjects are in part such as accord with the period which we have in view, say from A.D. 500-800: more especially the question of a Chinese wife, a matter of international rivalry in at least the earlier part of the period, seems significant in regard to the original historical setting of the legend. More generally still, we have in the fall of the old civilizations of Kucā and Turfan, overwhelmed by the comparative barbarism of the

northern hordes, the same favourable ground for the growth of a popular epic, based upon uncomprehended reminiscences, which exists in the cases of the legends of Priam, Brutus, and Arthur.

However this may be, the meaning of the expression Phrom Ge-sar "Gesar of the City" seems certain. For the alternative form *khrom* has in Tibetan regularly the meaning of "mart" or "town"; and in the Central Asian documents we have frequently found it in such expressions as *Sta-gu-khrom*, *khrom-Nob-ched-po*, *khrom Kva-cu Si-nan*; in the year 741-2 the Tibetans, after capturing the Chinese city *Dar-khva-hryan*, inflicted in *Žaṅ-tsal* of *Žo-don* a great defeat upon "Khrom", the Btsan-po himself being present (Chronicle, ll. 232-3). It seems, therefore, likely that "Khrom", though it was afterwards regarded as a country, was originally "the city", meaning the great city or metropolis (of the Dru-gu), whether this was Guchen or Turfan or Karashahr or some other, and it became in popular talk the name of a country in the same way as Rome became Rūm. The Tibetans, however, seem sometimes to distinguish between "Phrom", or "Khrom", and Ge-sar: for instance, the *Rgyal-rabs* (fol. 21a 6) speaks of the four kings, of India, the Stag-gzig (Tajiks), Ge-gsar (Ge-sar), and Khrom (*Rgya-gar-chos-kyi-rgyal-po*, *Stag-gzig-nor-gyi-rgyal-po*, *Ge-gsar-dmag-gi-rgyal-po*, *Gzugs-mdzes-Khrom-gyi-rgyal-po*, *bṣiḥi-blon* . . .), and in the Bon (schematic) geography, there is even mention of a range of mountains separating Phrom from Ge-sar. Is it possible that we have here a reminiscence of the distinction between the two kingdoms of "Anterior Chü-shih" (Turfan) and "Posterior Chü-shih" (Guchen), separated, as in fact they are, by a mountain-range?

What then is to be said of Professor Pelliot's convincing suggestion of a connection between *Phrom* (*Fu-lin*) and *Rome* and between *Ge-sar* and *Caesar* (*JA.*, 1914, i, pp. 498-9; 1923, i, pp. 83-8; approved by Dr. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 436-7)? The syllable *prom* certainly occurs otherwise in

Chinese Turkestan, and I can only conclude that the always unhappy nomenclature of that region has provided us with two, if not three, *p(h)roms*. *Ge-sar* may be a dynastic title (like *Po* in Kucā); the *kingdom* Kesara (Ki-sa-lo) traced by Professor Lévi (*BEFEO*. v, p. 283) seems not to belong to Chinese Turkestan.

In any case, however, a connection between the name Dru-gu and the people of the Guchen region seems to have been made out. By the Tibetans, who came late upon the scene, the name must have been received from their Turkestan neighbours. The Khotanese, when invaded by the Tu-yü-hun from Shan-shan (absorbed by that people, as we have seen in the year A.D. 445), applied the name to them also. The Chinese account of the history of the Tu-yü-hun is definite, and Professor Pelliot has adduced (*JA.*, 1912, ii, pp. 520-3; 1914, ii, p. 144 n.; 1916, i, p. 122; *T'oung-Pao*, 1920-1, pp. 323-5) direct evidence for the equation Tu-yü-hun = *Hä-za*. He, however, regards the name *Hä-za* as properly denoting mixed tribes of the north of Kan-su, and applied to the Tu-yü-hun from outside, by the Tibetans among others. What we have suggested is that the Tibetans (who speak of a *Hä-za* kingdom long after the overthrow of Tu-yü-hun) understood by the term *Hä-za* the people of the Shan-shan area, and knew the Tu-yü-hun, who had long dominated the Shan-shan kingdom, as *Drug-cun*.

The Title Bogdo

The title *Bogdo*, applied to "Gesser Chan", was borne by Mongol sovereigns, beginning with Cingis Khan: in the forms *Pog-ta* and *Bog-do* it appears in the Tibetan accounts of Mongolia (see the *Hor-chos-byun*, edited by Huth, pp. 16 sqq., and the dictionaries). In the Guchen area the title forms part of the name of the Bogdo-Ulā mountain, "the mountain of Bogdo" or "the holy mountain" (Klaproth, *Sprache und Schrift der Uigur*, p. 47). The designation may or might be Mongol; but the term *bogdo* must be far older than the first

appearance of the Mongols in the vicinity of Chinese Turkestan, if it was used as a title by Khotan kings at least in the early part of the seventh century A.D. Several Khotan kings of about that period are mentioned by the Chinese with names wherein the syllables *Wei-she*, = Sanskrit *Vijaya*, are replaced by the syllables *Fu-tu*: these are Fu-tu-Hiung, Fu-tu-Sin, and Fu-tu-Ta. The Chinese character transliterated *Fu* had in Turkestan during Tibetan times the pronunciation *Bug* (*JRAS.*, 1926, p. 516; cf. Karlgren's *Analytical Dictionary*, no. 46), while the *tu* seems hardly to be found except in transliterations; other characters, however, with the value *tu* in modern times are used to transliterate *do* (*JRAS.*, 1926, p. 517). The title *Bogdo* might possibly have been introduced by the Juan-Juan, one of whose kings was, in fact, named *Fu*(*Bug*)-*t'u* (Cordier, op. cit., i, p. 347); but in all probability it came from the Turks, since in the time of Hiuan-Tsang the king of Khotan "had been subject to the Turks" (Abel-Rémusat, *Histoire de la Ville de Khotan*, p. 35). Is the title *Bogdo* then the *Bagatur* of the Turks, which the Chinese represent by *Mo-ho-tu* (Chavannes, op. cit., index)? This is *prima facie* improbable, since Chinese *Mo* would hardly represent a syllable containing a *u* (or *o*) vowel. Whether the word is Turki at all or, perhaps, a borrowing from an older population is a question for the philology of the eastern Turkī language.

b. THE *Hor* (TURKS)

In the documents there are rather frequent references to a *Bzañ-Hor-gyi-sde* " 'Good' Hor Regiment ". We have already (*JRAS.*, 1930, pp. 287-8) cited one: we have further—

18. M. Tāgh. 0345 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; ll. 1 (faint) *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

Bzañ.Hor.gyi.sde.dbrad.Rgan.pho. (*Repeated verso*).

"The *dbrad* Rgan-pho (or old?) of the Bzañ-Hor regiment," where *dbrad* is a military designation previously noticed (*JRAS.*, 1930, pp. 61, 89).

Apart from the regiment we have already encountered in

the documents two references to the Hor (1928, p. 584; 1930, p. 269); and an individual Hor named Bañ-Gsas-byin (1928, p. 574), i.e. "Gsas-byin of the Bañ clan" or "two Hors, Bañ and Gsas", the former being the more probable, since a clan name Bañ has been traced at Śa-cu (ibid., p. 91). Further references are:—

19. M. Tāgh. *c*, iii, 0019 (wood, c. 13·5 × 1·5 cm., complete, hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script).

[1] ཨ || Ñi.mo.bagi.sde.Rhye.lig.Hor.Khen.tiñ.tse.[2] hog.pon. |

"The Ñi-mo-bag regiment; the Rhye-lig Hor Khen-tiñ-tse, corporal."

Rhye-lig is probably the name of a clan or of a locality.

20. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0058 (wood, c. 12·5 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script, rather smudged).

[1] ཨ || Ho.tso.bagi.sde | Sñel.Hor [2] Ña.gzigs |

"The Ho-tso-bag regiment; the Sñel Hor Ña-gzigs."

The Ho-tso-bag (pag) regiment is several times mentioned (M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 002, *b*, i, 0058, 0095 (*JRAS.* 1930, p. 55), *c*, i, 004, ii, 006). *Sñel* is probably a place-name, since a *Sñel cor* is mentioned in *Bstan-hgyur* colophons (Cordier, *Index du Bstan-hgyur*, i (ii), p. 66, ii (iii), p. 471). In another fragmentary document (M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 00149, paper) we have a reference to "eight Sñel Hors".

21. M. Tāgh. *c*, i, 003 (wood, c. 10·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script).

[1] ཨ || Hor.na.Ne(o?) hu.žun.gyi.mchid [2] gso[l] [.baḥ]

"Letter-petition of Ne[o?]hu.žun in Hor" (or "of Na-ne(o?)hu-žun, the Hor").

In Tibetan literature and history the Hor play, of course, a very important part, and it only remains to mention that a " 'Good' Hor " is named in the Chronicle (ll. 196–7).

C. THE PHOD-KAR

A Phod-kar man from Skyañ-ro and a Phod-kar [regiment] have been cited *supra* (1930, pp. 55, 273). The latter recurs in :—

22. M. Tāgh. 0291 (wood, c. 14 × 1·5 cm., fragmentary at right ; l. 1 of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script).

☉ | Phod.kar.gyi.sde.Ska.ba.Klu

“Ska-ba Klu, of the Phod-kar regiment.”

Ska-ba, named in the *Bstan-hgyur* (Cordier, ii (iii), p. 524 ; cf. also Grünwedel, *Lamaismus*, pp. 49 and 56, and Laufer, *Roman einer Tibetischen Königin*, p. 131), was connected with Bog-yul, and was certainly in [north-]eastern Tibet. Since Skyañ-ro belonged to the same region, and since the Thod-gar mentioned by Cordier (op. cit., i (ii), p. 33), belonged to Spyi-lcogs, which also was in the north-east (see *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 823), it is highly probable that the Phod-kar people inhabited that quarter ; and this fact is of some importance in regard to questions connected with the Tokhari.

The name *Phod-kar* or *Thod-kar*, although not given in the Tibetan dictionaries, occurs sometimes in Tibetan literary works and documents. Thus in the *Rgyal-rabs-gsal-baḥi-me-loṇ* (India Office copy, fol. 14a, 4) the mother of Sroṇ-btsan-sgam-po is said to have been Tshe-spoṇ-bza Hbri-ma Thod-kar, where the last two syllables probably denote her race, while Tshe-spoṇ is a district named in the *Rgyal-poḥi-bkaḥi than-yig*, fol. 21b, 1. In the *Life* (tenth century) of Padma-sambhava and generally in the later literature (e.g. in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṇ*, edited by Śarat Candra Das, see Index), the name *Tho-gar*, *Tho-kar*, *Thod-dkar* denotes the historical Tokharī of the west.

The existence of the Phod-kar or Thod-kar of the east does not, however, require to be proved by such evidence as is set out above. For we have definite statements of the Greeks as to the existence of a mountain district Thagouros and a place Thogara on the route to the then Chinese metropolis ; and Professor Hermann in his highly instructive

work, *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien*, i (Berlin, 1910), has identified the former with the Richthofen range and the latter with the city of Kan-cu (see the map); also a place named Ttaugara, which may possibly correspond to the city Thogara, is mentioned in a Saka-Khotanī document of about A.D. 800 (*Two medieval Documents from Tun-huang*, by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, p. 148). Seeing that we have early statements by Chinese authors (see Marquart, *Erān-šahr*, pp. 201-2; Chavannes in *T'oung Pao*, 1905; Franke, *Zur Kenntniss der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens* (Berlin, *Abhandlungen*, 1904), pp. 14, 26) to the effect that some remnants of the Ta-yueh-chi had remained behind after the flight of the latter to the west in c. 165 B.C., and had been active in the general region to which the mount Thagouros belongs, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the Phod-kar of our documents are in fact Thogari or Tokharī; in which case there can no longer be any question as to the original name of the people known as the "Ta-Yueh-chi". As regards the Chinese name itself, it is unsafe for a non-Sinologist, more especially after so much controversy, even to approach the subject.

14th August, 1931.

Postscript

In support of the above (p. 831) suggestion that *Ge-sar* (*Kesara*) was a dynastic name, I may refer to a colophon verse appended to a Saka MS. of the *Maitreya-samiti*. Our deeply lamented friend and colleague, that great scholar Ernst Leumann, has edited and translated it (p. 152) as follows:—

Pharṣata Ysaṃbastə parste piḍe haṃtsa-pūra Kəysar-kulna
āś'ərī Puñābhadrə hīvī cu kiḍə bryicye ba'hsə

"Pharṣavata hat das Ysaṃbasta veranlasst zu
schreiben [= hat Auftrag gegeben, eine Abschrift des
Ysaṃbasta herzustellen]. samt (ihren) Söhnen, aus dem
Kaisergeschlecht (stammend) . . . "

The translation in general I am not in a position to control. But it seems obvious that *Kəysar* whatever its origin (and Leumann in his note refers to Professor Lüders' discovery of *kaīsara* in the Kharoṣṭhī Ārā inscription and to the *Kesar Saga*) cannot at the date of the MS. mean *Caesar* or *Kaiser*, and that it must be the actual dynastic which we have conjectured. No doubt, Leumann has conclusive reasons for regarding *Pharṣa[va]ta* as feminine ; otherwise it might have been the name of a possibly discoverable king.

Could the name be related to the *Bars-bāg* of the Orkhon inscriptions (ed. W. Thomsen, Index) ? Could the " dogs of Fu-lin " (Chavannes, op. cit., p. 103), which came from Turfan. be dogs of *Phrom* in the sense of Turfan ?

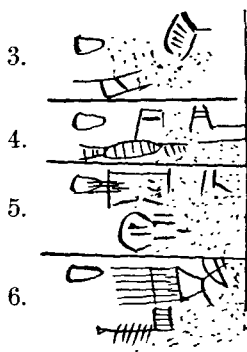
New Texts from Jemdet Nasr

By S. LANGDON

THE following tablets were excavated by M. L. Ch. Watelin in the course of two weeks' intensive work at Kish in the spring of 1927. See *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, vol. vii, for abbreviations.

(1)

A small fragment is now joined to the left edge of W. 1926, 574 = OECT. vii, No. 88. This fragment shows that Obv. Col. I is the first column on the tablet, since it has the smooth left edge. The text now has



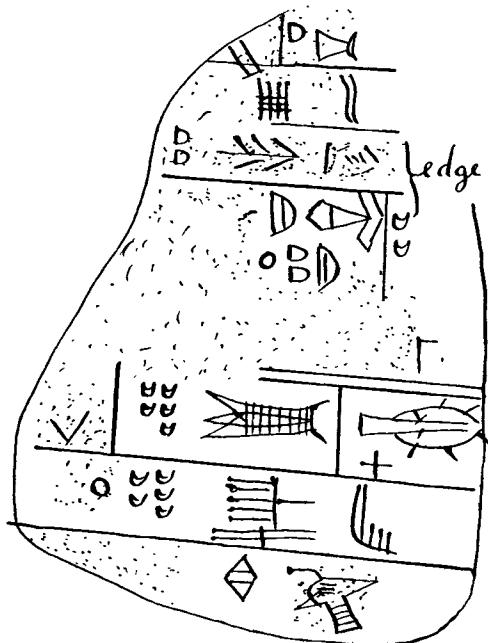
No. 88 is a list of personal names.

In line 4 the first sign is No. 219 of my list. The first sign in line 5, joined to the numeral, begins with three horizontal strokes and is new. Also the sign below it is new and can hardly be sign 212, *MI.gig*. In line 6 the first sign is No. 96 of my list, followed by a new sign somewhat like the upper part of APIN, sign 125. At the end is *EN*.


(2)


The following small duplicate of W. 1926, 569 = No. 31 of OECT. vii restores some of the signs. In editing this

tablet I have made a continuous text of the Reverse and Obverse as the signs appear on the tablet. *ni-pad* in line 4 is clearly intended to end the text on the right side of the Reverse. See Nos. 28, 26, etc., of OECT. vii, and 155, 187, of the sign list. This duplicate proves that my identification of No. 201



in the sign list was wrong. The double fish sign 201 occurs on this same tablet, line 4, right edge, and to the left is the sign *SUHUR*, *Fara*, Deimel, sign No. 227; REC. 288. On page 31 of OECT. vii, the entries should be :—

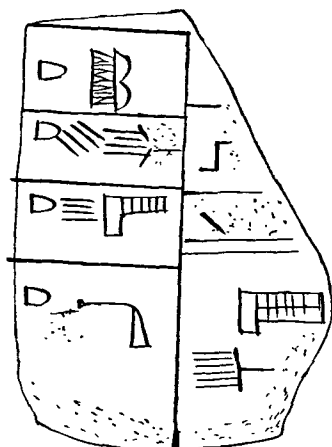
201a.  , No. 198, plus a small loop sign. This is unknown.

201b.  , sign *SUHUR*, 30 Rev. I, 2; 41 I, 2; and Rev. II, 2; 78 Rev. II, 4; 80 Obv. I, 3; 123 Rev. I, 4; 31 Obv. II, 2; 27 I, 4; 30 Obv. III, 2.

201c. Sign GIR.

In line 6 = No. 31 Obv. II, 3, the restored text has "ten sheep, 15th day, for the *sipa-gal* 'great shepherd' ". See No. 113 of the sign list.

(3)



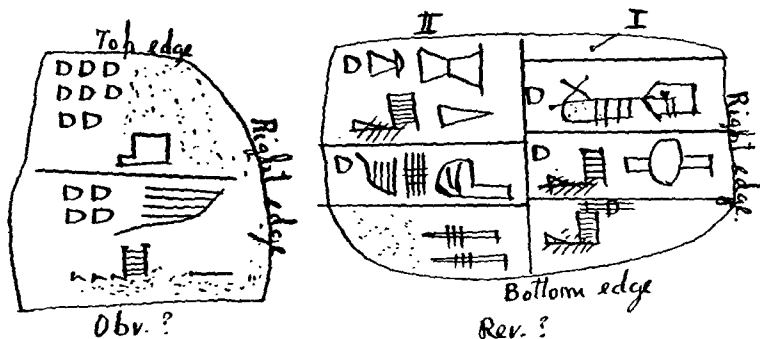
The sign in line 1 is a ligature of sign 346 and possibly *zid*, 391, or the unknown sign 408. In favour of *zid* + 346 is *še* — 346.

In line 3 the sign 395 *gin* shekel, seems to be preceded by the unit 1 with four strokes. In line 2 the unit 1 has four slanted strokes, and also in fragment 1, line 3. This is not sign 443, nor the barred form of unit 1, see 438. I do not know any similar modification of the unit in epigraphy. In Col. II, 3, *ligir-gal* "chief minister". On the form of *ligir*, see sign list 397.

(4)

Rev. I, 1, has a ligature of two signs. The second part is apparently the earliest known form of *MAL*, *Fara*, 674, or is it REC. 259? Rev. II, 2, KID (268)-ú (385b)-*sag*. This is the oldest form of *sag* found on the J-N. tablets. See 165. The sign may be *KA*. 167, but see the statement of forms *KID-SAG*, under 268. The forms of *AB* (Rev. II, 1) and

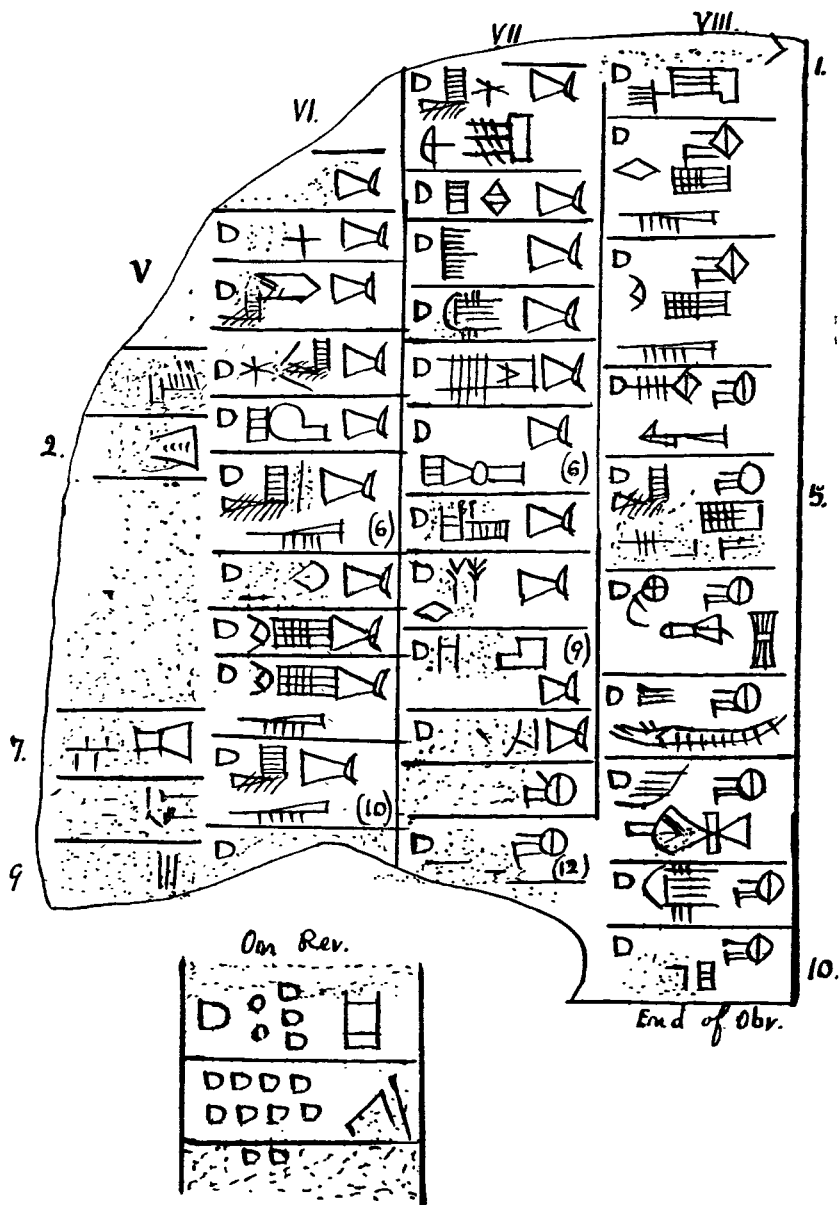
NUN, Rev. II, 3, are slightly different from the regular J-N. forms, 372 and 29. The first sign in Rev. II, 1, must be *SAL*, determ. before woman's name. Cf. 300. Here is found at the end the sign *KAK*, *dū*, not found before at J-N. N.Pr. ^{sa1}*En-ab-dū* (?).



(5)

W. 1924, 445 A, was published as No. 193 + 104 of OECT. vii. To this fragment has now been joined a new one which carries a few signs on the back. This is a sign list, originally in eight columns, like 1924, 445 B, each column having about twenty lines. The Obverse is decidedly *convex* and the Reverse perfectly flat. There would be about 160 lines on the tablet. The Reverse is a summary written near the middle, the surface being otherwise entirely smooth. Of the summary there remains only 60 + 20 + 3 *túg*, i.e. 83 + ? garments. Cols. I-IV, therefore, contained names of garments. Then follows 8 ? The sign does not occur on the Obverse. Cols. VI-VII have words with postfix 301 followed by a list of words with postfix 327 = 416. I take 301 for *KĀ*, *sila*, a cup. The sign corresponding to 301 on the Fara texts, Deimel, *Sign List*, 503, has the figure for 1 turned in the opposite direction at the right, and occurs as a postfix in a list. Vol. ii, 57, Col. IV. With *sangu-gal* "chief priest", and determ. 327, cf. *sangu-gal*—301, J-N. 178, II, 2, and *ibid.*,

W. 1024, 445 A.




1. 3, *ab* 327—*še*. Signs 301 and 327 are clearly synonyms. Cf. *ud-é-nun*—301, Col. VI, 9, with *ud-é-nun*—327, VIII, 3.

(6)

Of more interest is W. 1928, 445, B. A and B do *not* belong to the same tablet, as I conjectured when they were catalogued





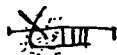





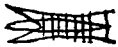

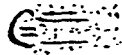

W. 1928, L 445 B.


































	I	II	III	IV
	D	D	D	D
	D	D	D	D
	D	D	D	D
	D	D	D	D
5	D	D	D	D
	D	D	D	D
	D	D	D	D
	D	D	D	D
	D	D	D	D
	D	D	D	D
10	D	D	D	D
	D	D	D	D
	D	D	D	D
	D	D	D	D
13	B14-IR	D	D Fara 580	D
			D Fara 581	D Fara 64 II 11
14	GEŠTIN		D Fara 582	Here to end Fara 64 II 12-
15			D Fara 583	21
16			D Fara 64 (15) III 14	
17			D Fara 584	
			D Fara 585	

in the Museum. B is an almost exact duplicate of the later Fara tablet, VAT. 12587 = Deimel, *Fara*, ii, 64. Hence in order to restore the shape of the earlier J-N. original I have completed the columns at the bottom. It is extremely important to have so ancient a sign list and a later duplicate. Three fragments have now been added to this tablet as first published in OECT. vii, 194. Col. IV, 8 = Fara 64, iv, 9, proves that signs 385 and 385*b* are , 152 of the Fara sign list. IV, 2 = Fara, 64, IV, 1, has *duggan* + a form of *ŠE*, see OECT. vii, p. 4, top, whereas the Fara text has GI. In IV, 7, the sign is REC. 458, and here without determ. *dingir* as usual with divine names in J-N. texts. This is the god *Shara* of Umma, see RA. 13, 161, and adds one new god to the J-N. pantheon. See now CT. 35, 3, 11; Poebel, PBS. v, 111; iii, 1.

In the *List of New Signs*, the numbers at the left refer to my sign list in OECT. vii.

LIST OF NEW SIGNS

29.  . Frag. 4, Rev. II, 3.  = 
See Syl. B, CT. xi, 16; ii, 63-4.
- 40*b*.  Ligature with , Frag. 4, Rev. I, 2.
- 61*b*.  Frag. 1, 5 = OECT. vii, 88; i, 5.
- 125*b*.  Frag. 1, 6. Ligature with 96.
165.  . Frag. 4, Rev. II, 2.
- 201*b*.  . Frag. 2, 4.
- 212*b*.  Frag. 1, 5.
- 212*c*.  Frag. 4, VII, 4, with postfix 301; viii, 9,
with postfix 327.

- 250b.  , Fara  - Frag. 6, IV, 7.
- 295b.   ? Frag. 4, Rev. I, 2. Cf.  =  REC. 259.
- 299b.  . Frag. 4, Rev. II, 1.
- 309b.  . Frag. 6, I, 12.
332.  . Frag. 6, II, 7.
- 385b.  . Frag. 6, IV, 8 = Var. Fara, ii, 64 ; iv, 9. . But , , Del. Per. ii, 130 ; No. 385b. On the other hand, , No. 385, really appears to be .
391.  Frag. 3, I, 1. See 346.
397.   (*ligir*). Frag. 3, II, 3.
404.  Inserted in 430d. Var. Fara, ii, 64 ; iii, 9.  = . Apparently J-N. .
- 427b.  Frag. 5, VIII, 8.
- 440b.  Frag. 6, IV, 4.  inserted in X. UD-R. Var. Fara, ii, 64 ; iv, 4.
- 430c.   inserted in X. Frag. 6, III, 9, Fara, 578.
- 430d.  See 404. Frag. 6, III, 10.

The Pronunciation of the Formula of the Muhammadan Declaration of Faith

By A. FISCHER

THE formula of the Muhammadan declaration of faith (*ash-shahādah* or, more exact, *ash-shahādātāni*) (1)

أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (و) أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

when recited on more solemn occasions, is presumably mostly to this effect :—

'*Ashhadu 'allā . . . 'ilāha 'illa-llāh (wa-)'ashhadu 'anna Muḥammadar rasūlu-llāh.*

Such a solemn recitation takes place : in the *adhān*, the call to the *ṣalāh* (to which the *ijābat al-mu'adhḥin*, the repetition of the sentences of the *adhān* by the Muslim, who hears them, and the *iqāmah*, the second call of the *mu'adhḥin*, notifying the commencement of the praying ceremonies, to the prescribed *ṣalāh*, must be adjoined), in the *tashahhud*, as is well known a series of religious formulæ, which form an integral part of the *ṣalāh*, in several parts of the burial ceremonies (in the *talqīn al-maiyit* and the *du'ā' maḡfirat al-maiyit*), in other individual prayers (*ad'iyah*), in sermons (*khutab*), etc. (2).

Cf. with regard to the *sandhi* assimilation of the *n* of 'an to the *l* of *lā*, and the *n* of the nunation of *Muḥammadan* to the *r* of *rasūlu* Sibawaih, ii, ٤٦٤, *Mufaṣṣal*, Ibn Ya'ish and Howell, § 750 ; the orthography of the greater number of the Korans ; Sacy, *Not. et Extr.*, viii, 316 (following Dānī's *Muqni'*), and *ibid.*, ix, 35 seq., 40 ; Ibn al-Jazarī, *an-Naṣhr fi-l-qirā'āt al-'aṣhr* (Damask, 1345), ii, ٢٢ seq. (copied in an abbreviated form by Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, ed. Calcutta ٢٢٦ = ed. Cairo, 1279, i, ١٢٠) :

وَأَمَّا . . . الادغام [يعنى ادغام النون الساكنة

والتنوين] فإنه يأتي عند ستة أحرف ... وهي حروف
 «يَرْمُلُونَ». منها حرفان بلا غنة وهما اللام والراء
 هذا هو مذهب الجمهور من أهل الأداء والجملة من أئمة
 التجويد، وهو الذي عليه العمل عند أئمة الأمصار في
 هذه الأعصار، وهو الذي لم يذكر المغاربة قاطبةً وكثير
 من غيرهم سواه وذهب كثير من أهل الأداء
 إلى الإدغام مع إبقاء الغنة. ورووا ذلك عن أكثر أئمة
 القراءة كنافع وابن كثير وأبي عمرو وابن عامر وعاصم
 وأبي جعفر ويعقوب وغيرهم إلخ،

Moh. Ben Cheneb, art. *Taḍjwīd* in *E.I.*, and cf. especially
 with regard to our formula the statement of Ibrāhīm al-
 Bājūrī, *Hāshiyah* on Ibn Qāsim al-Gazzī's *Faṭḥ al-Qarīb* (Cairo,
 1319), i, ١٥٨, 18 seq. :

ويُضَرَّ إسقاطُ شدةٍ أن لا اله إلا الله وكذلك إسقاطُ
 شدةِ الراء من محمد [محمدا] رسول الله على المعتمد.
 وقال شيخنا أنه يُغْفَرُ في الثانية للعوام

(in which, as is to be seen, the assimilation of the *n*-occurring
 twice—in the recitation of the formula is presupposed),
 and the frequent form of writing *لا اله إلا اله* instead of *لا اله إلا الله*
 in the *shahādah* on inscriptions, seals, etc. (see my article

“Zur Syntax d. muslim. Bekenntnisformel”, *Islamica*, iv, 517 seq.). However, *allā* instead of *an lā* and *Muḥammadar rasūlu* instead of *Muḥammadan rasūlu* are not compulsory, but only “better” (cf. Ibn Ya‘īsh, ii, ١٤٨٢, 8 seq. :

وَادْغَامُهَا [اِىْ اِدْغَامِ النُّونِ] فِى الرَّاءِ وَاللَّامِ اِحْسَنَ مِنْ
الْبَيَانِ لِفَرْطِ الْجَوَارِ وَالْبَيَانِ جَائِزٌ).

Indeed, I myself have heard the *adhān* without these assimilations in Constantinople. Lane, *Manners and Customs*, 5th ed., ii, 83 seq., has *Muḥammadar rasoolu-l-lāh*, but on the other hand he has *an lā ilāha*. He was so extremely exact that I feel sure he really heard this.

The dots under *ll* in *llāh* (for *Allāh*) and under *r_r* in *Muḥammadar rasūlu*, in my transcription of the formula, show the *emphatic* pronunciation of these consonants. I have made a thorough investigation regarding the emphatic *ll* in *Allāh* in my article “Zur Aussprache des Namens Allāh”, *Islamica*, i, 544 seqq. To day I am also able to point to Moh. Ben Cheneb, loc. cit., to *Not. et Extr.*, ix, 32 seq. :

تَغْلِيْظُ اللَّامِ السَّاكِنَةِ وَالْمُتَحَرِّكِ لِحُنِّ اَلَا فِى اسْمِ اللّٰهِ
تَعَالٰى وَكَذٰلِكَ تَفْخِيْمُهَا وَتَسْمِيْنُهَا، وَهَذِهِ الْعِبَارَاتُ الثَّلَاثَةُ
[sic] مُبَيَّنَّةٌ عَنْ مَعْنٰى وَاحِدٍ. وَاَمَّا التَّفْخِيْمُ فِى اسْمِ اللّٰهِ
تَعَالٰى فَاِنَّ اَكْثَرَ الْاُثْمَةِ مِنْ اَرْبَابِ الصَّنَاعَةِ اشْتَرَطُوا فِى
جَوَازِهِ وَحُسْنِهِ ضَمَّةً مَا قَبْلَ اللَّامِ اَوْ فَتْحَتَهُ وَامْتَنَعُوا مِنْ
اِجَازَتِهِ اِذَا تَقَدَّمَتْهَا كَسْرَةٌ وَحَكَمُوا بِكَوْنِهِ خَطَاً صَرِيْحًا

and to Ibn al-Jazarī, *an-Nashr*, i, ٢١٥, m. (copied again by Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, ed. Calc. ٢٣٦ = ed. Cairo, 1279, i, ١٢٥) :

فَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ الْحُرُوفَ الْمُسْتَفْلَةَ كُلَّهَا مَرَّقَّةٌ، لَا يَجُوزُ تَفْخِيمُ شَيْءٍ مِنْهَا إِلَّا اللَّامُ مِنْ اسْمِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى بَعْدَ فَتْحَةٍ أَوْ ضَمَّةٍ إِجْمَاعًا، أَوْ بَعْدَ بَعْضِ حُرُوفِ الْإِطْبَاقِ فِي بَعْضِ الرِّوَايَاتِ.

In the same place Ibn al-Jazarī informs us also that the *r* in connection with the vowels *u* and *a* is mostly pronounced emphatically, for he continues immediately after *بعض* في

الروايات (see again also Suyūṭī's *Itqān*, loc. cit.):

وَالْأَلَاءُ الْمَضْمُومَةُ أَوْ الْمَقْتُوحَةُ مُطْلَقًا فِي أَكْثَرِ الرِّوَايَاتِ وَالسَّاكِنَةُ فِي بَعْضِ الْأَحْوَالِ كَمَا سَيَأْتِي تَفْصِيلُ ذَلِكَ فِي بَابِهِ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى.

Cf. Ibn Mālik, *Alfīyah*, ed. Dieterici, v. ٩٠٦ seqq., with the commentary of Ibn 'Aqīl, and Moh. Ben Cheneb, loc. cit., also *Mufaṣṣal*, § ٦٣٤, together with Ibn Ya'ish, and Grünert, *Imāla*, 66 [510] seqq. (To be sure the author of the work partly published by Sacy, *Not. et Extr.*, ix, 1 seqq., warns 41 *ad init.* :

تَجَنَّبْ تَغْلِيظَ الرَاءِ وَإِذْهَابَ تَكْرِيرِهَا وَانْحِرَافَهَا إِلَى اللَّامِ] وَأَجْعَلْهَا سَلِيمَةً مِنْ هَذَيْنِ الْعَيِينِ.

Cf. also Wallin, *ZDMG*. xii, 623. Regarding the emphatic *r* in Arabic see further Fischer, *Zur Lautlehre d. Marokk.-Arabischen*, 8.)

In the *Hidāyat al-islām* of Amānat Allāh (Calc. 1233),

the Arabic part of which is entirely furnished with vowels, we find in our formula over the لا before الله regularly a *maddah* (thus: لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ). Presumably here the well-known "separated *madd*" (المدّ المنفصل) is meant, which is found in most manuscripts and editions of the Koran, being placed, as one of the *tajwīd* signs, over final long vowels, when the following word begins with *hamzah*. It signalizes that a *lento* is to be observed in the recitation. Cf. again Ibn al-Jazarī, *an-Nashr*, i, ٣١٠ seq. (substantially = Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, ed. Calc. ٢٢٧ seqq., ed. Cairo 1279, i, ١٢٠ seq.; see also Tuhānawī, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, ii, ١٣٢٥ seq.):

«باب المدّ والقصر» والمدّ في هذا الباب هو عبارة عن زيادة مطّ في حرف المدّ على المدّ الطبيعي وهو الذي لا يقوم ذات حرف المدّ دونه. والقصر عبارة عن ترك تلك الزيادة وإبقاء المدّ الطبيعي على حاله وتلك الزيادة لا تكون إلّا لسبب. (والسبب) إمّا لفظي وإمّا معنوي. (فاللفظي) إمّا همزة وإمّا ساكن. (أمّا الهمزة) فإمّا أن تكون قبل نحو: أَدَمَ ورأى وإيمان وخاطيئين وأوتى والمؤذنة⁽³⁾، وإمّا أن تكون بعد. وهي في ذلك على قسمين: (أحدهما) أن يكون معها في كلمة واحدة ويسمّى متّصلاً. (والثاني) أن يكون

حرفُ المدِّ آخِرَ كَلِمَةٍ وَالْهَمْزُ أَوَّلُ كَلِمَةٍ أُخْرَى وَيُسَمَّى
 مِنْفَصِلًا (فَالْتَصَلَ) نَحْوُ: أَوْلَيْكَ، أَوْلِيَاءَ،
 يَشَاءُ اللَّهُ (4) (وَالْمَنْفَصِلُ) نَحْوُ: بِمَا أُنْزِلَ، يَا
 أَيُّهَا، قَالُوا آمَنَّا، أَمْرُهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ (5) (وَوَجْهُ)
 الْمَدِّ لِأَجْلِ الْهَمْزِ أَنَّ حَرْفَ الْمَدِّ خَفِيَ وَالْهَمْزُ صَعِبٌ، فَزِيدَ
 فِي الْخَفِيِّ لِيُتِمَكَّنَ مِنَ النُّطْقِ بِالصَّعْبِ. (فَالسَّاكِنُ اللَّازِمُ
 الْمَدَّغَمِ) نَحْوُ: الضَّآلِّينَ، ذَاآةَ، آذَكَرَيْنِ عِنْدَ مَنْ
 أَبْدَلَ (6) (وَالسَّاكِنُ الْعَارِضُ الْمَدَّغَمِ) نَحْوُ: قَالَ
 لَهُمْ آخِ.

It is true the old "Koran readers" defined the quantity of this "separated *madd*" diversely. Refer again to Ibn al-Jazarī, op. laud., i, ٣١٦, 7 seqq. (on the whole = Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, ed. Calc. ٢٢٨, ed. Cairo, 1279, i, ١٢١):

وَأَمَّا الْمَنْفَصِلُ - وَيُقَالُ لَهُ أَيْضًا مَدُّ الْبَسْطِ (7) لِأَنَّهُ يُبَسِّطُ
 بَيْنَ كَلِمَتَيْنِ، وَيُقَالُ مَدُّ الْفَصْلِ لِأَنَّهُ يَفْصِلُ بَيْنَ الْكَلِمَتَيْنِ،
 وَيُقَالُ لَهُ الْإِعْتِبَارُ لِإِعْتِبَارِ الْكَلِمَتَيْنِ مِنْ كَلِمَةٍ، وَيُقَالُ مَدُّ
 حَرْفٍ لِحَرْفٍ أَوْ مَدُّ كَلِمَةٍ لِكَلِمَةٍ (8)، وَيُقَالُ الْمَدُّ الْجَائِزُ مِنْ
 أَجْلِ الْخِلَافِ فِي مَدِّهِ وَقَصْرِهِ - فَقَدْ (9) اخْتَلَفَتِ الْعِبَارَاتُ
 فِي مَقْدَارِ مَدِّهِ اخْتِلَافًا لَا يُمَكِّنُ ضَبْطُهُ وَلَا يَصَحِّحُ جَمْعُهُ.

فقال ابو الحسن طاهر بن غلبُون في ٣٢٤, s.f.: further to
 التذكرة (10) ان ابن كثير و ابا شعيب وقالون سوى ابي نَشِيط
 ويعقوب يمدّون احرف المدّ اذا كنّ مع الهمزة في كلمة
 واحدة مدّا وَسَطًا وَيَتْرَكُونَ مَدَّهْن (11) زيادةً على ما فيهنّ
 من المدّ واللين اذا لم يكنّ مع الهمزة في كلمة واحدة.
 قال: وقرأ الباقرن وابو نَشِيط عن قالون والدورى عن
 ابي عمرو بمدّ احرف (12) المدّ واللين اذا وقعن (13) قبل الهمز
 في هذين الضربين [يعنى في كلمة واحدة وفي كلمتين] مدّا
 واحداً مُشْبَعًا غير انهم يتفاضلون في المدّ. فَأَشْبَعُهُمْ مدّا
 وَرَشٌّ وحمزة، ثمّ عاصم دون مدّهما قليلاً، ثمّ ابن عامر
 والكسائىّ دون مدّه قليلاً، ثمّ ابو نَشِيط عن قالون
 والدورى عن ابي عمرو دون مدّهما قليلاً. وقال الحافظ
 ابو عمرو في التيسير (14): ان ابن كثير وقالون بخلاف عنه
 و ابا شعيب وغيره عن اليزيدىّ يقصرون حرف المدّ فلا
 يزيدونه تمكيناً (15) على ما فيه من المدّ الذى لا يوصل
 اليه الا به. ومثّل المنفصل. ثمّ قال: والباقرن يطولون
 حرف المدّ في ذلك زيادة. وأطوّلهم مدّا في الضربين

جميعاً ورش وحمزة، ودونهما عاصم، ودونه ابن عامر
والكسائي، ودونهما ابو عمرو من طريق اهل العراق،
وقالون من طريق ابى نسيط بخلاف عنه آخ،

also to *Not. et Extr.*, ix, 87 seqq., etc. (Cf. regarding the
"separated *madd*" also Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*, 2nd ed.,
i, 72, and Fischer, Paul Haupt-Anniversary Volume *Oriental
Studies*, 397, and *Islamica*, iii, 51.)

However, by the *madd* of لَا إِلَهَ the author of the
Hidāyat al-islām may possibly have meant rather the
مدّ المبالغة = مدّ التعظيم. Again, it is Ibn al-Jazarī who
informs us exhaustively about this, namely op. laud. ٣٤٠
seqq., where he expresses himself as follows (cf. again also
Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, ed. Calc. ٢٢٩, ed. Cairo, 1279, i, ١٢١, and
Tuhānawī, ii, ١٣٢٦) :

وَأَمَّا السَّبَبُ الْمَعْنَوِيُّ فَهُوَ قَصْدُ الْمُبَالِغَةِ فِي النَّفْسِ . وَهُوَ
سَبَبٌ قَوِيٌّ مَقْصُودٌ عِنْدَ الْعَرَبِ وَإِنْ كَانَ أَوْضَعُ مِنْ
السَّبَبِ اللَّفْظِيِّ عِنْدَ الْقُرَّاءِ . وَمِنْهُ مَدُّ التَّعْظِيمِ فِي نَحْوِ :
لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ ، لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ ، لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا أَنْتَ .
وَهُوَ قَدْ وَرَدَ عَنْ أَصْحَابِ الْقَصْرِ فِي الْمَنْفَصْلِ لِهَذَا الْمَعْنَى .
نَصَّ عَلَى ذَلِكَ أَبُو مَعْشَرَ الطَّبَرِيُّ وَأَبُو الْقَاسِمِ الْهَذَلِيُّ
وَابْنُ مِهْرَانَ وَالْجَلْجَانِيُّ وَغَيْرُهُمْ . وَقَرَأْتُ بِهِ مِنْ طَرِيقِهِمْ
وَأَخْتَارَهُ . وَيُقَالُ لَهُ أَيْضًا مَدُّ الْمُبَالِغَةِ . قَالَ ابْنُ مِهْرَانَ فِي

كتاب المَدَّات له : انَّمَا سُمِّيَ مَدَّ المبالغة لانه طُلِبَ
 للمبالغة في نفي الإلهيَّة سوى الله سبحانه. قال : وهذا
 معروف عند العرب لانَّها تَمَدَّد عند الدعاء وعند الاستغاثة
 وعند المبالغة في نفي شىء ويمدّون ما لا اصل له بهذه
 العلة. قال : والذي له اصلٌ أولى وأحرى . قلتُ : يشير
 الى كونه اجتمع سببان وهما المبالغة ووجود الهمزة كما
 سيأتى . والذي قاله في ذلك جيّد ظاهر . وقد استحبّ
 العلماءُ المحقّقون مَدَّ الصوت بلا إله إلّا الله اشعارًا بما
 ذكرنا وبغيره . قال الشيخ محي الدين النَوَوِي رحمه الله في
 الأذكار (16) : ولهذا كان المذهب الصحيح المختار استحباب
 مَدَّ الذاكر قوله « لا إله إلّا الله » لما ورد فيه من
 التدبّر . قال : واقوال السلف وأئمّة الخلف في مَدَّ هذا
 مشهورة ، والله اعلم ، انتهى . قلتُ : وقد ورد
 مَدَّ المبالغة للنفي في لا الّتى للتبرئة في نحو : لا رَيْبَ فيه ،
 لا شَيْءَ فيها ، لا مَرَدَّ له ، لا جَرَمَ عن حمزة آخ .

In any case it is to be presumed that the *Hidāyat al-islām*
 by its regular writing لَا إِلَهَ wished to express an especial

lengthening of the \bar{a} of لَا to which a great many, perhaps even most Muslims, are accustomed. In my transcription of the formula I have taken this especial lengthening into account by the writing 'allā . . .

I had already made the preceding statements when I received by the kindness of Professor G. Weil in Berlin, as a sort of answer to my above-mentioned paper, "Zur Syntax der muslimischen Bekenntnisformel", of which I had sent him a copy, the fasc. No. 125 of the *Lautbibliothek. Phonetische Platten und Umschriften. Herausgegeben von der Lautabteilung der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek*, edited by himself, containing the *adhān* in the pronunciation of a Tatar of Tobolsk. The two sentences of the *shahādah* run in it as follows:—

Ashadu allā ilāha illlā, Ashadu anna Muḥammadar-rasūlullā.

After I had turned to Professor Weil for more detailed information as to the sounds of the *adhān* on his gramophone plate, he kindly sent me the plate itself. Two colleagues, Professor H. Junker, of Leipzig, and Professor E. Bräunlich, of Königsberg, and I myself listened to this plate in the Experimental Phonological Institute of the first-named at the University of Leipzig, and we certified that the Tataric *mu'adhdhin* had called the formula exactly as I have given

it above—thus with the emphasis of ll in الله and of r_r in محمد رسول and also with the especial lengthening of the \bar{a} of لَا before الله . This super-lengthening, which by the

way was not only heard in the لَا الله of our *shahādah*, but also in that of the last line of the *adhān*, was in reality very considerable. (On the gramophone plate, besides, we could always distinctly hear the h of the pausal forms of الله [and الصلوة].

'*Ashadu* had a sharp accent on the *pæmultima*.)

I should be glad if Muslims who may happen to see this article would let me know to which pronunciation of our formula they are accustomed.

REMARKS

- (1) It has a number of other names, but I cannot discuss them here.
- (2) Variants of the formula, as found in the *tashahhud* of the diverse rites and elsewhere (the addition of *لَهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ* after *الله* at the end of the first sentence; *وَ (أَشْهَدُ أَنْ) أَنْ* instead of *وَ (أَشْهَدُ أَنْ)*; the insertion of *سَيِّدَنَا* before *مُحَمَّدًا*; *وَرَسُولُهُ* or simply *رَسُولُهُ* instead of *رَسُولَ اللهِ*, etc.), I must also leave here undiscussed. Cf. *Islamica*, v, 97 seqq.
- (3) Text *آدم، ورأى، وإيمان، وخاطئين، واثق، والموودة*. (Thus substantially also the parallel texts mentioned.) These and the following examples are, of course, all taken from the Koran.
- (4) Text (and parallels) *الله، يشاء، أولئك، أولياء*.
- (5) Text (and parallels) *الله، امره إلى الله، قالوا آمنا، يا أيها، أنزل، بما أنزل*.
- (6) Text *الضالين ودابة، الضالين، دابة، آذكري*. *Itqān* (and Tuhānawī)
- (7) Text *اليسيط*. Correct are the two editions of the *Itqān*. See also *Itqān*, ed. Calc. ٢٣٠, 15, ed. Cairo, i, ١٢٢, 17.
- (8) Thus the text, apparently correct. *Itqān*, ed. Calc. *بكلمة وبحرف* instead of *لحرف* and *لكلمة*; ed. Cairo *بحرف* instead of *لحرف*.
- (9) Text *وقد*. Correct are the two editions of the *Itqān*.
- (10) See Ibn al-Jazari, op. laud., i, ٧٢ f. *al*.
- (11) Text *مدها*.
- (12) Text *حرف*.
- (13) Text *وقعت*.
- (14) See Ibn al-Jazari, op. laud., i, ٥٧ ff. *al*.
- (15) Sacy, *Not. et Extr.*, ix, 88, *ad init.* and *rem.* 1, could make nothing of the terminus *التمكين*. It really signifies "the making possible (of the exact articulation of a letter by means of slow speaking)". See *Itqān*, ed. Calc. ٢٣٠, 13 (=ed. Cairo, i, ١٢٢): *ومد التمكين في نحو أولئك والملائكة وشعائر*: من المئات التي تليها همزة لانه جلب ليمكن به من تحقيقها وإخراجها من (وشعائر من المئات وسائر المئات instead of *وشعائر من المئات*). Later on it signifies simply "augmentation of the lengthening". Thus in our text and also e.g. Baiḍawī *ad* Sūrah iv, 20: *وقرأ ابن كثير واللداني*: *بتشديد النون وتمكين مد الألف*.
- (16) The Cairo edition of this work is inaccessible to me.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

CORRIGENDA TO MALAY AND OTHER WORDS COLLECTED
BY PIGAFETTA

This is a postscript to a review of Deel II of the *Feestbundel* of the Royal Batavian Society (1929), which included an article containing two lists of words, mainly Malay, extracted from Pigafetta's work and edited by Heer C. C. F. M. Le Roux, who has done much to correct and explain them. Some further emendations and explanations are here proposed.

I reproduce Pigafetta's entries in the spelling of the above-mentioned article, with the number of the page but without the *al*, *a la*, etc., which usually introduce them; the editor's Dutch equivalents are given, when necessary, in an English translation, and his Malay words are re-spelt in the English way of writing Romanized Malay; for the sake of clearness the Oriental words (which are Malay, unless otherwise stated) are printed in italics, and my own comments are separated by a dash from the quoted extracts.

(I) The Malay words cited in the following paragraphs are to be found in the usual dictionaries:—

72. palpebre *Cenin*, "eyelids," *kěning*—really "brows".

72. gengiue *Jssi*, "cheeks," *isi*? (*isi tuboh*, "fleshy parts of the body")—gengiue = "gums", the Malay for which is *gusi*; possibly Pigafetta may have misheard this word or a copyist may have miscopied it.

74. dito grosso de la mano *Jdun tanghan*, "thumb"—probably a misheard *ibu tangan*, literally "mother of hand", a common term for "thumb". *Jdun* = *hidong*, "nose."

80. conqua *Calunpan*, "shell"—*kělompang*, "anything that is emptied of its contents" (H. C. Klinkert, *Nieuw Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, Leiden, 1893).

84. Si *ca*, "yes"—can hardly be the editor's *sa* (which I do not know in this sense) or his *saya*, more fully *sahaya*, because in Pigafetta's spelling *ca* = *ka* (or *kě*) not *sa*. Nor would *ka* mean "yes". Unless the word is not Malay at all,

it is either an error for *ea* or *ia* (= *ya*, "yes") or else the meaning given is wrong.

86. It should have been pointed out that in the two entries—
(a) *homo leuati deli* (for *daqui*) *pandan chita horan* and
(b) *disdisidare* (probably an error, as the editor remarks, for "desiderare") *banunchan*—there has been some dislocation. The first Italian phrase should (as he says) mean "man, get up from here", but *bangunkan* must have been intended to be its equivalent, though normally it means "to raise", not "to rise". The relation of the remainder is still obscure, as the meaning "look at us" (rather than the editor's "we are looking") for *pandang kita orang* seems to have no sort of connection with the Italian "desiderare". Very tentatively I suggest *hëndak kita orang*, "we desire," used as an auxiliary before a verb.

88. *proa asson*, "prow"—the editor's explanation of *asson* as a corruption of the Javanese place-name Lasem, where ships were built, seems very fanciful, as does also his further suggestion that "proa" may represent *pěrahu*, "ship." As the entry occurs between "naue" (ship) and "popa" (poop), this seems somewhat improbable. Charles Amoretti (*Premier Voyage autour du Monde*, etc., Paris, l'an ix, p. 251) has the variant *allon*, which (if authentic) may represent *haluan*, "prow."

90. *vermi que mangiano le nauì Capan lotos*, "worms that devour ships"—*kapang*, "teredo navalis"; for *lotos* see (III), 90.

92. *rufo zoroan pagnoro*—*surohan*, *pěnyuroh*, two synonyms for "messenger"; and the kind of messenger intended is sufficiently indicated by Amoretti's French equivalent *maquereau* (op. cit., p. 244), viz. a go-between in disreputable intrigues (Italian "ruffiano").

92. *martelo palmo colbasi*—read *martelo palmocol basi*, i.e. *pěmukul běsi*, "iron hammer."

98. In the shorter word list no Italian words are given. *Comulicai*—certainly *kěmëndikai*, "water-melon" (and

described as such by Pigafetta) not *kombilei* (which the editor gives as a Moluccan word for “mango”).

98. *Connilicai*—though apparently applied to quite a different fruit, looks like a corruption of the same word, unless indeed it is the just cited Moluccan word, plus *cai*, conceivably the Malay (and general Indonesian) *kayu*, “wood, tree,” which sometimes appears in the form *kai* in the Eastern parts of the Indian Archipelago.

99. *Cam panganghi* and *bua panganghi*, “Garuḍa’s tree and its fruit, which he eats”—*kayu* (and *buah*) *pauh janggi*, literally the “Zanzibar (or East African) mango tree” (and “fruit”, respectively), a legendary tree growing in mid-ocean, the basis of which is the double coco-nut of the Seychelles (Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 6-9; Hobson-Jobson, 1903, pp. 229-31, s.v. Coco-de-mer).

The Malay words thus far mentioned are all “common form”, but like other languages that have a wide range Malay is not the same everywhere. From the fact that the longer word-list appears in Pigafetta’s work just after the mention of the departure of his ship, the *Victoria*, from Tidore (in the Moluccas) and his description of that place, where he met a Portuguese who had been for some time in those parts, the editor infers that the list was composed there. That may well have been the case, but it is certain that Pigafetta picked up his words in several places and from various informants, which fact no doubt partly accounts for the number of synonyms he gives. On pp. 74, 76, there are three different equivalents for “coco-nut”, attributed by him to (a) the Moluccas and Běrunai, (b) Luzon, and (c) Greater Java. The Trinidad, on which Pigafetta first sailed, brought from Spain a native of Sumatra, who may have furnished many Malay words before he finally deserted in the Philippines after Magellan’s death at Matan on 27th April, 1521. After that the *Trinidad* and *Victoria* visited Běrunai (N.W. Borneo), and then, returning again by way of the Philippines, but by a different route, they proceeded to the Moluccas and stayed

there six weeks before Pigafetta left in the *Victoria* for the Cape of Good Hope.

(II) The following characteristically Běrunai Malay words were in all probability collected at Běrunai or from the Běrunai men who were carried away as prisoners :—

72. ciglie *quilai*—*kirai*, “eyebrows.”

72. mento *aghai*—*ajai*, “chin.”

74. colo *tun dun*, “neck”—*tundun*, “nape (or back) of the neck.”

76. canne *Cuiu*—should be “cane” (it occurs in a list of animal names), *koyok* (in some sources written *koiok*, *kuyuk*), “dog,” not exclusively a Běrunai word, but elsewhere the usual term is *anjing*.

80. sale . . . *Sira*—*sira* (in some sources less correctly *sirah*, *serah*), “salt,” also occurs in this sense in several other Indonesian languages; but in Peninsular Malay it means a salt lick in the jungle to which wild animals resort.

86. polpo *Calabutan*—*kalabutan*, “cuttlefish” (probably really “octopus”, which is one meaning of “polpo”).

92. Si *oue*—perhaps *au*, “yes” (Tagalog *oo*; a Philippine word, like the next one).

94. tramōtana *Jraga*—*iraga*, “north” (Tagalog *hilaga*), does not occur in ordinary Malay, which has *utara* in this sense.

94. griego *Vtara*, “north-east”—*utara* has this meaning in Běrunai Malay.

For the above-mentioned Běrunai words, see H. S. Haynes, “A List of Brunie-Malay Words,” *J. Straits Branch R.A.S.* (1900), No. 34, pp. 39–48; A. B. Marshall, “A Vocabulary of Brunei Malay,” *ibid.* (1921), No. 83, pp. 45–74; J. C. Moulton, “Points of the Compass in Brunei Malay,” *ibid.*, p. 75; S. H. Ray, “The Languages of Borneo,” *The Sarawak Museum Journal* (1913), vol. i, No. 4, pp. 155–96.

(III) The following are distinctively Philippine (not Malay) words and were probably collected somewhere in the Philippine part of the voyage or from captured natives of that archipelago :—

72. fratello de questo *capatin muiadi*, "this one's brother"—Tagalog *kapatid*, "brother," *mo*, "thy," *yari*, "this."

74. rizo *bugax*, "rice,"—Sulu *bugas*, Bisaya *bogas* (but Malay *bĕras*), "rice (with the husk taken off)."

78. *acqua tubi*—Sulu, Bisaya, Tagalog *tubig*, "water."

82. *schiauo a lipin*—Tagalog *alipin*, "slave."

84. *essere una medesima cosa casjcasì* . . . "to be the same thing"—probably Tagalog *kasi*, "thus it is" (Spanish "assi es").

88. Non lo ho *guala*, "I have not"—Tagalog *wala* ', "is not."

90. *gati* . . . *puchia*, "cats"—Tagalog *pusa* ', but also Dayak *pusa*; not Malay, but not exclusively Philippine either.

90. *vermi*, etc. . . . *lotos*—Tagalog *lotos*, "teredo navalis," see (I), 90.

90. *hamo da pescare matacanir* (for *matacawir*), "fish-hook"—Sulu, Tagalog *kawil* (but Malay *kail*); *mata* is the general Indonesian (including Philippine) word for "eye" and has many secondary uses.

The Sulu words are from T. H. Haynes, "English, Sulu, and Malay Vocabulary," *J. Straits Branch R.A.S.* (1885), No. 16, pp. 321-84; (1887), No. 18, pp. 191-239.

These emendations dispose of most of the outstanding difficulties in the two word-lists, and go some way towards acquitting Pigafetta of anything worse than a rather poor ear and very unsystematic spelling. But there still remain a few cases in which, though doubting the editor's explanations, I am unable at present to suggest better alternatives.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO THE ARTICLE ON THE KINGDOM OF KIZZUWADNA (*JOURNAL* FOR APRIL, 1931, pp. 427-9)

The city of Ismiriga must be identified with the classical Sirica, 6 (Roman) miles east of Komana on the site of the modern Kemer, according to Ramsay and Kiepert. In accordance with Hittite orthographic usage Ismiriga stands for Iswiriga, that is *Swiriga*, and in the mutilated Hittite texts which I have translated in the first number of the *Revue hittite et asianique* (Oct., 1930, pp. 4-8) it is connected with Qumâ-kha, "the land of Quma," or Koma-na (-na and the Mitannian -kha having the same grammatical signification), into which hostile troops, apparently the Phrygians of Mita or Midas, had marched. The colleague of the governor of Ismiriga was Aissiya of Duggâma. Aissiya is "the Aissian" and the bearer of the name must have come from Mount Aisa which, according to Tiglath-pileser I (v. 73-7) was on the border of Qumani, while the city of Arini was at the foot of it. This seems to fix the position of Arinna, the city of the Sun-goddess, which we gather from the Hittite (and Egyptian) texts was in Kizzuwadna. The Hittite king states that he laid under oath to the governor of Ismiriga "the elders of Isuwa" on the eastern bank of the Euphrates as well as the elders of "Maldiya", by which it is possible that Malatiyeh may be meant.

Duggâma, it may be noted, is conjoined with Aripsas, which I have long since identified with the classical Arabessos. It was in the district of Azzi which adjoined that of Samukha, identified by Professor Garstang with Samosata, and lay south of Arawanna, which must be the Arauênê of Ptolemy (5, 7, 11) between the Taurus and Samosata. The name of Zukhma whose "elders" were associated with those of Isuwa may be preserved in that of the Tokhma-su. In the treaty with Sunassuras (*Rev.* iv, 40-62) Zazlippas (*JRAS.*, p. 428), elsewhere written Zinzilippa and Zinzilippi, seems to be represented by Zilappuna (*Rev.* iv, 62), another form of which may possibly be Zinziluwa (l. 46). The latter town was in the

Cilician plain north of Saliya or Soloi which, like Lamiya or Lamos and other ports on "the sea-coast" (Arûna), was in the hands of the Hittite king. To the east of this was Ataniya, "the district of Adana," separated from "the country of the Hittites" by the river Savri or Saros, the name of which is preserved in the modern Savran-chai. Here was Serigga, too far to the south-west to be identifiable with Ismeriga-Sirika. Serigga was separated by the Savri from Luwana, possibly the Lawena of Shalmaneser which was on the road from Tanakun to Tarsus.

In *JRAS.* (April), p. 431, "Tenessos" is a misprint for "Termessos".

A. H. SAYCE.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN THE HINDUKUSH

An important archæological discovery in the Hindukush region is reported by Sir Aurel Stein, who on his return from his travels in Chinese Turkestân has been able to inspect its site and the relics so far recovered. In the last days of May boys watching flocks above Naupûr village, some 2 miles west of Gilgit cantonment, accidentally cleared a piece of timber sticking out from the top of a small stone-covered mound. Further digging done by villagers laid bare a circular chamber within what had been a Buddhist Stûpa or memorial tower, filled with hundreds of small votive Stûpas and relievo plaques common in Buddhist ruins of Central Asia. In the course of this "irresponsible excavation" a mass of ancient MSS. was laid bare, closely packed in what appears to have been a wooden box. At this stage the digging was fortunately stopped by the local authorities, and the MSS., as yet undisturbed, removed to the office of the Wazir of Gilgit.

Rapid examination by Sir Aurel Stein has shown the bulk of the manuscripts to consist of Sanskrit texts written on oblong leaves of birchbark of the Indian 'Pothi' type. Most of these bundles of duly paginated folia are likely to

contain Buddhist canonical texts and the like. In many of them the writing is of a type of Brāhmī script familiar from manuscript remains excavated at ruined Buddhist sites of Chinese Turkeṣṭān. Others show an early form of the Brāhmī writing known in Kashmir as Śāradā and once prevailing all through the hill-tracts in the extreme north-west of India. Palæographic indications in the case of the former manuscripts suggest that some may date back to the sixth century A.D., if not earlier. Careful examination by competent specialists may help to settle the approximate dating of later manuscripts and thus the time when the deposit was made.

Of special interest is a 'Pothī' written in Central Asian Brāhmī on paper. The use of this material distinctly indicates that the manuscript was written in Eastern Turkeṣṭān. The manufacture of paper, first invented in China at the very beginning of the second century A.D., was introduced there by the fourth century, if not before.

The structural character of the Stūpa and the filling up of a domed chamber within it with masses of clay model Stūpas, etc., exactly corresponds to what is shown by Buddhist ruins of the same type dating from early mediaeval times in Turkeṣṭān and westernmost China. The practice of placing large deposits of sacred manuscripts and other votive offerings in the interior of Stūpas is curiously illustrated by one of the fine Buddhist paintings on silk recovered by Sir Aurel Stein on his second Central Asian expedition from the cave-shrines of the Thousand Buddhas of Tun-huang.

The large number of ancient manuscripts discovered and their remarkably good preservation, due largely to the dryness of the climate, and perhaps also to lingering respect among the Hindukush hill people for relics of their pre-Islamic past, make this find at Gilgit one of exceptional interest. The complete clearing of the Stūpa and of three smaller ones immediately adjoining and as yet unopened awaits arrangements by the Kashmir Durbar. It must be hoped that its

‘ Research and Archæological Department ’ will be able to have the task carried out with systematic care, and that the reproduction and editing of the valuable materials recovered will be entrusted to fully competent scholars. The publication of similar but far less abundant manuscript materials from Chinese Turkeṣtān, and in a single case from the Peshawar District, which the late Dr. Hoernle edited under the order of the Government of India, provides an admirable model.

VADDHAMĀNA

In *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 588 f., Mr. E. H. Johnston deals with this word, but overlooks my full discussion of it in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, NF., iv, 1927-8, pp. 181. 182 and figs. 23 c, 24 c and 25 c (in this article, description of fig. 2, for *vardhamāna* read *sirivaccha*). I see no reason to doubt the conclusion there reached, that the proper rendering is “ powder-box ”; the box consisting of a bowl and lid. Hütteman’s figure differs from the older examples only in its much more ornamental character. An additional reference for *mukha-cuṇṇa* is *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, i, 88. *Tūla*, as a water-raising device (it is also an architectural term, “ beam ”), should be translated “ well-sweep ”.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

Hearty congratulations are due to Professor F. W. Thomas, who is a Vice-President of the Society, upon his election as a “ Membre d’Honneur ” of the Société Asiatique de Paris and as a “ Corresponding Member ” of the Orientální Ústav v Praze (Oriental Society of Prague).

NOTICES OF BOOKS

FOUNDATION FIGURINES AND OFFERINGS. By E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 8$, pp. vi + 81, pls. front. + 20. Berlin: Hans Schoetz, 1931. 40 marks.

The small tutelary figures buried beneath the door-sill in Assyrian buildings have always a human fascination about them, such as one may feel stirring even in modern times when one passes a country cottage with a horseshoe enshrined over the doorway. In this book both Babylonian and Assyrian figures are discussed and portrayed in excellent photographs, even the little clay dogs being included.

CUNEIFORM TEXTS FROM BABYLONIAN TABLETS. Part XXXIX: pp. 10, pls. 50, 1926 (15s.); Part XL: pp. 9, pls. 50, 1927 (16s.); Part XLI: pp. 5, pls. 50, 1931 (16s.). By C. J. GADD. Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum. London: Oxford University Press.

Three volumes of omen texts in Mr. Gadd's well-known vigorous hand are well described in the full prefaces. They are, of course, of great value for the lexicographer, and it is to these we have to turn to find the characteristics of many unidentified beasts, birds, or fishes. The first part deals with agricultural operations, rivers, and the actions of birds: the second with small animals such as the *MUŠ. DIM. GURIN. NA*, which may have horns, one or two tails, and may be red, parti-coloured, or yellow. The third part again relates to birds and fishes. Altogether a most useful triad.

R. C. T.

THE BANDLET OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, an Ethiopian Book of the Dead. Edited, with an English translation, by SIR E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 140, pls. 67. London: Luzac & Co., 1929. £1 1s. (Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series, vol. xix.)

Sir Wallis Budge adds yet another chapter to the history of primitive ritual and superstition by his translation of

Lefāfa Şedek, that curious Ethiopic phylactery, which wrapped round the body of the dead on the day of burial ensured a safe passage to heaven. Sir Wallis Budge in a highly interesting introduction traces the affinities of this Ethiopic work with the Egyptian Book of the Dead and with the writings of the Christian Gnostics. He shows us how the Christian elements were superimposed upon the original foundation of primitive magic. The work itself does not make interesting reading. It plumbs the very depths of human silliness and superstition. We are grateful, however, to Sir Wallis Budge for enlivening his edition with the wide learning and unfailing zest which he infuses into everything he writes.

It should be added that Sir Wallis Budge has supplemented his translation of Lefāfa Şedek by versions of portions of other Ethiopic MSS., which bear more or less upon this work. The sixty-seven plates consist of photostats of the two MSS. in the British Museum upon which the translation of Lefāfa Şedek is based.

J. L.

A SCHEME OF BABYLONIAN CHRONOLOGY, FROM THE FLOOD TO THE FALL OF NINEVEH, with Notes thereon, including Notes on Egyptian and Biblical Chronology. By DUNCAN MACNAUGHTON. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 189. London: Luzac and Co., 1930. 7s. 6d.

This is the book of a student who has read widely and well, and he deals with a subject which presents many difficulties. His authorities, whose works are indicated by initials (a most inconvenient system), run to the number of forty-three, and occupy two pages—a tax upon time and memory when referring to them.

The ground covered by the author is very wide, as in addition to Assyro-Babylonian, Egyptian, and Hebrew chronology, the Babylonian calendar in its various forms is

described and discussed—for each little Babylonian state had its own set of twelve (or thirteen) names (with variants) for the months of the year, and these calendars are sometimes difficult to synchronize. The chronological tables themselves do not take up much room, but the notes thereon occupy many pages, and form a valuable and interesting portion of the work. I cannot say that Mr. Macnaughton's system of transcribing the names will meet with approval, but that is a minor point—as is also his comparison of a number of Sumerian roots with similar roots found in the Avesta: noteworthy if the comparisons prove to be correct, which I am inclined to doubt. He admits that the numerals in the two languages differ considerably, and, from my point of view, the pronouns which he quotes differ considerably too.

Having no theory of Babylonian chronology of my own, I am ready to accept any system of dates for the many rulers of the Babylonian plain in past ages as seems to be reasonable, and accounts for the synchronisms which the history of the land demands.

This being the case, it is certain that all who have experienced difficulty in accepting, for instance, the exceedingly long reigns and consequent remote dates stated by Berossus and other ancient historians for the dynasties of the earliest Babylonian kings (and this includes the Babylonian chronologists themselves), will be glad if a really scientific and acceptable explanation, removing the difficulties attending those impossible dates, has been found. In this respect we must congratulate Mr. Macnaughton upon his work, for he seems to have found the key of the riddle. This naturally depends upon the correct interpretation of the *sos*, the *ner*, and the *šar*, which stand for 60, 600, and 3,600 respectively, and naturally account for the high numbers and the long reigns. Instead, therefore, of regarding these numbers in the chronological lists as years, he explains them as being seconds of the zodiacal arc in astronomy. The following is his equivalent table (p. 22):—

1 sar = 1° = 3,600 seconds of arc.

1 ner = $10''$ = 600

1 so¹ = $1''$ = 60

This, when applied to periods of time, "meant the time taken for the equinoctial points to precess that distance. Taking the rate of precession as $50.1''$ per annum, 9 sars, 2 ners, 8 sos = approximately 681 years."

Therefore, taking the first Kish dynasty as an example, about sixty-eight kings ruled $24,510'' = 490$ years. Legrain makes this dynasty to begin about 5,000 years before Christ—Macnaughton's estimate is about 3189 B.C.

In this dynasty occurs Atabba, who reigned 17 years (2903–2886); Etana the shepherd, 30 years (2872–2842); Baliḥ, son of the divine Etana, 8 years (2842–2834); Enme-nunna (or Enwe-nunna), 13 years (2834–2821); and Melam-Kiš, his son, 18 years (2821–2803). These are merely examples of the more reasonable reign-lengths calculated by the author of this book—to quote more would take up too much space.²

His comparative table of kings before the Flood gives their names according to Abedynus, Berossus, the Ellassar tablet, and the Weld-Blundell prism published by Professor Langdon. All these documents differ somewhat, but their connection and importance are shown satisfactorily. The personages mentioned therein, however, are not old Babylonian kings, but legendary heroes identified with certain planets. Thus the Alorus of the writers in Greek appears as Alulim in the inscriptions. He was Spica in the Zodiac of to-day, and ruled by Jupiter (Merodach), the god of Babylon. Alaparus is apparently the Babylonian Alagar, identified with α Hydræ, also ruled by Jupiter, or Merodach, of Babylon. Daonus or Daus is the Babylonian Dumu-zi (in full Dumu-zida), the

¹ I prefer the form *soss*, in Babylonian *šuššu*, *σῶσος* in the Greek transcription.

² The uncontracted reign-lengths are as follows: Atabba, 840 years; Etana, 1,500 years; Baliḥ, 400 years; Enme-nunna, 660 years; Melam-Kiš, 900 years. See Professor S. Langdon in *Weld-Blundell Collection*, vol. ii, p. 10.

shepherd of Pantibibla. This deity, who was the god Tammuz, Mr. Macnaughton identifies with Regulus—as for Pantibibla, that is the Bad-tibira of the inscriptions. (The late Richmond Hodges identified Pantibibla with Sippar.)

Other interesting names in this section of the book are those of Enweduranki and Ziu-suddu (Evedoranchos and Zisithros), the former, a great priest-king of Sippar, here identified with Pollux; and the latter the renowned Atrahasis or Ut-napištim, the Babylonian Noah, whom Mr. Macnaughton identifies with the Pleiades. The city of the Babylonian Noah was Suruppak, and as a constellation Ziu-suddu was ruled by Mars, which seems somewhat inconsistent, as he is unknown to us as a warrior-hero.

The astronomical tablet published and explained by Professor S. Langdon and Fotheringham, naturally meets with attention, as it must be regarded as a pivot for the chronology of the second and third millenniums before Christ, and perhaps earlier. To this and the harvest-contracts, eleven pages are devoted, and the questions connected with the statements contained therein are discussed with great thoroughness. The seven-column table of the results of the study of this text gives the dates of the conjunctions of Venus with the sun, the dates of her setting and rising, the Babylonian dates, and the Julian dates for each entry. The errors in this important "Venus-tablet" are discussed, and it is shown how the harvest-contracts of Ammi-zaduga's reign control them. The reign of Ammi-zaduga seems, therefore, to be fixed accurately as having lasted from 2260 to 2239 B.C. Ammi-zaduga was the fourth king in succession from Hammurabi, whose date is calculated as having been from 2406 to 2363 B.C. If, therefore, Hammurabi be the Amraphel of Gen. xiv, this would be the period of the life of Abraham, whose date is given in our reference-Bibles as being about 1913 B.C. Mr. Macnaughton, however, states that the date of his birth was 2375 B.C.—eighty-eight years after Hammurabi's death.

If this be the correct chronology, the identification of Amraphel with Hammu-rabi is an impossibility. Who, then, was he? A closer form to Amraphel occurs in a letter-tablet which is probably of the time of Aššur-bani-apli, found in his library-chamber at Nineveh. The form there given is Ammu-rapi, but though nearer in omitting the initial *h* (Arabic ح in this case) and having *p* (= *ph*) for *ph*, there is still the difficulty of the final *l*, which neither the Babylonian nor the Assyrian form possesses. This implies another king of some province (as Mr. Macnaughton suggests)—perhaps Sinjar, though the change from *ayin* to *jeem* would require explanation. As for the terminal *l*, it has already been suggested (I believe by Professor Sayce) that it represents the *el* (in this case for *ili*) found in the names Sumulel (Sumu-la-ila) and Manamantel, though how these names are to be explained presents difficulties. Amraphel would in this case mean “Ammu-rapi is my god”, and may imply that, like many other Babylonian kings, Hammu-rabi was deified.

Probably I have treated sufficiently of Mr. Macnaughton's *Scheme of Babylonian Chronology* to show its value. As he admits, there are many uncertainties, but it must be admitted that it is a noteworthy book, and may contain solutions of many difficulties. If the studies of Babylonian chronology contained in this book withstand the test of time, even though it may have failed on some points, it will have done what the older chronologists have failed to do. In any case, it is to be hoped that safe ground has been reached. The difficulties of the earlier verses of Gen. xiv are discussed on pp. 183-5.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE MODERN CIVIL LAW OF CHINA. Part II. By V. A. RIASANOVSKY, Professor of the Faculty of Law at Harbin. Harbin: Harbin Daily Press, 1928.

This is Part II of *The Modern Civil Law of China*, the first part of which, containing a general review of the Chinese

Civil Law, was reviewed in Part II of the *Journal* for 1929 (see p. 410).

Part II deals with the general principles of land, mining and forest laws, and is a natural complement to the general survey, both parts being intended to form a systematic outline of the positive Civil Law of China.

The author had contemplated as an addition to the two parts already published a survey of the general principles of the Law of Obligations of the Draft Civil Code of the Chinese Republic, edited in 1925, but having discovered that a new revised edition of the Law of Obligations had been issued in 1927, he abandoned his intention.

The fact is that Chinese Law is at the moment in a state of uncertainty, but the consideration now being given to the vexed question of extra-territoriality may finally result in the framing of new and definite codes of Criminal and Civil Law, the translation of which when they do appear, will be facilitated by the good work Professor Riasanovsky has done in connection with the Civil Law of China.

J. H. S. L.

OLD BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS IN THE UDAYAGIRI AND KHANDAGIRI CAVES. Edited with new readings and critical notes by BENIMADHAB BARUA, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), Professor in charge of the department of Pali, Calcutta University. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xxii + 324. Calcutta: University of Calcutta. 1929.

This is a very interesting book, though far from being completely satisfactory. It purports to deal with fifteen inscriptions found in the Puri district of Orissa, ten in the Udayagiri caves, and five in the Khandagiri caves. All these inscriptions are very much mutilated and exceedingly difficult to read. No less than eleven of them consist of a few words, not exceeding in any case five in number, from which it is impossible to extract any continuous sense. Of

the remaining four, one consists of a mutilated table of the Brahmi alphabet, but only nineteen consonants can be traced at all (14 only are really clear), and none of the vowels, so it is of very little practical utility. Another inscription consists of a single line containing the name of a king, which may be read as Kadampa or Kudepa. There remain the three-line inscription recording a dedication of a cave by the chief queen of King Khāravēla, and the really important and long inscription consisting of seventeen lines attributed to Khāravēla himself. This last inscription, which is generally known as the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, was discovered by Stirling as far back as 1827. It is in a perfectly appalling state of preservation and scholars have had the greatest difficulty in making any sense of it at all. Such scholars as Prinsep, Cunningham and Rajendra Lala Mitra puzzled over it without even deciphering the name of King Khāravēla, though he is mentioned three times by name, viz., in the first, fourteenth and seventeenth lines. It was not until 1907 that Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji succeeded in reading the king's name. Another Indian scholar named Jayaswal is referred to by Dr. Barua as having made the reading, restoration, and interpretation of this inscription his life's work, and his edition is elsewhere described as masterly. On page 154, however, we find Dr. Barua alluding in very sarcastic terms to a third instalment of corrected readings published by Mr. Jayaswal. This, he says, shows that Mr. Jayaswal keeps an open mind as to the reading of the text of the inscription, "the fact that he has so far revolved like a weather-cock at every gust of wind is indicative of nothing but his indecision."

If we take the passage in the inscription describing the eighth year of Khāravēla and compare the three different readings proposed at different times by Mr. Jayaswal (*vide* page 222) with the reading put forward now by Dr. Barua, we can realize what a baffling task the reading and the interpretation of this inscription is, and how impossible anything like finality is in the settling of the text. The expression

“life-killing work” used in the preface by Dr. Barua to describe his labours cannot be dismissed as an unjustifiable hyperbole.

Dr. Barua has certainly taken a great deal of trouble to arrive at as satisfactory a text as possible. He has given the inscription in no less than five different forms, viz., a Romanized text, the same text in Devanagari characters, the text as it would stand in Pali and in classical Sanskrit and finally an English version. It is much to be regretted that he has not supplied any facsimile of the Brahmī text of the whole or of any portion of this inscription or of any of the much shorter inscriptions. This would have greatly increased the value and utility of the book. The notes, which cover 180 pages, contain a mass of erudition, which is, however, presented in a very discursive manner and the historical treatment of the contents of the inscription seems unduly fanciful and imaginative. As to questions of dates, Dr. Barua’s own dictum (page 286) is that “Indian chronology is a house of cards”, liable to collapse at any moment.

R. P. DEWHURST.

THE COMMENTARY OF PAPPUS ON BOOK X OF EUCLID’S ELEMENTS. Arabic text and translation. By WILLIAM THOMSON. With introductory remarks, notes and a glossary of technical terms. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 294. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. London: Oxford University Press, 1930.

This is the eighth volume in the Harvard Semitic Series. The text and the translation have been beautifully printed, but one cannot help regretting that so much time and trouble have been devoted to the production of what is so portentously dull and lacking in all practical value from the point of view alike of the mathematician and the Arabic scholar. The commentary of Pappus on the tenth book of Euclid’s Elements is preserved only in Arabic, and it appears that there is only

one copy of the Arabic text, which exists in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The translation is avowedly of a philological and historical nature and does not make any attempt to render the thought of Pappus into the terms and signs of modern mathematics. This limitation of the scope of the book seems unfortunate, as it effectually prevents any use being made of the book by those who are interested in the study of the history of the development of mathematical science. As it stands, the book, in spite of its beautiful typography and the care expended on the translation and interpretation of the Arabic text, is exceedingly difficult and equally forbidding and dull. That such a book will secure for itself either purchasers or readers in any numbers worth considering is quite unthinkable.

R. P. DEWHURST.

CONTRIBUTIONS À LA DIALECTOLOGIE IRANIENNE. Dialecte Guiläki de Recht, dialectes de Färizänd, de Yaran et de Natanz avec un supplément contenant quelques textes dans le Persan vulgaire de Téhéran. Par ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser. xvii, 2, 9½ × 5½, pp. 300. Copenhagen : Andr. Fred. Høst & Son, 1930.

This book, in which the author has chosen French as the language in which he has discussed the dialects selected by him for treatment after two short visits to Persia, and into which he has translated the short stories illustrating the use of those dialects, consists of 299 pages dealing with no less than five modern dialects spoken in Persia.

The most important and interesting of these dialects is that spoken in the province of Gilan, of which Rasht is the principal city. The other dialects appertain to Natanz, a large village half way between Kashan and Isfahan, to Färizänd, a village five farsakhs from Natanz, to Yaran, a village near Quhrud, the exact situation of which is not

indicated, and lastly the patois spoken by uneducated people in Teheran itself. As an illustration of the differences between the dialects mentioned it may be enough to compare the words for "bone" and "sleep" in all four. In Guilākī they are *ostāxān* and *xāb*, in Fārizāndī *ossoxūn* and *xāw*, in Yaranī *ostoxān* and *xāw*, and in Natanzi *ostāxan* and *xow*.

The author has given a grammatical sketch and short texts and a vocabulary for each dialect and added some stories in the vulgar Teheran speech. It has not, of course, been possible to give anything more than a slight sketch of these dialects, but the work, so far as it has gone, has been done carefully and in a scholarly manner. The only things which seem desirable which have been omitted are a map of Persia showing clearly the localities referred to, some discussion of the limits within which each form of the dialectical Persian exhibited is confined, and some account of the dialectical frontiers, so to speak, with which each one of them is surrounded.

R. P. DEWHURST.

CRITICAL STUDIES IN THE RUBĀ'İYĀT OF 'UMAR-I-KHAYYĀM.

A revised text with English translation. By ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser. xiv, 1. Copenhagen : Andr. Fred. Høst & Son, 1927.

The quatrains attributed to the astronomer and mathematician 'Umar-i-Khayyām have, owing entirely to the popularity achieved by Fitzgerald's rendering, attracted an amount of attention from European scholars which is altogether out of proportion with their literary value as compared with the works of the really great poets of Persia, such as Ḥāfiz and Sa'dī and Maulānā Rūmī. The book, which is now being considered, is a very serious and elaborate attempt to decide definitely that exactly one-tenth, viz. 121 quatrains out of 1,213 quatrains attributed to 'Umar, may be accepted

as genuine. The method adopted has been to consider eighteen manuscripts of major importance and to accept as genuine only those quatrains which are to be found in five out of nine manuscripts which have been grouped together and also in four at least of the other group of manuscripts. This rigid method has resulted in the exclusion of a good many even of the quatrains in the small collection of 158, which occur in the oldest Bodleian manuscript of the *Rubā'iyāt*.

It may be thought by most readers that there can be little danger in accepting the small residuum of 121 quatrains as genuine. The author of these critical studies has not only supplied the Persian text of these 121 quatrains, based on an examination of the manuscripts containing them, but has furnished a translation of them into English, which has been done in prose and is both readable and scholarly. The appendix to the book consists of a full concordance of all the 1,213 quatrains attributed to the poet in all the manuscripts and in the printed editions of Whinfield and Naval Kishor (Lucknow). This concordance, which has been prepared with great care, will be of great use to anyone who wishes to trace what authority is behind any quatrain, whether accepted or rejected.

R. P. DEWHURST.

DIE CHINESISCHE MALEREI DER HAN DYNASTIE. Von OTTO FISCHER. $11\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xi + 150, pls. 34. Berlin : Paul Neff, 1931.

This admirably documented book marks a step forward in the study of Chinese art. Heretofore the subject of Chinese painting and design has been treated in a general manner ; now, for the first time, we have a detailed study of a definite period. The years 206 B.C.—A.D. 221, during which the Han dynasty ruled in China, saw the crystallization and unification—both political and cultural—of that civilization which was there to persist until the dawn of the twentieth century.

Foreign elements entered in, modifications especially under the influence of Buddhism took place, but the foundations remained unshaken. After a study of the documents presented by Dr. Fischer, a critic would be stiff-necked indeed who would still contend that Chinese art owed its inspiration to alien influences.

These documents, which, with the exception of the Wu Liang Ssu bas-reliefs, have all come to light within the last decade, are gifts from the hands of the dead, and form a record not only of life as it was led on earth, in those far-off days, but unveil to us the hopes entertained by the Sons of Han of a life beyond the grave.

After an extremely interesting preface, Dr. Fischer treats in detail the "Cult of the Dead", the "Situation of the Graves", and the "Stone Reliefs". He then analyses the documents relating to outline drawing and to painting, treating also the meaning of the pictures and the style of their presentation. A final chapter gives the result of his findings.

Among the important documents illustrated are the reliefs from the tomb of Chu Wei, an official who lived during the first century of our era. They are magnificent, and must take their place in the history of world art. Further, the set of five painted hollow bricks now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the remarkable bronze dish belonging to Count Hosokawa in Tokyo; the painted tiles from the Eumorfopoulos collection; and the truly remarkable painting on lacquer dated A.D. 69, now in the Imperial University, Tokio. Other articles of extreme interest are also shown in the admirable plates. The conclusion to be drawn from Dr. Fischer's admirable exposition is: "Chinese painting was born and came fully formed into the light, under the Han dynasty. Its later developments were predestined by its own unfolding during the period of youthful bloom; and the point of view inherent in the Chinese people expressed itself clearly and comprehensively in their painting."

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

THE TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL CONQUEST OF CEYLON. By FERNÃO DE QUEYROZ. (i) Portuguese text, edited by P. E. Pieris. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6, pp. xxx + 994. Colombo : Government Printer. 1916. (ii) Translation, by S. G. Perera. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6, pp. 28 + xxviii + 1274. Colombo : Government Printer. 1930.

Any notice of these volumes must begin with a tribute to the Government of Ceylon for having, at long last, made available to students the monumental history of the island which was compiled in the latter part of the seventeenth century by Father Fernão de Queyroz, S.J. The manuscript was ready for the press as long ago as 1692, four years after the author's death, but, instead of being printed, it passed into the Royal Library at Lisbon, and thence to Brazil, whence a copy returned in due course to Ceylon, to be utilized by a few scholars, excite a certain amount of local controversy, and eventually be purchased by the Government and brought into the light of day. There can be no question of the great importance of the book for the history of Ceylon, and the reviewer is concerned only with the manner of its presentation. The text appeared without any extraneous matter : the translation is accompanied by an adequate introduction, is duly annotated, and is furnished with a very full index. A reviewer who has not seen the manuscript can offer no judgment on the text, but it has been accepted by the translator as accurate. Father Perera is at some pains to justify the course he has adopted in offering a bald and absolutely literal version of the original ; but I think most students will agree that no justification is necessary, for any attempt at literary embellishment would almost certainly have resulted in occasional distortions of the meaning. I have read about a quarter of the translation with the text before me, and can testify to its minute accuracy. Obscurities in it are present also in the original, and with very few exceptions the English words used represent the Portuguese with precision ; the only exceptions I have noted are—"provisions" (49) does not

give the contemporary technical sense of *provisoës*; "disposition" would be better than "genius" (283) for *genio*; "at last" would be preferable to "after all" (293) for *emfim*; "sustenance" (298) should, I think, be "substance"; "militia" (813) is too narrow for *milicia*, which means "forces". Probably I have missed a few other defects of the kind, but, judging from my own experience as a translator, the number is extraordinarily small. No one will be disposed to quarrel with the practice of retaining Portuguese words for which there are no proper English equivalents, but the translator has in a few instances overlooked the consequential obligation of explaining in a note the nature of the untranslatable word. *Praça*, for instance, appears frequently; I can see no reason for not using the dictionary-equivalents "fortress" or "stronghold", but the point is that the word is not explained at its first introduction, or, so far as I can find, anywhere else. *Arraial*, again, which De Queyroz wrote *arrayal*, appears (in ordinary type) as arrayal, and, in the absence of any explanation, this may lead to confusion with the recognized English word, which has a different meaning. Such cases, however, are exceedingly few.

Turning to the notes, it may be said at once that they are not exhaustive, but it seems to me that in this matter the translator has generally exercised a wise discretion. The author was widely read, and also allusive, and if one were to turn aside at every mention of Lycians and Massilians, or to explain just what Cyrus did, or what Seneca wrote, on some particular occasion, the thing would never be done. Regarded as the minimum required to explain the material portions of the text, the notes appear to me to be sufficient and generally accurate. My own knowledge of Ceylon is slight, and I have found the notes on local topics almost always sufficient, but I cannot offer an independent opinion on their accuracy, which I have tested by scrutinizing those which deal with matters more familiar to me. In these I have found very few errors: "Heliogabalus" (81) is explained as the Syro-

Phœnician Sun-god, where the reference is obviously to the Roman Emperor; "the kingdom of the Patânas" (118) is referred to Pattana (Patna), the chief city of Behar, but the author certainly meant the Pathân rulers of Bengal; Khasi for Benares (151) should be Kasi; "Micheas" (1007) will scarcely be recognized by English readers as the prophet Micah; and a few other minute points might be mentioned; but it is better, as it is certainly pleasanter, to testify to the great value of the notes taken as a whole. The only cause for complaint of a general nature is the absence of a list of the authorities quoted in abbreviated form. *Hob.-Job.* explains itself, and probably most students, though not all, will recognize in *Dal.* (occasionally *Dalg.*), *Dan.*, and *Val.* the names of Dalgado, Danvers, and Valentyn; but there are more recondite entries than these, and I must confess my ignorance of *W.L.R.*, *Keg. Rep.*, and a few others. It may be added that misprints occur on the luxuriant Asiatic scale, but they are usually too obvious to mislead.

W. H. M.

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THE EDWIN SMITH SURGICAL PAPYRUS. By JAMES HENRY BREASTED. Vol. I, Hieroglyphic Transliteration, Translation, and Commentary. 12 × 9, pp. xxiv + 596, 8 plates; Vol. II, Facsimile Plates and Line-for-line hieroglyphic transliteration. 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 12, pp. xiii + 22 + 22 plates. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. (Letterpress by Oxford University Press; plates by Emery Walker, Ltd.)

In January, 1862, Edwin Smith (1822–1906), an American, for many years a resident in Egypt, purchased at Luxor a long Egyptian papyrus, and two months later he acquired some fragments that he correctly perceived to belong to the same document. At this time, or shortly afterwards, he had in his possession another roll that is spoken of by the Egyptologists of the 'seventies as the "Papyrus Smith".

This latter document was later acquired by the German Egyptologist Georg Ebers, who named it after himself, and published it *in extenso* in 1875. Thus the celebrated Ebers Papyrus, until lately our principal source of information on the subject of Egyptian medicine, was given to the world, and its contents, or, it would be more exact to say, a very inaccurate and often completely erroneous estimate of its contents, have been the basis on which medical historians have worked for over half a century. Meanwhile the other Smith papyrus remained in its owner's possession, unpublished and unknown to science. On the death of Edwin Smith, his daughter presented the document to the New York Historical Society, which body in 1920 invited Professor Breasted to undertake the study and publication of their recently-acquired treasure. In spite of the many other calls upon his time, a preliminary examination of the papyrus so impressed Professor Breasted with its importance, not only to Egyptology but to the history of medicine and science, that he felt unable to refuse the opportunity, and, pending the issue of a full edition, he published three preliminary accounts of it: in the *Bulletin* of the New York Historical Society in 1922, in the *Champollion Centenary Volume* published in Paris the same year, and in the *Bulletin* of the Society of Medical History of Chicago in 1923. From these preliminary accounts it became evident that the Edwin Smith papyrus was a document of quite exceptional interest and importance, and the detailed publication of it in the two stately volumes now before us, has justified these expectations, and has made available the earliest scientific book, properly so-called, that the wreckage of time has spared.

Before discussing the papyrus, a word may be said at once as to the physical medium by which Professor Breasted's labours have been transmitted to us. Let it at once be admitted that this publication is, in its production, an extremely fine piece of work. In the second and larger volume, the entire text is photographically reproduced and

facing each photograph is placed a transcription printed in red and black, which renders into hieroglyphs the hieratic text and its rubrics. In the first volume, a general introduction is followed by a special introduction for each of the two main sections of the document—the surgical treatise and the magical texts written on the back of it. The text is divided into numbered cases, and each, with its glosses, is transcribed into hieroglyphs (in the beautiful new fount that Dr. Alan Gardiner inaugurated a few years ago), followed by a translation and commentary. Finally, a continuous translation of the entire document is given at the end. By this means the purport of the document is made clear to readers unacquainted with the ancient Egyptian language, whilst for Egyptologists the full commentaries provide detailed justification for the renderings proposed by the editor of a difficult and highly-specialized text.

Professor Breasted is to be congratulated upon the completion of an arduous, useful, and scholarly work.

There is abundant internal evidence that the Edwin Smith papyrus, dating as it does from the seventeenth century B.C., is a copy, and only a partial copy, of a prototype very much earlier, and doubtless composed during the Pyramid Age (Dyns. IV–VI). The scribe to whom we owe this copy was a good penman, but he had no medical knowledge nor any particular interest in the book he was copying, as the numerous textual corruptions clearly demonstrate. The text comes to an abrupt end in the middle of a sentence, and the blank space on the back of the roll has been filled with magical texts and recipes of quite a different nature.

Incomplete as it is, however the surgical treatise is long enough and full enough to provide us with a mass of new knowledge on the subject of Egyptian medicine. The documents with which we have hitherto been familiar, the Ebers papyrus and the medico-magical papyri of London, Berlin, Leiden, Paris, California, and elsewhere, are all composed for the most part of prescriptions or recipes interspersed with

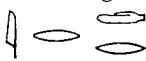
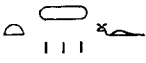
charms and incantations, and they provide very little information as to diagnosis, anatomy, or physiology. Certain sections of these papyri, however, have given us in a garbled and corrupt form passages of a nature similar to the contents of the Edwin Smith papyrus. Such is the section on the heart and its vessels in the Ebers and Berlin papyri, and the collection of surgical cases on the final pages of the Ebers papyrus. The treatise on the heart occurs in the Edwin Smith papyrus, but most unfortunately on the only damaged part of the manuscript, so that its rendering becomes a matter of extreme difficulty. Had this passage been undamaged, it would have helped us to understand the corrupt and well-nigh unintelligible versions of it in the later documents.

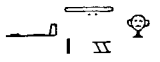
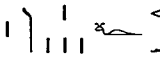
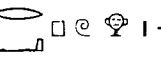


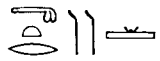


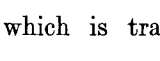

The Edwin Smith papyrus has supplied us with many new observations on anatomy and physiology. Of these perhaps the most interesting are the references to the brain. As an organ, the Egyptians apparently attached no significance to it; the heart was believed by them to discharge the functions that are now known to belong to the brain. In this text, however, are recorded some observations on the brain itself. It is recognized that the cerebral hemispheres are enclosed in a membrane (the *dura mater*). This fact could not have been learned from the process of removing the brain during mummification, because such removal was not introduced until the eighteenth dynasty, long after the composition of the Edwin Smith papyrus, or its prototype. Nor could the embalmers, who dragged out the brain piecemeal with a hook through a forced passage hewn in the ethmoid or sphenoid processes, be aware of its appearance as a whole. The remark, therefore, in the Edwin Smith papyrus that the brain is characterized by a series of convolutions, "like those corrugations that form on molten copper," must have been based upon the actual observation of the organ itself exposed by an extensive gash in the skull. Furthermore, many interesting observations are made as to the effects of brain-injury; the loss of control over various parts

of the body, the tension of the facial and other muscles, giddiness, and other manifestations. Professor Breasted, however, seems to be making too generous a claim for the medical knowledge of the Egyptians when he implies that they recognized such symptoms as proceeding from injury to the *brain*. They are ascribed in all cases to injury to the *skull*, and there is no hint that the brain in particular was known to be the ultimate cause of the observed effects.





The observation (case 31) that injury to the spine may cause *erectio*, sometimes followed by *emissio seminis*, is interesting. This symptom, however, is not, as Professor Breasted's remarks would seem to suggest, confined to dislocation of the cervical vertebræ; it may be, and often is, observed as resulting from injury to other regions of the spinal column.









The great length and importance of this text and the many interesting points it raises for discussion tempt the reviewer to occupy far more space than he is entitled to; consequently, it will be possible to mention only a few items.




The peculiar idiom "moor at his mooring-stakes", occurs in Case 3 and elsewhere in the manuscript. The meaning of this expression is explained in a gloss (2, 1-2)  

         , which is translated by Professor Breasted (p. 139): "As for 'moor (him) at his mooring-stakes', it means putting him on his customary diet, without administering to him a prescription."





The reviewer, however, cannot help thinking that Professor Breasted has misunderstood the meaning of the phrase. Surely to moor a man to a stake is a metaphorical way of expressing the idea of confining or restricting. And although the word *mtr* may have the significance of "customary" in certain contexts, its usual meaning rather implies the notion of limitation by rule, restriction. To put a patient on his customary diet without prescribing any medicine is surely






tantamount to giving no treatment at all. The meaning rather appears to be that the circumstances in which the expression occurs are considered by the physician to be cases requiring treatment not by drugs, but by special diet. This is borne out by the usual interpretation of  as it occurs in the medical texts. The word is quite rightly understood as "prescription" and it is used as a direct therapeutic agent for external application and as a dispeller of demoniac agents of illness when taken internally. For the cases in the Edwin Smith papyrus (all relating to wounds, fractures, or other injuries of external origin), the appropriate  are externally applied ointments or liniments. Professor Breasted is wrong in such cases in translating  (lit. "making") by "administering", which implies an internal dose. In this text, to "make a prescription" means to prepare an external medicament. The implication, therefore, is that in the cases that are to be treated by "mooring" the patient "to his mooring-stakes", external applications are of no use, and the patient's health must be restored, not by his free and customary diet, but by a special restricted diet, and that external medicines () must not be used until sufficient improvement by the first method has been accomplished.




In discussing the word     (p. 381) reference is made to another herb,    , and of the latter it is said: "it cannot be identified with any known plant." In 1926, the present reviewer collected all the occurrences of this word in medical and other texts and suggested its identification with the herb Fenugreek (*Trigonella fœnum-græcum*, L.).¹







The word    (20, 16),² is left untranslated, and is

¹ *Journ. of Eg. Archaeology*, vol. xii (1926), pp. 240-2.

² In the papyrus the word is written in error    .

entered in the glossary as “an unidentified drug”. Surely its identification with Cumin (*Cuminum cyminum*, L.) is well established. The word occurs very frequently in the papyri Ebers, Hearst, Berlin, and London Medical, as well as in Leiden 343 (*recto*, 2, 13; *verso*, 4, 7). It was often replaced in Ramesside times by the Semitic word      (e.g. Anastasi, iv, 8, 11). The older word, however, persisted and appears in Coptic as $\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\eta$ (Sah.), and $\theta\alpha\pi\epsilon\eta$ (Boh.).

In Case 11 occurs the word    ϱ , “cheeks”. On p. 243, Professor Breasted states that “it is a word which has been little understood”, and proceeds to justify the translation in detail. In 1926, however, the present reviewer had already demonstrated the meaning of the word (*Zeitschr. für äg. Sprache*, Bd. 60, pp. 20–3), but no reference is made to this paper.

In the gynæcological prescription on the *verso* (20, 13–17), there are some points that occur to the reviewer as making the sense clearer. The word   here means quite literally “stomach” and is not used vaguely as a general term for “abdomen”, for sickness and nausea are common symptoms of the condition dealt with in the text. The abbreviation  (like ϱ in Ebers, 96, 11–97, 8) may mean either uterus, vulva or vagina; in this case the last-named best suits the sense. The word  ϱ (line 15) here, as elsewhere, is “uterus”, and finally it would seem that  ϱ (line 17) is a scribal error for  ϱ , “pubes” or the hypogastric region. (See *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, Bd. 60, p. 22.) The passage may therefore be rendered somewhat as follows:—

“If thou examinest a woman suffering in her stomach, (because) the menses will not come to her, thou findest an obstruction in her vagina. Thou shouldst say concerning her, ‘it is a clot (*šn’w n snf*) in her uterus’” (i.e. at the

cervix uteri). The last line should be translated, "anoint the pubes therewith frequently." The internal prescription of *w'am*,¹ grease and sweet ale, is clearly an emetic to relieve the sickness of the stomach, whilst the preparation of cumin, stibium and frankincense is rubbed on the lower part of the abdomen as an ointment to relieve the pain or pressure in the vagina. In the next prescription, there does not seem to be any warrant for the translation proposed for *nphwy* (21, 1; otherwise expressed in Ebers, 95, 22), which here would seem to mean "groins", and *mnty* is surely "thighs".

WARREN R. DAWSON.

DICTIONARY OF THE NEPALI LANGUAGE. With Indexes of all words quoted from other Indo-Aryan languages. By R. L. TURNER. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ \times 9 $\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xxiii + 935. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1931.

Professor Turner's Nepali Dictionary marks a new departure in Indo-Aryan philology. We had formerly a long series of grammatical sketches and dictionaries of different languages, and Beames' and Hoernle's more comprehensive works; we had Sir George Grierson's monumental survey, we had Professor Bloch's excellent analysis of Marathi, and numerous studies and articles by various scholars. But here, for the first time, we get an up-to-date examination of the vocabulary of an important Indo-Aryan form of speech from the viewpoint of the comparative philologist, with comparison of connected words in other languages of the family, including Romani.

No less than 26,000 words have been registered, and since the vocabulary of most Indo-Aryan tongues is largely the same, the result is a preliminary etymological dictionary of the whole family. The use of the Nepali dictionary for

¹ The identification of this drug will be the subject of a forthcoming paper by the reviewer.

that purpose has been rendered easy through the excellent indexes contributed by Mrs. Turner, who has, in this way, established a solid claim to our gratitude.

Nobody could be better qualified to undertake this much-needed work than Professor Turner. He is a comparative philologist of great distinction, thoroughly at home in modern methods, with a critical mind and a sound judgment which always enables him to distinguish between what is essential and accidental, and with a comprehensive knowledge of modern and old Indo-Aryan languages.

His knowledge of Nepali is probably unsurpassed among Western scholars. For sixteen years he has been engaged in the study of the language. He has been through the available literature, and he has lived for years in the closest contact with men from Nepal as their trusted friend and comrade. Extensive material collected by the Rev. H. C. Duncan and Dr. R. Kilgour for the purpose of bringing out a Nepali dictionary has, with scholar-like unselfishness, been placed at his disposal, while distinguished Indians such as Pandit Dharanidhar Sharma Koirala, of the Government High School, Darjeeling, and Mr. Bodh Bikram Adhikari of Kathmandu have given him all the assistance in their power, and European scholars have given their advice on numerous details.

The Nepali dictionary is therefore as complete and as good as is possible at the present stage of our knowledge, and it is an extremely important contribution, for which we have every reason for being thankful. And in this connection it is very gratifying to learn that we are also greatly indebted to the publishers, who have undertaken to bring out the work and taken the responsibility for the charges not covered by contributions from other sources.

Nepali vocabulary is of a mixed nature. In addition to such words as are regularly descended from an old Indo-Aryan tongue, there are numeral loan-words. Sanskrit words have been borrowed over and over again, and it is

often possible to distinguish different strata of such loans. Numerous words have been assimilated from other Indo-Aryan speeches, and, through them, from Persian and Arabic. There is a certain amount of English words, introduced through Hindustani or direct. And there are also words of non-Indo-European origin, though it is a remarkable fact that the contact with the Tibeto-Burman tribes of Nepal, generally speaking, has led to the latter adopting the Aryan vocabulary and not vice versa.

It is perhaps not superfluous to lay stress on this fact, because the same state of things has been prevalent throughout the linguistic history of India. And it is therefore often difficult to accept some of the derivations of Indo-Aryan words from non-Aryan, especially Austro-Asiatic sources which have been proposed in later times. Our experience with the roots of the Dhātupāṭha tends to make us cautious. To take an example, I am not as convinced as Professor Turner, s.v. *kero*, that it has been *proved* that Skr. *kadalī* "plantain" is an Austro-Asiatic *lī* with two prefixes *ka-* and *ta-*.

The entries have been arranged in the sequence of the Devanāgarī alphabet, the only sensible arrangement in the case of an Indo-Aryan language. That alphabet itself has in Nepal been better adapted to the actual pronunciation than is the case, e.g. in Hindi, in so far as silent short vowels are concerned. Here the extensive use of consonantal compounds and of the virāma eliminates the difficulty sometimes felt in Hindi of deciding whether an inherent *a* is sounded or not.

Professor Turner has followed, and enlarged, this more phonetic way of writing, and he has done right. As he himself justly remarks, his work is a Nepali and not a Sanskrit dictionary, and the actual pronunciation should regulate the spelling, and not the pronunciation of the Skr. prototypes of Nepali words. It may even be questioned whether it would not have been better not to make any exceptions whatever, at least in the transliterated words, e.g. to write *e* with a

diacritical mark instead of *ya*, *dīnu* instead of *dīnu*, etc. It is always something of a nuisance, especially in a book which will be largely used for quick reference by people engaged in other studies, to have to remember something about the pronunciation which is not immediately apparent in writing.

In the introduction we get a highly interesting analysis of the position of Nepali within the Indo-Aryan family. The result is that "Nepali appears to have belonged originally to a dialect-group which included the ancestors of Gujarati, Sindhi, Lahnda, Panjabi, and Hindi. In one particular it was closely associated with the most northern and western of these, namely Sindhi, Lahnda, and Panjabi".

The last remark bears reference to the voicing of voiceless stops after dentals, e.g. in *dāde* "harrow", *kāmnū* "to tremble", *kāṛo* "thorn". I am not sure that this feature points to a closer association with the northern and western languages than with Hindi and the central group. For, as justly remarked by Professor Turner, it is shared by Romani, and I think that he is right in considering Romani as an originally central language. In this connection it is worth remembering that Prakrit grammarians assert that *-nt-* sometimes becomes *-nd-* in Śauraseni. It is quite conceivable, or in my opinion probable, that the voicing of voiceless stops after nasals in ancient times extended farther eastward than would appear from the present state of things. The great influence exercised by Sanskrit and Sanskritizing Prakrit in the "Middle Country" has been an important factor in the development of Hindi.

There is another feature, not expressly mentioned by Professor Turner, which seems to point to association with the central languages. In a large group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, including Gujarati, Lahnda, Sindhi, and Panjabi, but not Hindi, intervocalic *-n-* appears as *-ṇ-*. Nepali here marches with Hindi.

The most important part of the book is, of course, the dictionary itself, whether we think of it as a practical hand-

book or as a record of what can be ascertained about the history and origin of individual words.

The first thing which strikes the reader here is the great number of entries. There cannot be any doubt that all accessible sources have been exploited to make the dictionary as complete as possible. If the author had had the opportunity of spending considerable time in Nepal itself he would perhaps have been able to add something to the bulk. But it is not probable that the additions would have been considerable.

Then it is an important feature of the dictionary that other Indo-Aryan languages have been very fully exploited and corresponding words quoted from them as far as they could be ascertained. I have already mentioned the importance of this feature for everybody who takes up the study of any of those languages. Professor Turner's book will prove to be a useful and reliable guide towards the understanding of the origin and history of individual words.

Above all, however, the book will be indispensable to those who want to study Nepali itself. And the rich selection of examples and proverbs will here be very welcome.

It would serve no useful purpose to mention, in this place, such cases where one may feel unable to accept Professor Turner's explanation of the origin of some words. Such instances are bound to occur in every etymological dictionary, and it would have been more than a marvel if they were entirely missing in a pioneer work like Professor Turner's dictionary.

What is important with regard to the etymological part of the book is that here we have at last a handy work of reference where we can survey, at a glance, the material for reconstructing the history of each word, and also see how a scholar of great acumen and comprehensive intimacy with the whole field of Indo-Aryan philology would reconstruct it.

It is a real pleasure to go through the pages of Professor Turner's Nepali dictionary, and we put it aside with sincere

gratitude towards the author and towards Mrs. Turner, who did so much for rendering the use of the book easier.

STEN KONOW.

DAS CHUNG-TSI-KING (Sangīti-Sutta) DES CHINESISCHEN DIRGHĀGAMA. Übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von SIEGFRIED BEHRING. Asia Major VII 1/2. pp. 150.

This work by a scholar of Leipzig University, to the forthcoming issue of which I drew attention, as the author reminds me, in the *JPTS.* for 1927, will, I trust, be the harbinger of a whole series of similar works in comparative research. A beginning has now been made in printed editions of the Tripiṭaka: in the Shanghai recension in Chinese, and in the Japanese Takakusu-Watanabe edition. Assuming a steady continuance in these, we only need European or Asiatic scholars, expert in both Chinese and Pali, to open up for us, thus inexperienced, their contents, in some tongue more widely known than is Chinese. The result may throw light on the dusk in Buddhist history obliterating the religious and ecclesiastical evolution that went on between the death of the Founder, "our Sakiyan," as this Chinese edition calls him, and, say, the first setting down in writing of the first part of the Milinda Questions (the, for me, only genuine *talks* that did actually take place).

Here is neither space nor fit occasion to analyse Behrsing's results, either the textual matter, or his own comments. I do but bring the work to the attention of readers. Nor am I over-optimistic, that even here we shall be beyond the tampering hand of the monastic editor, dressing up the manuscript at different times in a new vesture to suit changed values. *That which I should like to find* is one of many such MSS. set down in writing by Defenders of the Man (Puggalavādins), who, dismissed for their conservative ideals concerning the *puruṣa*, the *ātmā*, in Asoka's day, from the

Sangha, found their way, as living books, to China, learnt there both a new tongue and the art of writing, and wrote down what the Kathāvatthu shows them trying to insist upon. Namely, that the man verily *is*, not merely as body and mind, and that the very man *persists* as founded upon Becoming (*Bhavaṃ nissāya puṅgalo tiṭṭhati*). *That which*, in this work, *I so far find* is a composition which has undergone more editing than the venerable Sangīti of the Pali itself! Thus, to take but one of a few instances: the central symbol of the Way, figure for the one long becoming of man's life, is in this Chinese version split up into the usual (but later) eight "parts". In the Pali Sangīti, *there is as yet no Way under the "Eights"*; there are eight Sammattas, or "Fittnesses", or "Right Things". To this extent then we have, in this most interesting venture, drawn a blank.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

ARS ASIATICA: XV, LA SCULPTURE DE MATHURA. Par J. PH. VOGEL, Professeur à l'Université de Leyde. 13 × 11, pp. 131, pls. 60. Paris et Bruxelles: Les Éditions G. van Oest, 1930.

Dr. Vogel returns, in this study, to a site which has always held for him an especial fascination, and at which he has carried out some of his most valuable work.

The archæological interest of the ancient Hindu city of Mathura, chiefly famous as the centre of the holy land of the Kṛiṣṇa cult, depends far more on its Buddhistic and Jaina relics than on those of Hinduism. Though monuments of Mauryan art are, in Dr. Vogel's opinion, lacking, and though the products of Mathura—which exported images to other parts of India—cease in the sixth century A.D., perhaps as a result of the Hun invasions, it is uniquely rich in varied examples of the intervening centuries, especially in Kuṣāṇa

sculpture. Most of the dated Mathura statues belong, in fact, to the reign of Kaniska and his dynasty, while the Gupta period is represented by some magnificent Buddha images.

Nevertheless, Dr. Vogel has not felt justified in adopting a chronological classification of his subject, while he has the scientific scholar's horror of being carried away by æsthetic arbitrariness. "We decline," he says, "to adventure among the shifting sands of subjective preconceived ideas which pass too often under that name." (In a similar spirit he recognizes frankly that the Mathura sculptures were by no means always artistic masterpieces.)

His classification is, accordingly, iconographical. After a preliminary historical survey he treats, in successive chapters, of the sacred edifices of antiquity, and the relation to these of the existing remains; of the images—Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and *dii minores*; of the bas-reliefs of legendary and *Jātaka* scenes; and of the different decorative motives; concluding with a summary of the ground surveyed.

On the vexed question of the origin of the Buddha image, the author, while inclining to the belief that the initiative came from the north-west rather than from Mathura, prefers not to dogmatize. "A quoi bon s'aventurer dans les ténèbres incertaines des origines?" He casts doubt, however, on the unlikely theory of a *double* origin, at Gandhara and Mathura. In general he is not at all averse to speculation along likely lines of inquiry, nor to suggestive questionings, for instance, as to the probability of Central Asian origins of certain details of the Kuṣāṇa statues, and the degree of possible Greek influence on the Nāga, Yakṣa, and vase-carrier figures which are found among the Mathura sculpture.

It would be difficult to praise this work too highly. Dr. Vogel's sober, restrained manner of exposition, his complete absence of prejudice, his method of enriching his descriptions by literary allusions, and the solid foundation of scholarship on which his conclusions are based, give the study an impressive distinction and authority.

The plates are of high quality, and the production must rank as one of the finest of a fine series.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

A HISTORY OF FINE ART IN INDIA AND CEYLON. By VINCENT A. SMITH. Second edition. Revised by K. de B. Codrington. 11 × 9, pp. 238. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930. £3 3s.

No comprehensive work on Indian art can be expected to escape adverse criticism, and Vincent Smith's well-known *History*, of which this is the first revised edition, has not been exempt from attack. Nevertheless, it is still deservedly regarded as a standard work, lucid, careful, honest, and unaffected. The author's strength lay in his accuracy and his gift for clear summary rather than in criticism, and the reviser, Mr. Codrington, has rightly omitted a certain amount of critical matter. Though he has not attempted to bring the book completely up to date, he has made a number of minor changes and additions, and by skilful rearrangement and occasional abridgment he has made the book rather shorter and considerably easier to read. He is perhaps correct in holding that it would have been a mistake to overweight it with much additional detail, on the ground that the results of recent research have not yet been completely digested, but one cannot help wishing that he had broken his rule in the case of the more important revelations of late years. It would have been interesting, too, to have had references to such events as Mr. Longhurst's identification of the subject of the great rock sculpture at Māvalivaram as the Descent of Gangā (see *Arch. Surv. Ann. Report*, 1924-5).

This, like the first edition, is beautifully and profusely illustrated. Apart from its value as a summary, the book would be worth its price for its illustrations. Printing and format, too, have that distinguished quality which marks the productions of the Oxford Press.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

THE BALL AND THE POLO STICK. By MAHMUD 'ĀRIFĪ.
8 $\frac{1}{4}$ \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 31. London: Luzac, 1931.

The *mathnawī* "Gūy u Chaugān" is a mystical love poem, borrowing its imagery from the game of polo. It was written in 342 A.H. by the Harāt poet Maḥmūd 'Ārifī. He received, as he tells us, the appropriate reward of a polo-pony (*chaugānī*—another MS. reads *aspi*), in addition to 1,000 *dinars* from the prince, Sulṭān Muḥammad, to whom he dedicated it. That the prince was a keen polo player is clear from the poet's references: "When he grasped the polo-stick the moon became his ball and the sphere his polo ground."; and the choice of imagery was perhaps directed by the patrons, as well as, possibly, the poet's taste.

Fifteenth-century Persian poetry, with few exceptions, is most agreeable in small doses, to Europeans at least. "Gūy u Chaugān" is short, its length being just over 500 *baits*, and it is pleasanter to read than most productions of its period, though its diction is deliberately artificial. Its fame is considerable, and manuscripts are fairly common, but it has apparently never hitherto been printed.

Mr. Greenshields has examined fourteen manuscripts for the purpose of preparing this edition, but he has taken as his standard one of his own, dated A.H. 950, indicating by brackets lines which his copy does not include. He has rendered a real service to all who are interested in Persian by editing and publishing this text.

J. V. S. W.

1. COLLECTION ÉMILE SENART. I. CHĀNDOGYA-UPANIṢAD.
Traduite et annotée par ÉMILE SENART. 8 \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$,
pp. xxxii + 142. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles
Lettres", 1930.

The first volume of a new series is always of interest as indicating the lines it is to follow, and the Collection Émile Senart has made a promising start with this translation found

among the papers of that eminent scholar. It was evidently made many years ago, and the notes in a number of cases are only indications of what was intended to be said ; but it is so sane and scholarly and brings out so well the primitive character of the thought that it is sure of a warm welcome. In only very few passages where it differs from Böhrtlingk or Deussen, can it be said not to have improved on them ; one such is the translation of *nānātyaya* at 4, 10, 3, by “ féconds en dangers ” instead of “ of various kinds ”, which is certified by 6, 9, 1, and suits the context better. But detailed criticism of a work left unrevised by its author is hardly fair and there would be nothing more to say if the editor had not attempted to make it into a suitable book for beginners by providing a transliterated text and indications of more modern views on certain points. If this was to be done at all, it should have been done far more thoroughly ; for, as it stands, it is far from being a trustworthy guide to the best of more recent work on the subject and may prove seriously misleading to novices accordingly. To take two points only, Senart’s interpretation of 4, 4, to 4, 9, has been superseded by Lüders’ brilliant exegesis (Berlin, 1922) and 1, 13, has been explained in detail by Faddegon (*Acta Or.*, v, 177), yet neither is mentioned.

On one passage I may be allowed to put in a plea for the traditional text. At 4, 2, 5, this edition prints *anena=eva mukhena mā=ālāpayiṣya iti*, being Böhrtlingk’s emendation of . . . *mukhenālāpayiṣyathā iti*, except that he probably divided *mā alāpayiṣya*. The insertion of *mā* is probably sound, but is the omission of *thā* right ? Böhrtlingk’s motive was to be able to take the verb as the causative of *lap*, which would not be *ātmanepada*. But, in fact, the causative of *lap* is not attested with any degree of certainty either in the simple verb or in compounds till a very late date, the reason being perhaps the danger of confusion with the causative of *lā* ; the use of *lap* for “ revealing ” a secret doctrine would be very remarkable and the verb does not appear elsewhere

in the Upaniṣads according to Jacob's *Concordance*. Now the grammarians from Pāṇini onwards do know a verb *ālāpayate* from *lī* and we need not presume that, because it is not found in extant literature, therefore they must have invented it. The meaning of the stock example *jaṭābhir ālāpayate* is uncertain, but I would suggest that the sense here is determined by *allīyati* "be attracted to", in the old Pali phrase *allīyati kelāyati vanāyati*. The translation accordingly would be something like "a fig for your presents, it is by this face that you would gain me over".

2. GRAMMAIRE SANSCRITE. Par LOUIS RENOU. 10 × 6½.

Two vols., pp. xviii + 576. Paris : Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1930.

It may seem odd that a grammar should be reviewed by one who has never penetrated the arcana of that science, but in the present case it has certain advantages. For M. Renou's work is not much concerned with the elucidation of linguistic principles but endeavours rather to carry out a survey of classical Sanskrit in all its varying phases from the Sūtra and Upaniṣad literature through epic and Buddhist forms to the pure classical state, so that it will appeal mainly to those who deal in texts which depart from the normal and is best judged by the profit they are likely to derive from it. Though necessarily owing much to Wackernagel, it is far from being a popular rehash of so much of his grammar as appeared in time. Besides exploiting a mass of secondary authorities, the author has read widely for himself, particularly in Buddhist Sanskrit, and has so arranged his material that there is not much difficulty in discovering what he has to say on any point, even if the need for compression has occasionally been detrimental to the clear expression of his views. I notice that he has made no use of the *Kāmasūtra*, which has some interesting particularities, that he has hardly studied at all the philosophical literature which deserved fuller treatment and that he is sometimes sketchy and incomplete in matters

of syntax, but subject to these reservations his grammar is remarkably full and can safely be recommended as an invaluable storehouse of information to all who are engaged in editing or translating difficult texts.

The further question arises how far it may be considered authoritative; for ordinarily a grammar of so wide a scope would require a lifetime's experience to be perfect. An uneasy feeling is first created by the number of passages which have been mistranslated or misunderstood (e.g., p. 107 *Buddhac.* xi, 43, p. 115 *Sītāṛṭīya* "accompanied by Sītā and one other", not "two others", p. 175 *Bhag. Gītā* ii, 5, p. 301 *Kaut. Arth.* i, 17, 4, p. 325 *punarbhū* not "a married woman" but "a wife who has been married before", p. 462 *Divy.* 334 (different and more nearly correct, p. 524), p. 508 *Śisūpāla.*, ii, 31, p. 509 *Divy.* 55, p. 511 *Jātakamālā* iii, 6, p. 525 *Buddhac.* viii, 65). Secondary authorities are not treated sufficiently critically and rare forms are accepted too readily from works whose text tradition is known to be bad (e.g. *īkṣ* active and *praviṣṭr* from the *Buddhac.*, the old MS. having the grammatically correct forms). Altogether, I consider it would be advisable to check the references very carefully, before accepting an abnormal form or usage on the strength of statements made in this grammar.

Two or three questions of detail may also be noted in case the book goes into a second edition.

P. 95 and corrections, *apasavya* despite the PW I hold to mean primarily "widdershins", the opposite of *pradakṣiṇa*, *apa* and *pra* denoting the respective magical effects of going round an object in these two ways.

P. 121, *aka*, a mistake of mine recoils on my own head; at *Saundar.*, xiv, 48, divide *krṣṭādako* (Pali *kiṭṭhāda*), not *krṣṭād ako*.

Pp. 128 and 133, gerunds and infinitives in the passive. This question, it seems to me, depends mainly on the use with *yā*; for that is the way in which the passive is formed in the modern vernaculars and the usage can be traced back

to Middle Indian. The earliest use with the infinitive goes back to Gauḍapāda on the *Sāṃkhyakārikās*, and all the instances are negative except one interrogative, the nuance being of a thing which does not ordinarily happen or cannot be done. The only certain instance of the gerund that I know of is at *Saundar.*, vii, 15, and, while the locution no doubt arose from an unmentioned agent being understood, *yā* here seems to me to have already lost all separate significance and the feeling is exactly the same as that of the modern passive. We know how these phrases started, and we know where they ended ; and in each case we have to decide what intermediate point had been reached. In my opinion the process had gone further than M. Renou would allow.

P. 154, the use of *svaḥ* for *nav*, *Buddhac.* viii, 43, should be recorded here.

3. LES FLEURS DE RHÉTORIQUE DANS L'INDE : étude sur l'évolution des "alaṅkāra" ou ornements stylistiques dans la littérature sanskrite. Par H. R. DIWEKAR. 10 × 6½, pp. ii + 132. Paris : Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1930.

4. SOME ASPECTS OF LITERARY CRITICISM IN SANSKRIT, OR THE THEORIES OF RASA AND DHVANI. By A. SANKARAN, M.A., PH.D. 10 × 6½, pp. xx + 161. Madras : University of Madras, 1929.

The command of rhetoric is an essential part of the equipment of every great poet in whatever language he writes, and in none more so than in Sanskrit. If the history of Sanskrit literature is to develop from the annalistic stage to the critical, particular attention will have to be paid to the individual contribution and individual achievement of each writer in this respect. Mr. Diwekar's short sketch of the evolution of the "flowers of rhetoric" from the Veda to Bhāravi is therefore a step in the right direction. The worth of such a sketch depends mainly on the skill with which the examples are selected and discussed, and in this matter the

author has attained a large measure of success. His book will be found entertaining and instructive by all who enjoy Sanskrit poetry as literature, and this too, though it is marred by inaccuracies and a looseness of thought which cannot but aggravate a scholar. Thus in such a work we are entitled to expect a full command of the terminology of the *Alamkārasāstra* and of the gradual development of definitions which corresponded to changes in the character of poetry. Yet we find the author repeatedly at fault; for instance, the erroneous handling of *arthāntaranyāsa* on p. 46, the wrong definition of *ākṣepa* illustrated by an example of *arthāpatti* on p. 90, or the complete misunderstanding of Bhāmaha's views on *svabhāvokti* and *vakrokti*. Again his feeling for style is uncertain; he accepts without hesitation the attribution to Pāṇini, the grammarian, by the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of a verse illustrating *arthāntaranyāsa* (a figure little used by early poets), which on the face of it must be many centuries later, and he refers (p. 122) to a verse as by Aśvaghoṣa, which is a modern addition to the *Buddhacarita* barely a century old. His comparisons, too, are sometimes capable of improvement; thus Kālidāsa's description of the lamps at *Raghu*. iii, 15, as *hatatviṣaḥ* and *ālekhyasamarpitā iva* is taken directly, not from *Buddhac.* i, 32, but from the description of the mourning women *ib.*, viii, 25, a verse that was evidently famous, since Rājaśekhara also quotes it.

In chapter viii Mr. Diwekar plunges again into the interminable Bhāmaha-Daṇḍin controversy, to which his one serious contribution is the argument that Daṇḍin knew Bhāravi and that Bhāmaha did not. He shows some ground for the former, but his argument on the latter point is worthless, as it depends on mistranslating *duṣkṛta* as if it were *duṣkara*. Otherwise the chapter is full of special pleading and evades the essential issue that, as it is generally agreed that Daṇḍin's views are more primitive than those of Bhāmaha, the burden of proof lies with those who maintain that Bhāmaha is the older of the two. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to lay

too much stress on the deficiencies of Mr. Diwekar's work, which offers to a discriminating reader much that is of value.

This last remark unfortunately is not applicable to the second work named above, a thesis from Madras, which despite its title has nothing to do with literary criticism but is a summary of the various theories which have prevailed in India on the subject of poetics. It shows considerable industry (though not enough, witness the dating of Subandhu to the beginning of the eighth century and of Aśvaghoṣa, p. 49, apparently even later) and some original research, but no fundamental thinking. Mr. Sankaran, in fact, chose for his thesis a subject which is beyond the powers of any young student. If he had limited his book to one of the unpublished treatises he deals with, say that by Kuntala or by Bhoja, and had made a serious effort to reach the core of his author's teaching, he might have obtained a good return from his reading and have produced a work which would have been really useful to scholars.

- 5, 6. RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHES LESEBUCH, zweite erweiterte Auflage. 14. DER HINDUISMUS. Von F. OTTO SCHRADER. pp. vii, 87. 15. DER MAHĀYĀNA-BUDDHISMUS. Von M. WINTERNITZ. 9½ × 6, pp. vi, 88. Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebach), 1930.

The original edition of the *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* is not available to me, but it is apparent from the publisher's notices and internal evidence that the two parts under review are in reality new works. The names of the authors give sufficient guarantee for sound selection and scholarly translation. The abundance of the material made Prof. Schrader's choice difficult, but he has covered the ground successfully by a selection half from Sanskrit, half from vernacular sources. If a Bengali might think his race's contribution to the common stock of Hinduism would have been better represented by an extract from Caitanya than from Rāmakṛṣṇa, yet the latter has the advantage of bringing

the book down to modern times. Sanskrit scholars will note with interest and profit the author's handling of well-known passages in the *Śvetāśvatara Up.* and the *Gītā*. Professor Winternitz's anthology is mainly taken from the canonical literature (if I may call it so without being misunderstood) still extant in Sanskrit and gives an excellent idea of Mahāyāna Buddhism on all except the philosophical side ; though the latter could not be represented adequately within the limits set, its treatment would at least have been less one-sided, if a typical extract from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* had been added. It is a little puzzling to find included an extract from Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī's *Bhaktiśataka*, a work in which surely it is Hindu, not Mahāyāna, feelings that inform the Hīnayāna doctrines.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

BEITRÄGE ZUR KUNDE DES IRAK-ARABISCHEN. VON F. H. WEISSBACH. Zweite Hälfte : Poetische Texte. Leipziger Semitistische Studien IV. 2. 9 × 6 in. Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1930.

This volume is a continuation (pp. 209-357), with title-page and Introduction, of a work which appeared as early as 1908, containing stories and dialogues in the Arabic dialect of Northern Iraq, in italic type heavily charged with diacritic marks, and German translation. The concluding part contains verses and proverbs. In the Preface, the author accounts for the delay—for which the Great War was in part responsible—and explains the relation of his work to those of B. Meissner, whose *Neuarabische Geschichten aus dem Iraq* appeared in 1903. It would appear that both derived their material from one Arab, whose glosses on the material collected are often quoted, but not always certainly right. In the main the dialect differs in the pronunciation of certain vowels from that in use in Southern Iraq, which is treated by the veteran missionary Van Ess in his manuals ; and, indeed,

one who has familiarized himself with the pronunciation will easily understand many passages if he is acquainted with either the classical language or some dialect; there are, however, a number of words and phrases which are peculiar to the region or occur in these materials, and it is to be regretted that the author has not collected these in a glossary, as was done by Meissner; this would have been a valuable addition to the lists of plants, birds, diseases, proper names of men and women, etc., which are certainly meritorious.

Herr Weissbach asserts that with the aid of his work and those of Meissner, the traveller in Northern Iraq will acquire more of the language in three months than he had been able to in two years. The capacity of acquiring a language differs so much with different people that we cannot take this statement *au pied de la lettre*; the reviewer, however, knows by experience how very helpful such works can be, and Herr Weissbach's industry is certain to prove serviceable to many who have occasion to visit the country where this dialect is in use, while Arabists will be grateful to him for a distinctly important addition to the literature of their subject.

D. S. M.

INDIAN LOGIC IN THE EARLY SCHOOLS. By H. N. RANDLE, M.A., Ph.D. Oxford University Press, 1930.

Great merit accrues to Dr. Randle for his enlightened and enlightening work, which has formed a dissertation (with a very wide scope indeed) for the Ph.D. (Oxon.). It undertakes to "interpret Indian logical doctrine in its historical development", and in this the author has been thoroughly successful. His studies are based on the pioneer editions of Indian Nyāya, issued by eminent pandits at the close of last century. Unreserved approval must be accorded to Dr. Randle for his strictly historical method, especially evident where he discusses the Sūtras with regard to the origin of a doctrine and its final redaction, and also concerning

a first meaning of a designation of a system (e.g. Sāṅkhya) and the later, specified application of it.

Dr. Randle is fully competent to deal with the technical terms, and he elucidates them with the knowledge of a "Philosoph von Fach". In the light and with the help of his researches I find it a pleasure now to read, e.g. Gauḍapādas Commentary on the Sāṅkhya Kārikās, instead of a guessing game and a struggle for explicit terms (even in spite of Colebrooke and Wilson!)

We are now at last on firm ground and can appreciate the logic of the East to its full meaning. This is a deserving deed of the author not only as far as the East is concerned, but it will also beneficially affect the opinion of Western philosophers who are wont to speak of Indian logic as "abstruse".

It is certainly not an easy matter to deal with such a profound ("dhammā gambhīra duddasā", to use the language of the Pali Canon) subject as logic without becoming oneself entangled in its nets, which are the snares of the great trickster "mind". Dr. Randle has avoided these very well, but his book is not easy reading.

W. STEDE.

VEDIC VARIANTS. A Study of the Variant Readings in the Repeated Mantras of the Veda. By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD and FRANKLIN EDGERTON. Vol. I, The Verb. (Special Publications of the Linguistic Society of America, University of Pennsylvania.) 10 × 7, pp. 340. Philadelphia, Baltimore printed, 1930.

In course of time thousands of verses of the Vedic Saṃhitās, and especially of the Ṛg-Vēda, came to be employed as *mantras* in the ever-multiplying rituals of the Brahman schools; and the object of the present work is to study all cases where such quotations vary from the received text of the Saṃhitās. The materials from which it is constructed

are derived from Bloomfield's monumental *Vedic Concordance*, and that lamented scholar himself had outlined it and begun the arrangement before death overtook him. The great task has now been brought to completion by Professor Edgerton, whose sound scholarship and unwearied industry have proved themselves fully equal to the labour undertaken by him. In the present volume we are given the first instalment of this interesting and valuable harvest, namely, an examination of the cases where the quotations from the *Samhitās* show deviations from the *textus recepti* in their verbs. Naturally, not all the variations are of equal importance. Many are of little or no significance, being merely slips due to carelessness or inaccuracy of memory. But many are really of interest, inasmuch as they give forms that explain the sense—right or wrong—in which the ritualists using them understood the original Vedic passages; for example, we sometimes find a subjunctive where the Vedic text has an unaugmented preterite, which our ritualists understood as an injunctive. Thus they throw much light on the ancient exegesis of the *Vēda*. Others offer some interesting variants in vocabulary. Possibly a careful analysis of the whole material may reveal some divergences which will definitively carry us back to a time earlier than that when the *textus recepti* of the *Vēda* in its present form were established; of that we shall be able to judge when Professor Edgerton has completed the publication of his work.

L. D. BARNETT.

EINE KASCHGARISCHE WAKF-URKUNDE AUS DER KHODSCHA-ZEIT OST-TURKESTANS. By G. RAQUETTE (Lund Universitets Årsskrift. N.F. Avd. 1. Bd. 26, Nr. 2). 10 × 6½, pp. 24, 1 plate. Lund : Gleerup ; Leipzig, Harrassowitz. 1930.

This little pamphlet contains an excellent reproduction, text, and translation of a document purchased by the author

in Kashgar in 1914. The document is an interesting *waqf* dedication dated Safar A.H. 1073, a Horse year, i.e. Sept.-Oct. 1662. The name of the ruler at the beginning is Abu'l-Ghāzi Yolbars Bahadur Khān Ghāzi, of whom apparently not much is known. In form the document is a curious cross between the Mongol *yarligh* and the usual Arab *waqfiya*, and its style is singularly turgid and pretentious, so much so that parts of it are almost unintelligible.

Linguistically the most interesting part is the list of officials to whom it is addressed. Among others are the "*tümen begi, ming begi, yüz begi, aymaq begi, horchin begi*", i.e. "the chiefs of ten thousands, thousands, hundreds, *aymaqs* and *horchins*". *Aymaq* is, of course, a Mongol word meaning properly "tribe", but in modern times in Chinese Turkestan it is used rather in the sense of "district". Whether in the seventeenth century it had acquired this meaning cannot be determined. Of *horchin* Dr. Raquette can make nothing. He mentions that it occurs in two other documents dated 1050 A.H.-A.D. 1640 and 1088 A.H.-A.D. 1677, and that an old title *Khurchin begi* is still remembered in Kashgar, though its meaning is forgotten. The word is, however, good Mongol, and means "a district". It occurs in the Chiu Yung Kuan inscription (West side, l. 2, *Ut'iyin horčin Mergen neret'u yeke γān* "the great king of the Udyāna district named Mergen") and is discussed at length by Pelliot (Les mots à H initiale aujourd'hui amuie dans le Mongol des XIII^e et XIV^e Siècles," *J.A.*, 1925, p. 220). The interesting point is that the initial Mongol *h-* which disappeared so early in Mongolia itself should have survived in loan-words in Turkish as late as the seventeenth century, and apparently even to-day.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

ESSAI DE GRAMMAIRE SOGDIENNE ; DEUXIEME PARTIE ; MORPHOLOGIE, SYNTAXE ET GLOSSAIRE. By E. BENVENISTE (Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale ; Série Petit in-octavo, Tome III). 9 × 6, pp. iv + 241, 1 plate, 2 maps. Paris : Geuthner, 1929. Fcs. 75.

The pioneer of Soghdian grammar was Robert Gauthiot, and it is his name that the first part of this book bears. But Gauthiot was killed before he had done more than write the first draft of the chapter on the verb, and his mantle fell on the not unworthy shoulders of E. Benveniste, who has now at last brought the work to a conclusion after many delays in the printing.

There is a tradition of thoroughness in Iranian philology, of which perhaps the finest example is Bartholomæ's Avestan dictionary, and this work is no exception. Soghdian is by no means an easy language to deal with, inflexion is in an advanced stage of decay, spelling is chaotic, and the alphabet is a profoundly unsatisfactory medium for conveying the phonetic system.

These difficulties the author has tackled manfully. Starting from the more elaborate framework of early Iranian grammar, he has shown how the Soghdian forms arise. The result is a grammatical framework which is intelligible even if not at first clear. Where phonetic forms are certain they are given, otherwise only transcribed forms. All the material at the author's disposal has been carefully sifted and classified.

The only defect is in the volume of the material. The book has been printing a long time, and much material already published was too late to be included ; more still remains unpublished, including the early Soghdian texts in the British Museum, which are of capital importance, and are understood now to be in course of publication. When all the material is available, a supplement will clearly be required, but the framework will no doubt stand true.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

TATARISCHE TEXTE. By GOTTHOLD WEIL. 9 × 6, pp. vi + 186. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1930. RM. 12.

This book is a monument to one of the singularly few benefits which philology received from the Great War as part compensation for the many losses which it suffered therefrom. In 1916-17, a number of Russian prisoners in Germany were induced to allow specimens of their native dialects to be recorded on the gramophone, and the present work gives the text and translation of forty-three records in the Tatar dialects published in the *Lautbibliothek. Phonetische Platten und Umschriften* hrsg. von der Lautabteilung der Preuss. Staatsbibliothek. The material falls into three parts: (a) songs, (b) prose texts including anecdotes, biographical details, proverbs, etc., and (c) grammatical pieces, declensions, conjugations, etc. There is in each case a phonetic transcription, a transcription in the singularly unsightly Arabic orthography adopted by the Tatars themselves, and a translation with ample notes. The dialects included are primarily Kazan-Tatar, but also Misher and Bashkir.

The texts throw a flood of light on the etymology, grammar, and phonetics of these dialects, and will be of extreme use to future historians of the language.

Phonetically perhaps, the most striking feature is the complete absence of any *o*- or *ö*- sounds in the dialects recorded, the general prevalence of *j*- for *y*- as an initial, and in Bashkir the constant substitution of *h* for *s*.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

漢文萃珍 HAN WÊN TS'UI CHÊN by 翟理斯 CHAI LI-SSÜ (H. A. GILES). Chinese texts collected by Sir JAMES H. STEWART LOCKHART, K.C.M.G. 10½ × 7½, 6 leaves + 188 pages. Commercial Press, Shanghai, [1931]. \$2.50 Mex.

This well-printed and attractive book contains the Chinese texts which underlie the passages published by Professor

Giles in the prose volume of his *Gems of Chinese Literature*, 1923. It has been compiled, as the Publisher's Preface states, by Sir James Stewart Lockhart. The labour of compilation must have been very great, as *Gems* rarely gives any reference beyond the author's name, and it will be generally regretted that Sir James's modesty has kept his own name off the title-page. He has, however, earned the great gratitude of all students of Chinese and of all who know enough Chinese to be able to add to their enjoyment of Professor Giles's spirited versions by comparing them with the originals. Not every writer of a volume of popular translations from so difficult a language as Chinese would welcome the publication of the originals; but Professor Giles naturally has little to fear from the ordeal, for which indeed he has almost asked, writing in his original Preface to *Gems*, "I have kept verbal accuracy steadily in view, so that the work may be available to students of Chinese in one sense as a key." In comparing half a dozen of the versions with the originals as here printed one is struck continually with the accuracy and skill with which the translation is done in a form palatable to the ordinary English reader, and only a few trifling discrepancies have been noted: "To see oneself is to be clear of sight" (p. 3) 自見者不明 (p. 2); 一大樹下 (p. 73) omitted (p. 106); "A man who does not work, suffers, etc." (p. 153) 一夫不作有...者 (p. 110), where the point seems to be that if even one man does not work, some one is sure to suffer in consequence. In the same passage some thirty words are polished off with "and the thing is done"; and the contrast between 武 *wu* and 文 *wên* is surely very different from the contrast of "might" and "right". Wu Tsung, of all people, would not have publicly stated that the military operations of his ancestors were other than right. "New words these!" (p. 279) 斯語也實 (p. 197); and one or two more.

The Chinese texts are clearly and correctly printed and in every way admirably suited for use either in an armchair

or at the serious student's desk, and the low price should help to make the book exceedingly popular. The collection includes too the pieces which were dropped out of the new edition of *Gems*. To the small list of misprints may be added 德善 (p. 3) for 得善, 習 (p. 169) for 霍, and the omission of 還 (p. 41, and in the English). The pieces on pp. 57, 8 should be transposed. But the misprints seem really to be very few.

In conclusion it is very much to be hoped that this welcome prose anthology may soon be followed by a book of verse, giving in the same way the originals of the second volume of *Gems*.

A. C. M.

ÜBER DEN VOKALISMUS DER ERSTEN SILBE IM JURAK-SAMOJEDISCHEN. Anhang: Beobachtungen über den Vokalismus der ersten Silbe im Ursamojedischen. By T. LEHTISALO. 9½ × 6, pp. 123. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura. 1927. Fmk. 75.

Some time ago a work by T. Lehtisalo appeared called *Über den vokalismus der ersten silbe im juraksamojedischen*.¹ The said work, about which I am going to give some particulars and to which I will add some remarks, is the first result of the linguistic studies, which the author has undertaken, founded on material collected among the Samoyedes during the years 1911-12 and 1914. It was then that he studied the Yurak-Samoyede language in North Russia and Western Siberia. As every new work touching these languages, so little known, always naturally awakens interest, there is the more reason to mention the book. I presume that Castrén's research work is known to the reader, but all the same for the sake of those who are not familiar with Ural linguistics I mention that, among others, H. Paasonen in *Beiträge zur finnischugrisch-samojedischen*

¹ In the series "Memoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne LVI", Helsingfors, 1927.

lautgeschichte (1912-17) and E. N. Setälä in *Über art, umfang und alter des stufenwechsels im finnischugrischen und samojedischen* (Finnisch-ugr. Forschungen XII) as well as myself in my Samoyede research work have late dealt with important phases of the phonetics of the Samoyede languages. Without further remarks I now pass on to Lehtisalo's book.

The purpose of his work is chiefly, by the help of different Yurak-Samoyede dialects, to explain the character of the primary Yurak vowels in the first syllable. In an appendix the author tries also to explain the primary Samoyede vowels. The Yurak material was principally collected by Lehtisalo himself, the rest, however, is based chiefly on Castrén's material and the materials published by myself.

As to his method of research it is in conformity with the vowel research applied earlier by the Fenno-Ugrian philologists. Consequently it is quite natural that his plan is clear and distinct. Meanwhile we must here put in an important reservation. As Lehtisalo's material has not been published completely, we can only, when judging of his work, take into consideration the material he gives in his book and only judge of the value of the conclusions he arrives at from the said material. This is a point of view always to be considered when we have to do with research about the history of sounds of a similar kind.

While the limited material renders it more difficult to judge of the work, we can yet state that the author does not always succeed in convincing us of the correctness of his conclusions. It is just on account of the limited, yet specially selected, material, that one can, for instance, be sure of the fact that the half-long vowels did *not* exist in the primary yurakian. First of all we find that the said vowel does not in a single case occur regularly as half-long in all dialects, but that in some it is short, in others long, and in some others it is alternately half-long and long. In some cases the vowel occurs in all the examples, among others in words with half-long *o* before *h*, which proves that this is of secondary kind.

Castrén already points out in his *Grammatik der Samojedischen Sprachen* (p. 4) that it is just an *h* which has a shortening influence on the previous vowel. The loan-words given in the book in proof of the theory are of a recent date and indicate that the occurrence is not old.

In this connection I must comment upon the order in which some of the occurrences are given. Both short, half-long, and long vowels, as well as quality-gradations, have been treated in the first section of the book, and yet the author has placed the chapter at the end, where he speaks about quantity-gradations. The said chapter ought rightly to have been included in the first section.

The conclusions at which the author arrived I consider as far as they concern primary Yurakian vowels—ten in number—to be principally correct. However, I beg to remark that the author has not in a sufficient degree taken into consideration the liquid consonants and their influence on the vowels. He ought to have done so on account of the said consonants not all belonging to the primary Yurakian, their influence on the vowels thus being partly of a comparatively late date. The same remark may be made against his way of bringing together within this part of the investigation of loan-words of different age. A more exhaustive study of old Turkish loan-words, for instance, would, I am sure, have given a very good result.

The latter part of the first section of the book is devoted to the Yurakian qualitative vowel gradations. To begin with, the author tries to eliminate some secondary occurrences. Then he proceeds to a description of gradations, which according to his opinion are primary Yurakian. Castrén has already mentioned the former (*Grammatik*, p. 38), which fact ought to have been noted. The latter gradation Castrén has also dealt with, at least in some places. Yet it is probable that the author, on account of his extensive material, has succeeded in pointing out a great many vowel-gradations, occurring in the first syllable of primary Turakian.

They remind one in a very high degree of similar gradations observed in a number of Fenno-Ugrian languages. However, we want here to express a conjecture that a more thorough sifting of the material, for instance concerning the one-syllabled words, will lead to the elimination of a great number of supposed gradations. In some cases only a couple of instances have sufficed for the author to launch his theory about original vowel gradation. In this he has followed the custom practised by some Fenno-Ugrian philologists immediately to take these instances as proofs of this gradation, which by many have been considered to belong to the consonantal gradation. Castrén's *Grammatik* already shows that other ways of explaining the matter exist.

The second part of the book treats of the first-syllable vowels in primary Samoyede. Starting from results reached in the first part, the author has attempted to throw light on the vowels in the primary language. As was to be expected, he has done his work too much under the influence of the Samoyede language, which he himself studied, and consequently has treated the four others too superficially. Not having, for instance, been able to consult my unpublished material, he has drawn his conclusions from a rather one-sided Yurak-Samoyede point of view. A deeper knowledge about the other Samoyede languages, however, changes the aspect in a vital way. In view thereof, this part of the book is to be looked upon as a reliable collection of examples from the different languages. It will be of great value, as it has been compiled with great judgment. Meanwhile the final result is sure to be a different one when all the new material is accessible. In some places we also notice that the author has not at all attempted to explain things which would have offered great difficulties, such as primary Yurakian **ä*. According to my view he has also in this part not been critical enough when stating vowel-gradations in the primary Samoyede language, which gradations can by no means be looked upon as such. This question in full must wait for its

final solution until all the Samoyede languages have been subjected to an equally thorough research as the Yurakian has been by the author.

Consequently it is our chief duty here to state that the author has collected a valuable linguistic material during his laborious travels for many years; his material throws a clear light upon the language of the Yurak-Samoyedes. He has made use of this material in a way worthy of our appreciation by explaining the vowel system of the different Yurak-Samoyede dialects, and done useful preparatory work for the purpose of throwing light upon the history of the other Samoyede languages.

KAI DONNER.

A SUMERIAN PALACE AND THE "A" CEMETERY AT KISH, MESOPOTAMIA. Part II. By ERNEST MACKAY, with a preface by STEPHEN LANGDON. 13 × 11, pp. 65-215, 42 plates, 1 map. Field Museum-Oxford University Joint Expedition. Bertold Laufer, Curator of Anthropology, Editor. Chicago, 1929.

From Professor Langdon's short preface of sixty-six lines, we learn that the volume contains the first publication of the architectural discoveries and the rich Sumerian archæological treasure recovered at Kish. The site is an important one, not only on account of its extent, but also for its technical details, the arrangement of the passages and chambers, the articles of art and utility found in the ruins and the earth with which they were mingled. To these must be added the extensive cemetery which probably marked it out as a sacred tract—as, indeed, is still more emphasized by the twin temple-towers seen in one of the pictures.

It is needless to say that the forty-two plates which the work contains give a large number of photographs and diagrams—pictures which enable us to estimate the thoroughness of the work done and the industry of those engaged in it.

Two plates are devoted to the plan of the palace "Z", ten to twenty-eight views of the ruins, and one plate has a couple of very successful restorations. The reproductions of the exceedingly ancient inlaid work show how far the artists of Kish had progressed in the third millennium B.C., and afford material for comparison with similar work produced in other Babylonian cities. Especially noteworthy is the rectangular plaque in the middle of plate xxxv. The pieces of shell used for the inlay seem to have been cut straight without much attempt at modelling. The forehead and the nose are not quite in a straight line, but the right arm shows hardly any curve at all. The right (?) leg, on the other hand, is free from stiffness, though rather clumsily carved. The tendency to the nose forming a straight line with the forehead in these inlaid plaques may have originated the bird-like form of the heads in relief found on some of the carved stone objects from Lagaš and elsewhere. Other needful details of the figure in this particular case are engraved on the white inlay to complete the work. With regard to the costume of this figure—possibly the king at the time the plaque was produced—he wears a beard, his hat curves outwards and upwards, making a broad flat crown, and his coat has a long skirt behind reaching almost to the ankle. The head-dress of No. 3 on plate xxxvi has the same form, and the clothing of the figure thereon was probably very similar.

Passing over plates xxxvii–xl, which show objects from the palace "A" and from Greek burials, copper tools and implements, hairpins, needles, spindles, etc., we come to a series of very interesting archaic cylinder-seals, photographed from excellent impressions. The designs vary from mere symbols or ornaments to complicated representations of men and animals struggling together, and forming a symmetrically-arranged frieze in which their bodies cross or, when distinct and separate, assume graceful and well-balanced attitudes and arrangement. As is usual in this class of artistic objects, the human figures are grotesque, but some of the animal-

forms are good. No. 8, which has an inscription, shows a man (the arrangement of whose hair is striking) holding up two bulls by placing his hands under their chins. Like others, there is great fullness of detail. On plate xlv there are depicted models of a two-wheeled and a four-wheeled chariot, fragments of what looks like scale-armour, with other things in clay.

It is needless to say that at this primitive period the builders of Kish were much less advanced than those of later date. The bricks used were plano-convex, and the curved side was set uppermost. They seem never to have been inscribed, and only in special cases were they "thumb-marked". The mortar was made of mud, and was of a better quality than the material of the bricks. As the latter were unbaked, the mortar united with the bricks so closely that it is often difficult to separate them and bricks which can be detached from the mass are rare.

With regard to the plan of the palace "A", that shows, as usual, a number of chambers or passages arranged round a courtyard. Some of the chambers have the remains of brick paving, and it seems probable that they were all paved.

A good idea of the present state of the ruins is obtainable from the photographic views, and one has to admit that Mr. Mackay is right in describing the work as being rough. Judging from the views of the architectural remains at Niffer (probably the Biblical Calneh in the land of Shinar), the buildings there were much better built—the bricks were superior, and the courses of the work carefully laid, though J. P. Peters, the director of the excavations there, states that nothing in the ruins seemed to be really well centred. It is, therefore, doubtful whether the architects and builders anywhere in early Babylonia were so scientific as those of Lagaš, the place where "the architect with the rule" and "the architect with the plan" were found.

Among the most interesting pictures from an architectural point of view are those showing the stairway on plates xxiv and xxv, the recessed flanking tower on plate xxv, the short

row of columns depicted on plate xxvi, the pillared hall on plate xxvii, the massive buttresses on plate xxviii, and the column of specially-formed bricks on plate xxxii.

The two restored views of the palace show how it must have looked when it was the residence of the ruler of Kish, and the Assyrian relief from Khorsabad on the same plate forms a good basis for comparison. But is this relief, with its three towering walls with turrets (three of them adorned with gigantic stags' antlers) situated on high ground, a Babylonian structure?

Professor Langdon's introduction gives the needful chronological details. He regards the ruins as belonging to the time of Kug-Bau and Ur-Ilbaba, of the third and fourth kingdoms of Kish (2943-2753 B.C.). This is the period, he says, to which the mass of Sumerian pottery, copper tools and weapons, ornaments, and seals must be assigned. The last rulers of Kish, however, did not occupy the spacious and stately palace of their ancestors. But "it was already a ruin in the days of Ur-Ilbaba and Sargon", the renowned Šarru-kîn of Agade or Akkad. It is interesting to note that this was the city Kug-Bau (I prefer the transcriptions Kus-Bau or the old reading Azag-Bau), the woman wine-seller, seems to have founded, thus becoming its first ruler. She is said to have reigned 100 years, at the end of which period the overlordship passed to Akshak, but the dominion soon passed back to Kish, for her son succeeded her on the throne in the end.

A most interesting book, a credit to Professor Langdon, Mr. Mackay, and their helpers, as well as a lasting monument to Mr. Herbert Weld, of Lulworth Castle, and the Field Museum of Natural History, who supplied the funds.

T. G. PINCHES.

DIE HAUPTTYPEN DER SUMERISCHEN BESCHWÖRUNG, LITERARISCH UNTERSUCHT. VON ADAM FALKENSTEIN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 104. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1931.

From the cover we learn that this is vol. i of the new series of *Leipzige Semitische Studien*, founded by H. Fischer and H. Zimmern, edited by B. Landsberger and H. H. Schæder. The subject of the monograph was suggested to the author by Dr. Landsberger. The author gives full credit to those who have helped him, naming among them our Professor S. Langdon very prominently.

It was recognized many years ago that the titles (generally the first line of the first tablet of the series) with the colophons and catch-lines, were most useful in showing to what series any incantation-tablet belonged. Notwithstanding the useful work of Professor Bezold in this direction, much still remained to be done, and the author in this book tries to fill up the gaps.

The first part of the book deals with the texts according to the classes into which they may be divided. Those referred to here are the series *Ki d. Utu-kam*, in which prayer and incantations are mingled; the numerous incantations contained in the medical texts; rare incantations with special application, as, for example, the series "Brick-god" (*d. Sig.*). He was apparently the god of construction, and was also called Kulla.

Other series are the "Incantations of the Deep", and the few Sumerian paragraphs in the "wild series" in Craig's RT (*Religious Texts*), and probably elsewhere. In this particular inscription the paragraphs are mainly Semitic—there is one Sumerian paragraph on the obverse, and there was probably more than one on the reverse. Three other classes have been only partly taken into account.

Other sections of the monograph deal with the superscriptions and other indications of the contents of the texts, and there are notes upon their history, etc. The second part of the work treats of the different types of the incantations—"the legitimation type," "the prophylactic type," "the

Marduk-Êa type," a variation of the same, and "the consecration type". Lists of the texts under these headings are given, and the monograph ends with examples of the types as shown by the various formulæ incorporated therein. In the list of headings is a number dealing with the exorcising of evil spirits (*udug hul-gala*), etc. The "legitimation-phrases" are illustrated by those lines containing the words *Mae lu-tutu sanga-mah Enkiga-men*, "I am the man of incantations, the supreme priest of Êa," and this is followed by the words "the lord has sent me".

On the whole the monograph is well put together, with a wealth of detail. References to former workers in this field of research, and to their books, are numerous.

Though devoted to the incantations of the Sumerians, those of the Akkadians are not neglected. The author notes their differences and states that, in the case of the latter, "the powers attacked are no longer the colourless *udug*-embodiments, but living, sharply-outlined demons (*lamastu*) or unpersonified powers (as, for instance, the series *nam-erim-burruda*, used against *mamitu* or untoward fate). Others are directed against magic or against ill-omened visions. Babylonian magic also undertook what may be called attack or defence, as, for example, love-charms. The author describes Akkadian incantations as being shorter, more pregnant, and more realistic than the Sumerian. They are connected occasionally with prayer.

The references to text-books upon the subject might have been more complete with advantage. The author says that those which he does not give will be found in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*—a periodical in many volumes. He would have earned our thanks, however, if he had filled the blank space at the end (three-quarters of a page) with a selection of those absent references.

T. G. PINCHES.

EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION, ITS SUMERIAN ORIGIN AND REAL CHRONOLOGY, AND SUMERIAN ORIGIN OF EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHS. By L. A. WADDELL, LL.D., C.B., C.I.E. 9 × 6½, pp. xx + 223, with 21 plates, 97 text illustrations, and 2 maps. London: Luzac & Co., 1930.

This is an attractive book, mainly on account of the amount of research which it shows and the theories advanced. It is full, moreover, of interesting and instructive pictures. Whether the author has proved his theories or not I must leave the reader to judge. Many portions of the book I have not only read, but also studied. I wish that I could say that I am convinced.

The book, however, as I have said, is full of pictures. There are five plates of Babylonian characters and Egyptian hieroglyphs compared; a plan of early Egyptian tombs; labels from the Menes tombs in Egypt; good photographs of Indus Valley seals (plates iv, v, xi, and xv); half-tone and outline pictures of Man-ištusu; a long plate of comparative transcriptions; Naram-Sin's stele of victory and his portrait in relief; Nar-Mer's slate-palette of victory; the tomb of King Dudu at Abydos, etc. As will be seen from these details, this book covers a wide extent of ground—wider, in fact, than anyone would ever have suspected for the great rulers of the Euphrates Valley. That the civilization of Babylonia may have had its origin much farther east has already been suggested, owing to the statements of Berossos that creatures came forth from the sea to teach the Babylonians agriculture and the arts of civilization. There is no reference to Eastern visitors, however, in Berossos, and as he wrote more than 2,000 years ago, any ruler whose territory or influence had extended to India on the east and to the west of Egypt on the west would certainly have been remembered, nor do I know any tradition to that effect at such an early date. So wide a domain would have been something to be proud of, and its ruler's renown would certainly have endured until classical times, and therefore

to the present day. It is not merely necessary that Indian records should contain references to territory in lands far to the west, but it is also needful that rulers of Sumer and Egypt should claim dominion over India.

Apparently these statements of dominion over Mesopotamia (Sumer) come from the seals found in the Indus-valley. The text given on pl. iv, No. 10, consisting of nine characters, is transcribed by the author as follows:—

Umun-man a-ha mar sha-ga-ni bara gu-edin-ash.

Over lord-Companion Aha the son of Sha-Gani, the *Pharaoh* in Edin land.

The next is given as follows:—

Shag-man ma-anshu bara gu ag-du-ash.

Under King-Companion Mānshu, the *Pharaoh* of Edin (or Agdu) land.











I should say that the first character in each case was the same—two variant forms. Also I should not read it *umun*, as it looks like the Sumerian *ša* or *šag*, meaning “heart”. I should likewise fear to read the character with a certain resemblance to *amar* as *mar*, and to translate it “son”. The words for “son” in Sumerian are *ibila* and *dumu* (or *duwu*)—*māru*, “son,” is Semitic, to all appearance. To each four of the twelve identical upright strokes which express the next word a different value is given. To this I have no objection—the Assyro-Babylonians were rather prone to this kind of thing, but arranged as they are, as though to express the number “12”, this seems unlikely. Passing over Sagani for Sargani, we come to the Sumerian character *bara*. This, like its Semiticized form *parakku*, generally means “sanctuary”, but as it might stand for the dweller at a sanctuary, the equivalence with “pharaoh” is not impossible. The Egyptian Pir-ô, however, is two words, and is said to mean “great house”—it has been compared with “Sublime Porte”.

In *ma-anshu* the comparison with the Sumerian *anšu* or *anši*, an ass’s head, is striking, but the character for “ship”,

ma, which precedes it, seems doubtful. The place-name *Gu-Agdu* also seems to be risky. Apparently the author puts this forward as a shortened form of *Agade*, "Akkad."

There are several of these inscriptions, all couched, as Dr. Waddell shows, in a similar form. In one of these *a-ha* becomes *a-ha-men*, the *a* replaced by *u*, written on the body of the fish-hieroglyphic representing *ha*. In the next example this *u* appears above the same hieroglyph, the curved ends downwards. In this text *men* differs, being the picture of a tongue (apparently) crossed by diagonal lines. The characters transcribed as *ag-du* (see above) also differ considerably from those so transcribed in the previous texts. This *Aha(?)*-*men* is described in the translation as being "The Gut". In the next example the same *A-ha* is transcribed as *s'u-ha*, "son of the Goth Gin."

These renderings may be right or they may be wrong, but time will show. They are very ingenious, and exhibit remarkable skill in their comparisons with the outline Sumerian forms. But the hieroglyphs on p. 189 would have nonplussed most people. And then the varying values—how they must have puzzled the ancient readers of these texts in the Valley of the Indus.

As a confirmation of a certain connection between Sumerian and Egyptian, however, it may be noted that there are two undoubted comparisons which may be made. These are    in Sumerian *mu-anna*, "name of heaven," which is used for "year", and the Egyptian , *ronpet*, "year," with a punning reference to the Egyptian *ran pet*, "name of heaven." In this there is no likeness between the Assyro-Babylonian sign-group and the Egyptian hieroglyph. In the case of    , *Asari*, one of the names of Merodach, and the Egyptian  , *Wasiri*, "Osiris," on the other hand, there is both identity in the characters and likeness in the name. *Asari*, it may here be noted, is not so much like *Wasiri* as it ought to be if one was borrowed from the

other, and that being the case, it is probable that the Egyptian scribes copied the Sumerian group owing to the chance likeness between the names of the chief god of their respective pantheons. It may be noted that during the latest period the *Wa* or *Wo* or *O* of *Wasiri* or *Osiris* seems not to have been pronounced. The Babylonians heard the name of Osiris as *Siri*, and it appears as *Ser* in Serapis. The differing vocalization of Osiris also seems to prove that it is not the same name as the Sumero-Babylonian *Asari*.

On pp. 150-3 is given a list of Sumerian or early Aryan kings "from Rise of Civilization to Kassî Dynasty, c. 1200 B.C.". These kings number about 104, and begin with "Ukisi of Ukhu City or Udu, Uduin or *Odin*, Indar, Induru, Dur, Pur, Sakh, Sagaga, Zagg, Gaur, or Adar". He reigned thirty years (3378-3340 approximate), and his Indian List names are given as Ikshvaku or Indra or Sakko or Puru (-ravas). The other kings of this list have fewer names (rather more than half of them only one).

Gaur is given in the Weld-Blundell Prism (col. 1, line 43) as the name of a king of Kiš (Oheimer). Professor Langdon, who has edited this text, points out that Gaur (the reading is doubtful) corresponds with the Evexius of Alexander Polyhistor, and the *Εὐήχιος* of Syncellus, which Gutschmidt corrects to *Εὐήχορος* (see *The Weld-Blundell Collection*, vol. ii, p. 9, footnote 3). The character *ga* or *mal* (supposing the Greek transcription to be correct) possibly ought to have the character *an* inside it, and in that case it would be pronounced *Ama* or *Awa*, *Eme* or *Ewe*, and this would give the first two syllables of Euechoros. His successor was, according to this text, Kulla-Ašnanna-bela, which the Greek copyist-scribe has reproduced as Khomasbēlos. In this it seems clear that *Khoma* ought to be *Kholla*, the Greek *ΛΛ* having been united, thus forming *M*, whilst the syllables *anna* have disappeared. The *bi* or *be* of *βηλος* is doubtful in the Babylonian text, but the Greek shows that this reading is possible and even probable. Dr. Waddell's successor to

Ukusi or Gaur, etc., is "Azag Ama Basam or Bakus, Tama Mukhla, Gin, Gan or Kan or Nimmirud". His reign is given as twelve years.

Noteworthy is the author's rendering of Hammu-Rabi's name as "Great Lotus". The Babylonians rendered it as *Kimta-rapaštum*, "my family is widespread," or the like. This is undoubtedly incorrect—it probably means "(the god) 'Amm is great". Though he belonged to the Dynasty of Babylon, he is regarded as having been of Arabic origin (this was suggested many years ago).

If I have made wrong identifications in this notice, they are due to what may be called the ruthless overthrow of our preconceived ideas which this book contains. With regard to the main point—the relations of primitive Mesopotamia with India—this has received confirmation quite lately from the Anglo-American excavations at Kiš, where a seal like those from the Indus Valley has been found in pre-Sargonic strata. This is revealed in an interesting article by Professor Langdon in the *Daily Telegraph* of 5th May. He also reminds us that similar seals have been found at Kiš, Lagaš, Umma, Ur, and Susa; and it would therefore appear that a race, related to the Sumerians, who had founded a great civilization in India before 3000 B.C., had close commercial relations with Šumer and Elam in that remote period. The decorations of the old Sumerian palace at Kiš, he says, have revealed a race of kings and prisoners whose dress and tonsure are totally unlike those of the Sumerians. "They wear the pigtail tonsure, and surely indicate a foreign invasion." "It is not impossible that this site (Kiš) may provide a bilingual clue, and provide a solution of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Indus valley."

Dr. Waddell's book is a courageous essay to solve the question.

T. G. PINCHES.

DAMONENGLAUBE IM LANDE DER BIBEL. VON TAUFIK CANAAN, Dr. Med. Jerusalem. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. v + 64. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

From the back of the title-page we learn that this is the twenty-first part of *Morgenland*—*Darstellungen aus Geschichte und Kultur des Ostens*, edited by Professor W. Schubart, and that parts 1–11 appeared under the title *Beihefte zum Alten Orient*. The present work is divided into six parts containing subsections to the number of about thirty, each having a different title, from which we find that the author deals, among other things, with the good spirits, the *jinn*s, their nourishment and their clothing, fire-demons, the souls of the departed, demons' dwelling-places, water-, tree-, and house-demons, the evil eye, the evil soul, etc. Certain related subjects which the author mentions have been omitted, but even in its restricted form the book is an exceedingly interesting work, giving much information upon the subject. A part of these beliefs in demons and spirits is of post-exilic Hebrew origin, but an even greater portion comes from the older civilization of Western Asia.

As the gods of the heathen of old were regarded by the Jews and others as demons, with certain sections the demons seem to have been looked upon in the light of gods. The deity Beelzebub is an example of the former point of view, for he became the prince of demons, and was seemingly identified with the devil. As western influence is weakening these superstitions, the author is collecting them and recording them whilst they are still in the memory of the people.

A short comparison of the evil powers with the good shows that they have many characteristics in common, the boundary-line between them not being sharply defined.

The belief in demons and spirits, both good and evil, being the common property as it were of the nations of the East, it is not surprising that they believed, and still believe, that every child that is born had both a good and an evil spirit attached to him, to help or to hinder him throughout his life.

All the jinns are supposed to have been formed out of fire—"fire of the *samūm*" and "smokeless fire" are mentioned. "God formed men from the earth, angels from light, and demons from fire." "God formed the first demon, named Marij, from fire." He was apparently thus named as the lord of smokeless fire. Lighted candles and lamps are therefore inhabited by demons. Ovens also are regarded as the dwelling-places of demons.

The rejected angels became demons because, when ordered by God to fall down before Adam, Iblis refused, regarding himself as a superior being. Owing to this disobedience God threw Iblis out of Paradise and condemned him to eternal torment.

Many are the strange legends quoted in this book—legends concerning the habits and the doings of the evil spirits in which the inhabitants of Palestine believe.

One of the strangest relates how several nights in succession a mother saw the cradle in which her whimpering infant was sleeping rock, and in the end the father watched and saw that a serpent was moving it, and thus trying to quiet the child. He tried (seemingly ungratefully) to kill the serpent, whereupon it changed into a cat, then into a hare, and finally into a mule. This the man also attacked, when it vanished with a loud cry. The man afterwards changed his abode—the spirit did not follow.

Just as strange—even bizarre—is the following from the notes at the end. It is due evidently to the desire of the people to explain their belief that demons dwell among men. The devil brought one of his sons to Eve with the request that she would bring him up. When Adam heard this, he cut him into four parts. The devil then brought him to life again, and delivered him to Eve once more. This time Adam burnt him and scattered his ashes in the sea. The devil roused him to life again, and brought him to Eve a third time. Adam, enraged, now slaughtered him, and having had him baked, devoured him along with Eve. At this Satan

rejoiced, and said, " Now I have attained my end, and I shall remain dwelling in man."

Just think of it—Eve asked to bring up a little devil, and afterwards aiding and abetting Adam in the cooking and eating of that devil, whilst Satan, the devil's father, looks on with a sardonic smile.

Though spirits are generally invisible, and therefore unsubstantial, the *jinn*s like to eat, and prefer the food of man ; but they cannot eat it if the name of God has been pronounced over it. A *jinn* living in the house of a pious man therefore goes continually hungry, but eats his fill in the house of a man who does not say " In the name of God " when he prepares food or measures out its ingredients.

Dr. Canaan may be congratulated on having produced a very interesting and attractive book in this brief survey of Demonology in Bible-lands.

T. G. PINCHES.

JAPANISCHE FRÜHGESCHICHTE : Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Territorialverfassung von Alt Japan bis zum 5. Jahrh. n. Chr. von A. WEDEMEYER. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xvi + 346, maps 3. 1930. Mks. 24.

KOREANISCHE MUSIK. Von P. Dr. ANDREAS ECKHARDT, O.S.B. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. viii + 63, illus. 42. 1930. Mks. 10. Both books from Tokyo, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens. Im Buchhandel zu beziehen durch : Verlag Asia Major.

The admirably documented and meticulously compiled work of A. Wedemeyer will prove indispensable to all students of Japanese history. He has worked through Japanese sources with untiring patience and delivers to the world much new material, above all in the matter of chronology.

The especial aim of the work, according to the author, is to call attention to a Japanese source for early Japanese chronology which has, until now, remained unnoticed by

the outer world. With the help of this source new dates for early rulers of the Kingdom of the Rising Sun can be established. Dates which will bring the ages of such Rulers who are mentioned in the Kojiki, the Nihongi, and the Kujiki, within the usual span of human life.

The work is divided into two parts :—

Part I : Zur Chronologie der frühjapanische Geschichte.

Part II : Das Kokuzō-hongi und die Territorialverfassung Altjapans.

Part I contains eight chapters. First "Das Problem und die Quellen" is discussed ; then follows a chapter on Die Regierungszeit der Jingō Kōgō which, according to the new dating, falls A.D. 363–89. In the next two chapters the reigns of Ōjin Tennō and those from Nintoku to Yūryka are studied. Chapters v and vi deal with the relations between Japan and China in the fifth century of our era ; and those between Central Japan and Korea before Jingō Kōgō. Chapter vii describes the reigns of the Rulers of Jimmu until Chuai, and chapter viii discusses Queen Himiku and Sujin Tennō.

Part II contains but three chapters. The first is introductory ; the second gives details regarding Die Begründungsgeschichte der Kuninomiyaatsuko-Verfassung ; and the third details upon Kuni ("Landschaften") and Miyake ("Königliche Höfe").

A bibliography ; a translation of, and notes upon, "Das Kokuzō-hongi oder 'Verzeichnis der Ursprünge der Königlichen Hausknappen ob den Landen' " ; and three detailed maps bring this most scientific volume to a close.

Dr. Eckhardt's work on Korean music, the first to appear in a European language with the exception of one in French by M. Courant, is most interesting.

The basis of this music is, of course, Chinese, but Dr. Eckhardt considers that certain developments are essentially indigenous ; and he finds more melody in Korean music than in Chinese. Furthermore, as the ancient music is more frequently performed in Korea than anywhere else in the

East, it can best be studied there. Performances are still given at the Confucian festivals, at banquets in the palace of Prince I, and sometimes on special occasions for invited guests.

Dr. Eckhardt has had unusual opportunities for studying the art, and presents his material in a concise and charming manner. He treats first the Oriental attitude towards music, and the close connection which exists between music, literature, philosophy, and religion in the Far East. He then discusses in turn the structure and divisions of music; the historical records dealing with the same; the different instruments; musical notation, melody, and harmony; the productions, orchestral, choral, and so on; and finally gives characteristic examples of airs from the treasury of Korean music.

The numerous illustrations are excellent; many being from photographs taken by the author himself with the permission of Mr. Suemat, who is in charge of the Prince's household.

This booklet is certainly one of the most enlightening contributions to the study of Oriental music which I know.

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

THE GRASS ROOF. By YOUNGHILL KANG. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 367.

New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931.

10s. 6d.

A reading of Mr. Kang's most charming book can but make the living, breathing Korea a reality to a denizen of the West, be he never so unimaginative.

The ribbon which girdles this world can but be drawn the tighter now that a generation of young Orientals is growing up who command our language and who can act to us Occidentals as interpreters of their lands and of their thoughts.

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

ORIGINES MEDITERRANEAE. Die vorgeschichtlichen Mittelmeervölker nach Ursprung, Schichtung und Verwandtschaft. Ethnologisch-Linguistische Forschungen über Euskaldunak (Urbasken), Alarodier und Proto-Phrygen, Pyrenaeo-Kaukasier und Atlanto-Ligurer, West- und Ostiberer, Liguro-Leleger, Etrusker und Pelasger, Tyrrhener, Lyder und Hetiter, mit Exkursen über Atlantis, die Süd-, Mittel-, Ostasiatische und die Amerikanische Völkerwelt. By Dr. JOSEPH KARST. 10 × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 725. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1931. Price M. 40.

The long title permits this notice to be brief and the vast number of questions, more or less controversial, raised in the book—which surveys the whole world—could only be examined in several volumes. The high reputation of the distinguished author, Professor at Strasbourg, entitles his work to respectful attention, and every page is provocative of thought. Book I deals systematically with the prehistoric peoples of the Mediterranean and Western Asia. Book II is devoted to the Basques. Book III is of so general a character that it includes Ainus, Atlantis, Iberians, treated from the anthropological-ethnographic point of view. The present volume is to be studied in conjunction with Karst's *Grundsteine zu einer Mittelländisch-asianischen Urgeschichte* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1928). The appendix (pp. 396-613) is bewildering in its variety of subjects. There is a copious bibliography (pp. xxi-xxxvi). At the end, we have a triple index (of proper names, ethnological, linguistic) followed by about 60 pp. of supplementary notes and corrections. A glance at any page of the index will suffice to rouse the curiosity of readers of almost any kind, to send them to the text, and evoke their admiration for the great industry and ingenuity of the author.

O. W.

DAS KHARTWELISCHE VERBUM. By GERHARD DEETERS.
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 258. Leipzig: Markert & Petters, 1930.
 Price M. 23.

Terror of the verb has done more than anything to hinder the study of Georgian, and now serious students have in a language they can all read a clearly arranged handbook which will help them as beginners, even though they may afterwards modify some of the author's views when, by his aid, they have become familiar with the subject. In this matter there need be no fear of finality; for many years to come many ink-bottles may be emptied in the attempt to bring the Georgian verb within as easy reach of understanding as the Greek verb.

Dr. Deeters is no novice, and the text of his book shows in its wealth of quotations that he has carefully studied the books cited. He pays a tribute of praise to Marr's *Fundamental Tables* (1908), though he says it is not quite free from errors, but he is less favourable to Marr's *Grammar of Ancient Literary Georgian* (1925). Dr. Deeters tells us that in the book before us he has not only used recently published palimpsests, and the literature of all periods, but the dialects, including that spoken by Georgians in Persia. His systematic arrangement, in fifteen chapters with sub-headings, followed by an index of Georgian, Mingrelian, Laz, and Svan verbal roots, makes reference easy. This volume is preliminary to a historical comparative grammar of the Southern Caucasian languages, which will facilitate a comparison with the northern Caucasian group, and, subsequently, with the ancient languages of the Near East.

O. W.

LA LYDIE ET SES VOISINS AUX HAUTES ÉPOQUES. By RENÉ DUSSAUD, Membre de l'Institut, Conservateur des Musées Nationaux. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 106, map, 5 pl. + 15 figs. Paris: Geuthner, 1930.

This short but important study must be the first yet devoted to Lydia of the Bronze Age. The distinguished

archæologist develops the thesis that the region later called Lydia was civilized under the direct influence of Mesopotamian people early in the third millennium, and so well before the Hittite epoch, and that Hittite influence in western Asia Minor is hardly noticeable even in the palmy days of the Hittite Empire. The argument may perhaps be abbreviated as follows: Before Sargon of Akkad Mesopotamian merchants were established in Cappadocia, bringing with them cuneiform writing and all that that implies of civilization. In the time of Sargon and Naram-Sin arms followed trade, and according to tradition (so the Omens of Sargon are interpreted) Sargon reached the Ægean. By commerce Mesopotamian civilization was propagated all over Asia Minor, and Lydia, situated at the end of the great eastern trade routes, probably mediated Mesopotamian influences (towards the end of the third millennium) to Troy and beyond. The naked goddess of Mesopotamian type is found in western Asia Minor already about this time. Of special importance is the very remarkable Tyszkiewicz seal, obviously of the same origin with one in the Louvre from near Aïdin (Tralles), and representing according to M. Dussaud a local ritual, yet showing incontestably Sumero-Akkadian characteristics. These seals, by comparison with an analogous impression from Cappadocia, are dated about 2000 at latest; and are therefore proof of a Sumero-Akkadian cultural tradition in Lydia of the third millennium. Lydian independence of imperial Hittite civilization in the second millennium is proved especially by the geography of the Hittite texts, and by a study of the pottery of the period. Tradition confirms the connection between Lydia and Mesopotamia: e.g. Belos and Ninos in the genealogy of the Heraclidae, the legend of Melos's exile to Babylon. In Genesis x, Lud is brother not of the other Asianics but of Assur.

The thesis is impressive. It may be confirmed some day, as the author hints, by the discovery of cuneiform in Lydia.

Not all will agree to the explanation of the Sargonic omen

text. The lack of place-names from west of Cappadocia in the commercial documents of Kül Tepe seems to need recognition and conciliation with the theory of an all-Anatolian extension of this commerce. As regards the earliest period (third millennium) the essential argument seems to be that from the seals. If they are rightly interpreted (as against Father Ronzevalle) and are actually Trallian work, evidently M. Dussaud's principal position is established.

E. B.

KERN INSTITUTE, LEYDEN: ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1929. Published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands India and with the support of the Imperial Government of India. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xi + 140, figs. 10, pls. 8. Leyden: E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1931.

Professor Vogel, together with his colleagues, Professors Krom and Kramers and Dr. Fábri, has again endowed the learned world with a volume—the fourth one of the series—of his magnificent *Bibliography of Indian Archæology*. The main thing that could be said against this work is that its title is a far too modest one; for, in reality, it covers a far vaster ground than that of Indian archæology alone. However, the fellow scholars of Professor Vogel have already got used to the liberality with which he lavishes upon them most precious information, not only on archæological subjects but also on a series of cognate topics, and will feel themselves under a still deeper obligation to him and his colleagues for doing so.

The volume, like the previous ones, opens with a series of articles dealing with excavations in various parts of the East. Professor Sylvain Lévi, whose indefatigable zeal is often crowned by most happy discoveries, describes how with the help of the *Karma-vibhaṅga*, a text of which he himself discovered in Nepāl, and which does besides exist in Tibetan, in Chinese, and in a fragmentary shape in Kuchean, he succeeded in identifying the sculptures of the

buried basement of Barabudur, which had presented a serious puzzle to previous investigators, such as Kern, Krom, and van Erp. Dr. Goloubew reports on explorations in Indo-China, viz. at the Prah Khan temple at Angpor and at Trà-Kiêu. Dr. J. Pearson, Officiating Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon, tells about certain excavations at Anurādhapura, where the find of a Persian cross seems to confirm the statement of Cosmas that *ἐν Ταπροβάνῃ νήσῳ . . . καὶ ἐκκλησία Χριστιανῶν ἐστίν . . . καὶ ἐπίσκοπός ἐστιν ἀπὸ Περσίδος χειροτονούμενος* (*Χριστιανικὴ Τοπογραφία*, ed. Winstedt, p. 119, cp. note on p. 344 sqq.). Recent discoveries have also brought to light the existence of Megalithic structures in Ceylon, where until now they were unknown.

A special interest is presented by the report on Mr. Hargreaves' archæological discoveries at the Sampur Mound, Mastung, and at the Sohr Damb, Nāl, in Balūcistān. It is sincerely to be hoped that the explorations carried out in that country by Sir Aurel Stein and Mr. Hargreaves will soon be followed up in a successful way. For, there can be no doubt—as is also pointed out on p. 14 of the *Annual Bibliography*—that in Balūcistān and the neighbouring countries to the West we may find the connecting links between the civilizations of Mesopotamia and that of the lower Indus valley. For even if the founders of Mohenjo Daro were not Sumerians, which seems quite improbable, they must probably have been in close contact with the older inhabitants of the Euphrat-Tigris valley; and there can be little or no doubt that they made their way towards Sindh through Sīstān and Balūcistān, countries, the aboriginal inhabitants of which must have long continued to live in a very primitive state of culture. Even during the time of Alexander, not much of a higher civilization seems to have reached them. So far no great affinities to the Indus valley culture seem to have been proved by the discoveries at Nāl, discoveries which are, however, still in their infant stage.

The introduction winds up with a short report on Professor Herzfeld's tour to Nihāwand and Burūdjird in Lūristān, where important finds seem to have been made. If we are to trust the learned explorer, the pottery of Nihāwand must be older than that of Susa II and must belong to the period between 3000 and 2750 B.C. At that same place a great number of bronze tools were unearthed which are of excellent make, and clearly belong to the early Bronze Age. Although it seems a little early yet to share the optimistic views of Professor Herzfeld on the origin of the various cultures of Asia Anterior, there can be slight doubt that these finds are of primary importance as affording a link between the early civilizations of Asia Minor and those of Western Iran.

The bibliography contains no less than 731 numbers, and is, as usual, as complete and excellent as could well be wished. In the interest of Indian archæology and history, it is to be hoped that this series will find all the support—both economic and scientific—which is needed to keep it even in future on its present very high level. For this time we take leave of Professor Vogel and his colleagues with due thanks and with a sincere *punardarśanāya*.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 37.

AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL TOUR IN WAZĪRISTĀN AND NORTHERN BALŪCHISTĀN. By Sir AUREL STEIN. pp. 97 + iii, pls. 21, 8 sketch-plans, 1 map. Calcutta : Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1929.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 42.

AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL TOUR IN UPPER SWĀT AND ADJACENT HILL TRACTS. By Sir AUREL STEIN. pp. iii + 115, pls. 8. Calcutta : Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1930.

The first one of these works contains the report on the exploring tour undertaken by Sir Aurel Stein through

Waziristān and the northern parts of Balūčistān during the months of January–April, 1927, a tour that covered a distance of some 1,400 miles. The immediate cause for starting upon this tour was the splendid discoveries made from 1923 onwards at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, which had brought to light the remains of a civilization that seemed to present striking parallels with the finds of Mesopotamia, of Susa, Anau, and Sistān. Though the very limited time seems to have made it possible to Sir Aurel Stein to undertake systematic excavations only on a minor scale there can be little doubt that among his finds there are several which seem apt to establish a link between the prehistoric civilization of the Indus valley and those of more Western countries.

The remains investigated and dealt with here are either of Buddhist or of prehistoric origin, the later ones apparently occupying the greater space and claiming the greater interest. Unfortunately, reports on rubble, potsherds, and charred bones do not make any very exciting reading—especially when they run into great detail. And the reviewer, not being an archæologist himself, cannot enter upon a minute discussion of the finds—he must be content with pointing out their undoubted general importance. It must be an urgent task incumbent upon the Archæological Survey of India as soon as possible to put the spade into the largely virgin soil of Balūčistān; and there can be little doubt that the workers in that field of excavation will very soon reap their well-earned and splendid reward.

We would allow ourselves to lodge a mild protest against the identification suggested by the late Professor Hillebrandt of the name *Zhōb* with that of *Yavyāvatī* (*RV.* vi, 27, 6) which is now endorsed by Sir Aurel Stein (p. 3, n. 3). For, even if the same river be really meant there is little or no possibility for the names being identical. On *tōe*, *tōi* (p. 24, n. 1) cf. Morgenstierne, *Etymol. Voc. of Pashto*, p. 79; the form *tauṣī* quoted from the *Rājatarāṅgīnī* is certainly nothing but a false Sanskritism.

The second one of these Memoirs contains the report on Sir Aurel's rightly famous tour of exploration to the Upper Swāt valley carried out during the months of March-May, 1926, the crowning feat of which was the identification of Pīr-sar with the much discussed **Aopros*. We have already been made familiar with this very important discovery through articles in the *London Illustrated News*, the Royal Geographical Society's *Journal*, and above all through that delightful book *On Alexander's Track to the Indus* (1929). Still it affords one a vivid pleasure to re-read in this memoir the clear and detailed report of the expedition which led to the thrilling discovery of the site of one of Alexander's most daring feats of arms.

About the fact that Pīr-sar is really identical with **Aopros* there ought scarcely to be any doubt. Though it were theoretically possible that a future explorer might discover another site in this neighbourhood, which would perhaps equally well answer to the descriptions afforded us by the classical authors, there is little chance that such will ever be the case. We may be well confident that Sir Aurel Stein has solved this great riddle for all time to come. However, the present writer feels less easy about the identification of the name **Aopros* with modern *Ūn*. Curiously enough, Sir Aurel does not seem to have taken into account the existence of a second **Aopros* as recorded by Arrian iii, 29, 1 (*Ἀλέξανδρος δε ἐς Δράψακα ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς ἼΑορνον τε ἦγε καὶ Βάκτρα, αἱ δὲ μέγισταί εἰσι πόλεις ἐν τῇ Βακτρίων χώρᾳ*). This would most probably suggest that **Aopros* was not an Indian or Dardic name but an Iranian one and ought to be dealt with phonetically according to the laws of such languages. It seems possible that it is not originally even a proper name but may perhaps represent an Old Iranian **āvarəna-*, Indian *āvaraṇa*-¹ in the sense of "fortification, fort", which might scarcely be rendered by the modern *Ūn*. Still less confidence is inspired by the

¹ Cf. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, II², p. 148, n. 3.

identification—which the author himself considers uncertain—of Arrian's *Ῥοπα* with the modern *Uḍe(grām)* which is again derived from the ancient *Uḍḍiyāna*. Curtius calls the place *Nora*, a form which cannot perhaps well be neglected. As for a third identification suggested here *Bīr* may perhaps go back to a form which Arrian renders by *Βάξιπα* though even this seems fairly uncertain.

The report does, however, not only deal with the successful following up of Alexander's track along the Swāt valley, although this does undoubtedly form its most important contents. Sir Aurel Stein also tells us of his visits to well-nigh innumerable remains of Buddhist *stūpas*, *vihāras*, and other monuments, all of them testifying to the powerful grip that Buddhism did at one time hold upon the minds of the inhabitants of these far-away valleys of the North-West. That the indefatigable explorer has succeeded in identifying a number of these monuments with such ones mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, and above all by the most careful of them all, Yüan Tsang, only adds to the interest of this fascinating report.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 44.

EXPLORATION IN ORISSA. By RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.
pp. 27, pls. 9. Calcutta : Government of India Central
Publication Branch, 1930.

Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda, of the Indian Museum at Calcutta, has made an interesting tour of exploration through Orissa, details of which are reported upon in this memoir. The people of Orissa seem to have adopted already at an early date the religion preached by the Enlightened One, it appearing fairly probable that the population of the province consisted mainly of Buddhists even during the reign of Aśoka. And in Orissa Buddhism lingered on even at a time when in nearly all of India it had been either ousted or absorbed by Śaivism and Tantrism encroaching upon it from every side. Nay, even

to-day Buddhists—not recently converted ones—are said to exist in Orissa though of their original faith certainly next to nothing remains left.

Thus the most important finds made by Mr. Chanda consist of Buddhist monuments, some of them apparently dating as far back as the sixth and seventh centuries of our era, though the greater part of them are decidedly later. However, Mr. Chanda has also succeeded in unearthing a great many Brahmanical deities, foremost among whom seem to be the terrible and disgusting Mother-goddesses. Amongst them the first place is easily claimed by the horrible, blood-quaffing, and flesh-tearing Chāmuṇḍā, whose emaciated figure belongs to the most hideous and nauseating things that any art has yet been able to bring forth. We must confess that we feel but little inclined to agree with the author's "symbolic" explanation of this monster, pious and idealistic though it be. In contemplating Chāmuṇḍā there is little room for any feeling except horror and disgust, and horror was what she was from her very origin meant to inspire. One of the foremost of contemporary scholars who knows India as well as does any living man has once written down some very true words about considering "the popular tribal religions (of India) as cults of bloodshed based on terror" (Sir George Grierson, *JRAS.*, 1907, 494); and from such tribal religions Chāmuṇḍā and her sisters were raised to occupy a place within the pantheon of modern Hinduism.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHES LESEBUCH. Der Islām mit Ausschluss des Qor'āns. By JOSEPH SCHACHT. Second enlarged edition. 9 × 6, pp. xii + 196. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1931.

This useful volume, one of a series illustrating the history of religion by means of "Quellentexte" in German translation, provides a conspectus of the development of Sunnite Islam from the death of the Prophet to the present day, and within

the limits imposed by practical considerations and clearly defined in the author's preface it is as complete as could be expected. Only a glimpse is given of Shī'ism and the more specifically Persian side of Islam exemplified by such men as Abū Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khair and Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī. It seems to me a superficial view of Persian mystical poetry to suggest that its chief value consists in "poetischen Schönheiten", rather than in the perfect harmony of its form with a peculiar and well-marked *Weltanschauung* of which these beauties are the artistic expression; but the question need not be discussed here. Professor Schacht has drawn his materials almost entirely from Arabic sources, and considering the *embarras des richesses* through which he had to pick his way, I think he is to be congratulated on his selection of so many characteristic and significant passages which, for the most part, have not been translated before. The subject-matter is arranged under six heads: (1) Tradition, (2) Religious Law, (3) Dogmatic Theology, (4) Mysticism and Ethics, (5) Writings of Reformers, (6) Modernism. *Hadīth* is represented by extracts from Bukhārī, Muslim, and Abū Dāwūd, while the *Arba'īn* of Nawawī is translated in full; orthodox *Kalām* by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Ghazālī, and others, Mu'tazilite by Nazzām, Shī'ite by 'Allāma al-Ḥillī, and there are three creeds ('*aqā'id*) by Abū Ḥanifa, Ash'arī, and Nasafī. The longest section is that which covers the mystical, ethical, and devotional aspects of Islam; Massignon's *Recueil des textes inédits*, its main source, is supplemented by specimens of Ibnu 'l-Fārīd, Ibnu 'l-Jauzī (*Talbīs Iblīs*), Jīlī (*Insān al-Kāmil*), and Jazūlī (*Dalā'il al-Khairāt*). The Reformers whose writings are excerpted include Ibn Taimiyya, Ṣan'ānī, and Muḥammad b. al-Wahhāb and his son, while among the Modernists, besides S. Khuda Bukhsh and Ṭāhā Ḥusain, who are still living, we meet with such well-known authors as Muḥammad 'Abdu, Syed Ameer Ali, and the Turkish nationalist Ziya Gökalp. These names may serve to indicate the scope of the volume. Although it is not easy

reading, students who already possess some knowledge of the subject will find the faithful and accurate translations extremely instructive, even if the footnotes are too brief to make everything clear. The latter deal to some extent with textual criticism. Professor Schacht's emendations are generally convincing, but his proposal to read *يَزِيهِمْ* (n. 689) would destroy the metre of the verse; the text (*يَزِيهِمْ*) is sound; for the *ishbā'* see Wright, vol. ii, p. 389. In the next verse of the same poem the text (Massignon, *Recueil*, p. 138) gives *تراهم شاخصين بغير كتب* for which the translator proposes *شاحين بغير كآب*. I would make no change except *كتب* for *كتب* and translate, "Thou seest them staring fixedly (in bewilderment) without having been thrown prostrate." The only translation from the Persian in this book (pp. 123-5) is that of the celebrated *mustazād* by Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī (*Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrīz*, ed. of Tabriz, A.H. 1280, p. 199 seq.). Massignon has printed the text in his *Recueil*, p. 141, and translated it in his *Passion*, p. 422. As the poem is a favourite of mine, I take this opportunity of correcting several errors which Professor Schacht has repeated or left unnoticed. Verse 1: Read *پیر و جوان شد* V. 3: The word following *آتش* is, of course, the Persian *گل*, not the Arabic *كُل*. Translate: "Hence the fire became roses" (i.e. its torments were turned into delights). The reference is to *Qur.* xxi, 69. V. 4: Read *تا دیده عیان شد*, as required by the metre, and translate: "so that the eye became (endued with) clear vision." V. 5: Translate: "hence it (the staff) became the glory of kings." V. 6: Read *نه تاسخ*. In this context *منسوخ* cannot mean "abrogated", nor can *حقیقت* (which Rūmī often uses instead of *الحقیقت*) be the grammatical subject of *شمشیر شد*. I would translate: "What is the

object transformed ? (This is) not transmigration of souls, for in reality it was the (same) Beautiful One that became a sword, etc." قتالِ زمان " the (champion) Slaughterer of (all) time ", i.e. unparalleled in the world. V. 10 : Here Professor Schacht finds an allusion to Iblīs, but " war " should be " ist ", and it is more natural to suppose that the poet means, " Do not call *me* an infidel : the (real) infidel is the person who has denied (my doctrine) and (thereby) become one of those who are doomed to Hell." I need scarcely add that these criticisms are quite exceptional and in no way affect the high standard of scholarship which is maintained throughout the volume.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE MANUSCRITS PAUL SBATH, PRÊTRE SYRIEN
D'ALEP. Catalogue by the Owner. Two volumes,
9½ × 6, pp. 205 and 252. Cairo : H. Friedrich & Co., 1928.

The 1,125 MSS. described in this interesting Catalogue are mainly Arabic, though there are also some written in Syriac, Persian, and Turkish ; and most of them were acquired in Aleppo, their owner's native town. As might be expected, the collection is pre-eminently rich in works concerning Christian doctrine and practice—liturgies, homilies, apologetics, polemics, monasticism, lives of Apostles and Saints, etc. ; but Islam too is strongly represented, particularly in the various departments of Science and, above all, in Medicine. The following early works on the last-named subject deserve mention : No. 750, *al-Hārūniyya*, which the author, 'Īsā b. Ḥakam, dedicated to the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd—this MS. is a modern copy of one that was lost during the Great War. No. 781, *al-Rawḍatu 'l-Ṭibbiyya*, the text of which was edited by Father Sbath in 1927 (see notice below) ; and No. 2, a thirteenth century copy of the fourth volume of the *Kitābu 'l-Masīḥī* (Brockelmann, i, 238). No. 650, a Persian astronomical work, which Father Sbath

attributes to Tīmūr, is evidently the well-known *Zij-i Jadīd* of Tīmūr's grandson, Ulugh Beg; the MS. seems to be ancient, but the statement that it was transcribed in 801/1398 must be erroneous, as at that time the author was only five years old. Nos. 742-5 treat of the history and religion of the Samaritans, while No. 737, transcribed in the seventeenth century and entitled *al-Rasā'il al-dāmiḡhatu li 'l-fāsiqi fi 'l-radd 'ala 'l-Nuṣayriyya*, contains polemical tracts against the Nuṣayrīs by Shaykh Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī. For Arabists the gem of the collection is No. 265, a very old copy of the *Maqāmāt* of Ḥarirī, dated 583/1187. Among the scholars who are certified to have collated it with the original autograph we find the name of the Abu 'l-Qāsim b. 'Alī al-Ḥarirī, the son of the author. While the Catalogue gives much valuable information, its utility suffers from the arrangement of the MSS. in their numerical order without regard to any scientific principle, the lack of references to other catalogues, and the absence of an index of titles. The "Table des matières", in which the *numbers* of all the MSS. are classified under different heads, and four indices of Christian and Muslim proper names hardly compensate for these deficiencies. On the other hand, the extent and variety of material as well as the fullness with which the more important items are described render the work indispensable to the bibliographer and instructive to the literary historian.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

AR-RAUDAT AT-TIBBIYYA (Le Jardin Médical). Texte arabe publié pour la première fois avec une introduction, des notes et index par le P. PAUL SBATH. 8½ × 6, pp. 73. Cairo : H. Friedrich et Co., 1927.

The author of this little work on the philosophy of Medicine, 'Ubaydu 'llāh b. Jibrā'il b. Bukhtyishū' (ob. 450/1058). was the last of the physicians of the celebrated Bukhtyishū' family which had long been associated with the medical school of Jundīshāpūr. The present treatise, an abridgment of his *Tadhkiratu 'l-hādir wa-zādu 'l-musāfir*, comprises fifty brief chapters, beginning with an explanation of the

Aristotelian categories and concluding with definitions of such terms as "sleep", "dream", "pulse", "crisis", "symptom", and so forth. He quotes an extract from his father's *Kāfī* on the subject of Love, but all the other authorities cited are Greek or Indian. The editor states that the text is based on three MSS. in his collection, of which the oldest was written in the thirteenth century. So far as I can discover, only the two later copies (Nos. 781 and 904) are mentioned in his Catalogue.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

TRAITÉ SUR L'ÂME PAR BAR-HEBRAEUS. Texte arabe publié pour la première fois par le P. PAUL SBATH. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 65. Cairo : H. Friedrich et Co., 1928.

If the *Mukhtaṣar fī 'ilmi 'l-nafs al-insāniyya* cannot be included in the select class of literary works constituted by famous *opuscula* of famous men, it may none the less be recommended to anyone who wishes to read a clear and concise, though somewhat formal, argument setting forth the author's and many other opinions on the nature and destiny of the soul. The subject is treated in a popular way, and the style is easy but sufficiently distinctive; otherwise, except for occasional quotations from the Bible and the Fathers, the book contains little that might not have been written by a Muslim. On p. 54, l. 8, the editor prints *يَعْمُونَ* and relegates to a footnote the MS. reading *يَعْنُونَ* which is obviously the true one.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

VINGT TRAITÉS PHILOSOPHIQUES ET APOLOGÉTIQUES D'AUTEURS ARABES CHRÉTIENS DU IX^E AU XIV^E SIÈCLE. Publiés pour la première fois et annotés par le P. PAUL SBATH. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. vii + 206. Cairo : H. Friedrich et Co., 1929.

Father Sbath gives us here a chrestomathy of unusual character and interest, drawn from his extensive MS. collection

of Arabic literature produced by Christian writers, mostly Jacobite, Melkite, or Nestorian theologians, under the Caliphate. Of the twelve authors excerpted perhaps there are not more than two, Ḥunayn b. Ishāq and Yaḥyā b. 'Adī, whose names are familiar to European students of Islam.

The volume illustrates very effectively the religious philosophy of the Eastern Church as well as the main points of dispute between Christian and Muslim controversialists in the Middle Ages. It is curious to find passages from Ghazālī's *Radd al-jamāl 'alā ṣarīḥi 'l-Injīl* cited by a Jacobite bishop to support his refutation of Muslim views concerning the doctrine of the Trinity.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

HISTORY OF BUDDHISM (Chos-ḥbyung) by BU-STON. Part I :

THE JEWELRY OF SCRIPTURE, translated from Tibetan by Dr. E. OBERMILLER. *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*. Heft 18. 10 × 6½, pp. 188. Heidelberg. In Kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig. 1931.

CŪLAVAMSA, being the more recent part of the Mahāvamsa.

Part II. Translated by W. GEIGER, and from the German into English by Mrs. C. MABEL RICKMERS. Pali Text Society, Translation Series, No. 20. 9 × 6, pp. xxxiv + 366. London : Oxford University Press, 1930. 10s.

THE PATH OF PURITY, being a translation of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga. By PE MAUNG TIN. Part III. OF UNDERSTANDING. With an epilogue by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS. Pali Text Society, Translation Series, No. 21. 9 × 6, pp. viii, 404. London : Oxford University Press, 1931. 10s.

It is long since Professor Stcherbatsky wakened the hope that we should some day know more about Bu-ston (Budon), and the hope is now being fulfilled. From the introduction by Professor Stcherbatsky to this translation we learn that in this work by Bu-ston the history proper is preceded by

a systematic review of the whole of Buddhist literature so far as preserved in Tibet, and that it is followed by a systematic catalogue of works, authors, and translators of all the literature in the Kanjur and the Tanjur. One naturally thinks of Tāranātha, but this work when completed will be still more important. It is much fuller than Tāranātha, and is remarkable for the extent to which it discusses the canon of the Śrāvakas as well as the Mahāyāna, and quotes from it. The historical portion, so far as included in this part, is more like a treatise on Buddhology—the kalpas in which Buddhas arise, the 1,005 Buddhas of this bhadrakalpa, the original vow of Śākyamuni according to the Śrāvakas, and according to Mahāyāna his *cittotpāda* and his twelve acts. The translation is furnished richly with notes and references to the Tibetan, but points in the translation raise occasional doubts. Professor Stecherbatsky has shown that “nihilism” is not the right word for *śūnyavāda*, but why try to apply it in a new sense as a translation of *ucchedavāda*, when that heresy is an entirely different doctrine? Dr. Obermiller informs us that he has translated from the Tibetan into English the *Uttara-tantra* of Maitreya, which is the chief source for the theory of *gotra-dhātu-tathāgata-garbha*, and evidently of the highest importance for the doctrine of the Bodhisattva.

The third and largest portion of Professor Pe Maung Tin's translation of the *Visuddhimagga* completes the work. As an accurate translation, a commentary on the text, and a powerful aid to the study of scholastic Buddhism it cannot be praised too highly. Mrs. Rhys Davids adds an interesting epilogue in which, having come to see after many years that this sort of Buddhism is one which no religionist or even psychologist can put up with, she is unwilling to think that Buddha could ever have taught it. Hence Buddhaghosa gets some hard knocks: now and then he is not wordy and windy; sometimes he is not aggravating; in his last chapters he is almost a rosary-chatterer.

The translation of the *Mahāvamsa* is also completed, and

it is needless to add further praise to the work of Professor Geiger and Mrs. Rickmers. The introduction contains an important discussion on the still complicated question of chronology, and in the light of this lists are given of the Sinhalese kings and genealogical tables. There are nine analytical indexes, one of which is called "List of Passages", but its exact significance has to be inferred.

E. J. THOMAS.

ICONOGRAPHY OF BUDDHIST AND BRAHMANICAL SCULPTURES IN THE DACCA MUSEUM. By N. K. BHATTASALI. With preface by Mr. H. E. Stapleton. 10 × 8, pp. x + xl + 274, pls. 83, illus. 156, map 1. Dacca : Rai S. N. Bhadra Bahadur, M.A., Hon. Secretary, Dacca Museum Committee ; Sreenath Press, 1929.

LHA-LUN TEMPLE, SPYI-TI. By H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH, with a preface by A. H. FRANKE. 13 × 10, pp. iv + 8 + iv, 1 pl. 1929. 1s. 3d. And PALLAVA ARCHITECTURE, Part III (The later or Rājasimha Period). By A. H. LONGHURST. 13 × 10, pp. 28, 13 pl. 1930. 7s. 6d. Both Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, Nos. 39, 40. Calcutta : Government of India, Central Publication Branch.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT for the Year 1916. 13½ × 8, pp. iv + 94, pls. 18. Bangalore : Printed at the Government Press, 1916.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE COCHIN STATE for the Year 1104 M.E. (A.D. 1928-9). By P. ANUJAN ACHAN. 13 × 9, pp. vi + 18, pls. 8. Ernakulam : Printed at the Cochin Government Press, 1930.

Mr. Bhaṭṭasāli has produced not only a descriptive catalogue of the sculptures of the Dacca Museum, but has also given a valuable introduction to the iconography of the Bengal school. As Mr. Stapleton says, it is a comparatively uncharted

field of research, and Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī, the curator of the Dacca Museum, has the advantage of approaching the subject from the inside, and with a knowledge of the thoughts and beliefs of his own people. He gives a mass of valuable information, such as the structure of temples, the method of the sculptor's work, the materials used, the modes of dress and costume, and personal ornaments. His judgment is generally cautious and sound, and he recognizes where there is need for further data. The one case in which he has perhaps been too incautious is in accepting Miss Getty's opinions. He says that Miss Getty is no Sanskritist, and that her work is almost entirely based on materials collected in Buddhistic countries outside India. Yet he repeatedly makes identifications based on Miss Getty alone. This also appears to have led him to start with Ādi Buddha as the Universal Father, and he goes still further in making Ādi Prajñā the Universal Mother of the Buddhist hierarchy of gods. The worst case is that of Bhaiṣajyaguru. Miss Getty identifies this Buddha with Piṇḍola. This leads him to give four pages of legends of Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja from the *Divyāvadāna* and the Pāli Jātakas, which have nothing to do with Bhaiṣajyaguru. Even so the texts have not been used with due care. He speaks of Buddha "residing in heaven 33 years" (p. 40), but *deveṣu trayastriṃśeṣu varṣā uṣṭiā* rather means "having spent the rainy months among the 33 gods". Nevertheless, Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī's real contribution to the subject outweighs all this. The plates, representing over 140 statues and other objects, are all excellently produced.

Mr. Lee Shuttleworth's description derives its importance in connection with the second introduction of Buddhism into Tibet under Atiśa in the eleventh century. A number of Kashmir artists were then brought, and a large number of temples built. Some of these have been identified in Ladakh and Western Tibet, and the present brochure is an account of a visit to one of them at *Lha luñ* (Lilung on the Survey Map) made by Mr. Lee Shuttleworth in August, 1924. He has

identified many of the wall paintings, and has shown that there is much more work to be done. Some are very doubtful, especially Brahmā with three heads, and the emaciated Buddha said to be under the Bodhi-tree.

The period of Pallava architecture dealt with in Part III covers about A.D. 674 to 900, i.e. down to the time when the Pallava dynasty came to an end with the victory of the Cholas. The account covers not only the period of King Rājasiṃha, when the change from rock-cut temples to building in stone and brick began, but also the latest or Nandivarman period. The temples of these periods are described in detail, and all are illustrated by plans, sections, and views.

Mr. Narasimhachar's report of the work of the Mysore Archæological Department for 1916 includes the description of temples of the thirteenth century and later in the Tumkur, Kadur, and Mysore districts, a number of inscriptions with facsimiles, records of many MSS. and coins. The lateness of this notice is accounted for by the difficulties of transport in 1916.

The chief portion of Mr. P. Anujan Achan's report is a monograph on some specimens of mural paintings, mostly puranic subjects, in the Maṭṭāñcheri Palace at Cochin, the palace built by the Portuguese for the Raja in 1552.

E. J. THOMAS.

RECHERCHES SUR LES SOURCES ÉGYPTIENNES DE LA
LITTÉRATURE SAPIENTIALE D'ISRAËL. By PAUL
HUMBERT. 9½ × 6¼, pp. 195. Neuchatel: Secrétariat
de l'Université. 1929.

Until within recent years the materials for such an investigation as that here undertaken were, of course, lacking. Even now there are very few O.T. scholars who, like Alt in Germany, Yahuda in Spain, or the author before us, have also a competent, even if not a fully expert, acquaintance with Egyptian hieroglyphic and hieratic. (And, unfortunately, this rare type of scholarship has sometimes been employed

in the service of eccentric theories.) On the other hand, several well-known O.T. savants have attempted comparisons of passages in the O.T. with Egyptian parallels, but it appears that they had read the latter only in translations. Dr. Humbert finds definite connections between Egyptian literature and not only the books of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Ben Sirach, but also Tobit, 3rd Esdras, and Ahiqar. As far as Proverbs is concerned, many of us had long been convinced of a relationship. But which way? *A priori* it would seem likely that the older civilization provided the original. A very careful reading and re-reading of the principal better-known Egyptian documents has convinced the writer that the Hebrew is almost certainly derived in every case where relationship seems demonstrated. And the cumulative impression left after reading this book certainly does nothing to weaken that convincement. Dr. Humbert has not gone very far outside the bounds of the Wisdom Literature. Had he done so, he might easily have brought a great deal more miscellaneous evidence to strengthen his general thesis. When he remarks, à propos of the work done on the well-known comparison of Prov. xxii and Amenem-ope by Budge and Oesterley, that “la dépendance ne saurait être du côté d'Amenemope, et que le recours à un original hébraïque commun à Amenemope aussi bien qu'aux compilateurs bibliques est aussi gratuit que superflu”, we cannot but agree completely.

The accumulating masses of evidence, both archæological and documentary, are against any attempt to isolate the Hebrew Scriptures. Whatever be their intrinsic merits, these do not rest on any originality of material. At best Hebrew writing bears the same relation to the thought and life of Egypt as does that of Belgium to France. Mæterlinck is not a Frenchman. And he is a great original teacher. But the culture behind him is French; the allusions and turns of expression are French, and would be, even had he written in Flemish. As the smaller countries of N. Europe to-day

partake the general culture of France and Germany, even so does Hebrew literature rest on the great Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures. We need only instance the obvious resemblances between the Pap. d'Orbiney and Sinuhe on the one side, and the Joseph stories on the other. Then, too, there are distinct reflections of the Westcar Pap. in the Moses legends. And is not "Darda" of 1 Kgs. iv, 31 the famous Dedi of the former, who repaired decapitations so delightfully? We are only at the beginning of such inquiries as that of Professor Humbert, but the recent work on specialized lines of the younger Egyptologists proper, such as that of Kees on Egyptian notions regarding immortality, may be expected to throw further light on the ideas underlying much which O.T. scholarship long assumed to be original in the strict sense. The same obviously applies to the whole realm of apocalyptic and eschatological thought. As also, perhaps, to the Alexandrian mystery faiths, since the work of Sethe on the dramatic liturgies of the Old Kingdom has shown us that both mystic drama and philosophical interpretation of the sacramental mysteries were known in Egypt very much more than a thousand years before Moses' assumed date, and probably much longer still before there can have been any beginnings of our Hebrew Bible, the larger part of which, indeed, would seem to have come to its present form well after 500 B.C. The investigation of Demotic by authorities like Griffith and Spiegelberg may yet yield results which will involve a re-orientation of many of our conceptions regarding the Old Testament. The Demotic Chronicle is a case in point.

JOHN P. NAISH.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Mary Lumsden, M.A. (Cantab)

On 25th August, the day before she had planned to start on a climbing expedition in the Swiss Alps, Miss Mary Lumsden was taken ill suddenly and died. Oriental studies latterly claimed much of her energies; but during earlier years many and varied interests occupied a life devoted to public service. A member of Girton College, Miss Lumsden in 1896 took a second class in the Mathematical Tripos, and in the following year Part I of the Moral Sciences Tripos. After leaving Cambridge she was engaged with Miss Octavia Hill on work for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the provision of artisans' dwellings in Walworth. On behalf of the Society of Friends she went to France at the beginning of the War to help in resettling the country folk after the German withdrawal from the Marne. Later at home she aided housing projects of the Ministry of Munitions. A cause which appealed strongly to her generous nature was the work of the National Trust, and for many years she served on the committee.

Miss Lumsden's sympathies were specially centred on furthering a fuller understanding of the Chinese people and the history of their civilization. At her house in St. John's Wood she delighted in arranging parties at which students and other Chinese visitors to London were brought in contact with British friends, and she was ever ready with schemes for promoting friendly relations and extending our means of hospitality. Recognizing the study of Chinese culture to be a potent factor in fostering a better appreciation of the Far East, Miss Lumsden was a keen supporter of the lectureship founded last year by Sir Percival David at the School of Oriental Studies. She attended all the lectures, and herself contributed to the discussions. She chose to specialize in the history of the Chinese drama in the belief that the

results would throw light on the mentality of the race, and with tireless enthusiasm she had accumulated much information on this subject.

A personal knowledge of the country was the basis of Miss Lumsden's love of China. She had travelled far, making Ta-li Fu in Yün-nan her headquarters. It was there that she found the chief opportunities for entering into the life of the people, and with her camera collected intimate records of social and religious customs which were used to illustrate lectures delivered before the Royal Asiatic, the Edinburgh Royal Geographical, and China Societies. She brought to England and educated a Chinese girl who is now a teacher in Peking. The full measure of her wide sympathies and selfless generosity will never be known ; for Miss Lumsden was one who shunned publicity and preferred to do kindnesses by stealth. On the dispersal of her library the Society has received a valuable gift of seventy-five volumes and many periodicals.

W. P. Y.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Nepal and the Gurkhas

On 24th May, before the Royal Asiatic Society, Brig.-General C. G. Bruce gave a lecture with a short account of the Kingdom of Nepal, at the rooms of the Society, 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1. After describing the geographical position of the country and its character, he showed views and illustrations of the capital of Nepal, Katmandu, and the neighbouring cities of the Valley. He also gave a sketch of the history of Nepal, describing the Newar dynasties which reigned for such a long period in the Valley of Nepal itself, and also of the ancient civilization of that valley and of the religions—Hinduism and Buddhism—which have thrived in it, side by side.

He then went on to explain the rise of the present Gurkha dynasty and of the peoples and countries which were the birthplace of that race, showing how this small military kingdom, buried in the mountains, was by degrees built up and able to conquer the other neighbouring hill principalities. Finally, how the Gurkha king descended, in the middle of the eighteenth century, on to the Valley of Nepal, and after a war lasting many years, conquered the Valley and from there extended his authority both to the East and to the West.

The lecturer then gave a description of the present armed forces in Nepal and also of how Nepal has furnished the Indian Army with so many excellent soldiers of the different Gurkha Regiments, which now consist of some twenty battalions.

The designation "Gurkha", contrary to ordinary opinion, is not a racial term. In the early eighteenth century Nepal was divided up into numerous little kingdoms, that is to say, the country outside the ancient boundaries of the Valley of Nepal was in the hands of the Newar race. The term "Nepal"

applied simply and solely to the valley which bears its name, known as "The Country within the four passes": north, Pati; south, Phar Ping; east, Saga; west, Panch Mani. The Nepal kingdom as at present constituted was then non-existent. In the early eighteenth century the hill country was divided up into innumerable little hill states known as "The twenty-four Kingdoms". Among these was the little kingdom of Gurkha, the king of which ruled over every type of hillman, including Brahmans, Khas and Kshatriya tribes, and the Mongolian military clans, as they are now called, besides many of the aboriginal and menial clans, probably having Dravidian blood in their veins.

The subjects of the King of Gurkha were known as Gurkhalis, or followers of the King of Gurkha, and, when during the course of the eighteenth century he extended his dominions right and left, certain of the tribes, according to the will of the conqueror, were given the title "Gurkhalis" or followers of the King of Gurkha. But this privilege was never extended to the inhabitants of the Nepal valley, owing to the magnificent fight they put up against the Gurkhas during the conquest of that valley, the sole exception being those traders of Newar race who were living in Gurkha at the time when the King of Gurkha attacked Nepal.

During some two generations after the death of the first king, Prithwi Narain, the character of the ruling kings degenerated largely, and the condition arose similar to that which arose in France during the reign of the Carlovignian kings; that is to say, the power got into the hands of Maires du Palais, who became hereditary Prime Ministers and rulers of the country. The internal political history of Nepal from about the year 1800 has been a story of the struggles between the different clans and representatives of those clans of Kshatriyas for power, in the person of their representatives, and to become Prime Minister. Since the rise of Jung Bahadur to power, there has been a continuous line of Prime Ministers from his family, and at the present

time, this family is so inter-married with the reigning family that their position is assured.

The reigning monarch is known as the Maharajadhiraja, whereas the ruler or Prime Minister is known as the Maharaja, or, in local parlance, their families are known as "the five Sircars and the three Sircars".

The lecture was illustrated fully with lantern slides.

In the Footsteps of Israel in Transjordan

THE EXODUS AND LAWRENCE OF ARABIA

On 11th June, a lecture was given before the Society at 74 Grosvenor Street, entitled "In the Footsteps of Israel in Transjordan; the Exodus and Lawrence of Arabia", by Group-Captain Rees, V.C., Royal Air Force, in which attention was drawn to the similarity of the routes traversed in both occasions. The problem to be solved in each case—how to get (actually or essentially) from Cairo to Jerusalem with the enemy in occupation of the Naqb and of Transjordan—was the same.

The lecturer was in command of the British Troops in Transjordan and Palestine during 1926–28, and his duties included the control of the Transjordan Desert east of the Hejaz Railway. These were carried out chiefly by organizing air patrols over the whole country and opening up roads which could be used by the armoured cars. A very clear idea of the country could be obtained from the air together with a favourable opportunity of checking detail from the ground. Although reconnaissance from the air can do little to identify names of places, it was able to prove that there are still important places which correspond to Biblical names, and that many of these sites still bear ruins of very ancient, as well as of more modern periods.

The lecturer began by saying that he spoke only as an air observer and that, thereby, he felt that he had had unique opportunities of seeing the country, such as no other traveller

or explorer had enjoyed before his time. Most explorers had to proceed on foot or on camel-back, often very hurriedly and, not seldom, in extreme danger. His own experience of the Badu is that they are brave, courteous, and charming to meet.

He said : The country is quite different to what one would expect. The only bit of desert is the patch just east of the Suez Canal. The whole of the rest of the country, except the south, is limestone country. The coastal plain rises to the ridge on which lie Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and many of the well-known towns. In Transjordan the country is much the same, only rather grander. The so-called desert also rises to a ridge, the Hejaz Railway marking the change.

The Jordan valley is part of the Great Rift which begins in Mount Hermon, and, forming the Gulf of Akaba and the Red Sea, ends in East Central Africa. When Moses speaks of "that wide and awful wadi" that the Israelites crossed after leaving Sinai, I think that he speaks of this valley. The Dead Sea is some 1,300 feet below sea level and the ridge on either side rises to some 3,000 feet. As the drop is very abrupt, the effect is very grand. The Dead Sea has always been a fresh water lake and has frequently changed its level. There are some nineteen distinct beaches, all of which produce flint implements, probably fashioned by the hand of man. At Akaba, the south end, the temperature frequently stays at 120 degrees F. in the shade for days on end, while there is always snow on Mount Hermon, at the north end. In winter the valley is comparatively warm, although snow lies on the hills for some weeks in February and March.

The south of Transjordan and of the Sinai Peninsular is composed of granites and conglomerates and red Nubian sandstone. The granites give the names of Sinai (jagged) and Seir (rough), whilst the red Nubian sandstone gives the name Edom (the blood red country). The country of Seir and Edom are the same. To the east of the Hejaz Railway the top layers of limestone have been washed away, and a

layer of flints lying on the surface has been left. This gives the name Arabia Petræa (the stoney Arabia) to this part of the country. The whole of Transjordan is in an earthquake belt and there are certain lava fields that have been active at no very distant date. The largest basalt area is in the north, and where the lava has weathered it has formed a very rich soil that gives the name to Bashan (fertile). The most important volcanoes in my story are a group of four near Ma'an and a single basalt outcrop near Mount Nebo. I should like to identify the group of four with Sinai.

The Bible references indicate that the Eternal, in the pillar of cloud and fire, never moved. Only once was He behind the Israelites, and that was at the crossing of the Red Sea. On this occasion Moses had just told the Israelites to turn round to see what the Eternal was going to do to the Egyptians. The arrival of the Eternal was heralded by rumblings and shakings. The cloud looked like smoke coming out of a kiln, and the Eternal looked like fire on top of the mountains. If people came too near, stones fell on them and they were killed. The Eternal did not accompany the Israelites after they left Sinai, which was in the second year of the wanderings. He did, however, appear once when Moses was at Nebo and here, again, is a volcanic outcrop. There is another lava area some distance to the south of Transjordan. An eruption here was recorded by Al Mukrizi as being visible in Bozra, a distance of 600 miles, in the year 1256.

The country at present is very bare, and there is running water only near the bottoms of the wadis running into the Akaba gulf. West of the Hejaz Railway there are towns and many old town sites, and the inhabitants have all dug tanks for themselves. To the east of the railway, the country is all grazing country, and, with the exception of two or three wells, the Bedouin depend on surface water. This dries up in the summer, so that during that period of the year there are no flocks to be found in that part of

the country. The rains fall first in the east and the flocks are taken out that way as soon as the rains are about to commence. They are to be found living sometimes 50 miles or so east of their permanent water supply. The first rains appear as small clouds. An airman can easily fly round them. They are full of lightning and thunder. These rainclouds I should like to identify with the angel that led the Israelites. The clouds are similar to the cloud in which the Eternal appeared, but they do not normally kill anybody.

Where there is water a short distance under the surface it is in almost every instance brackish. This is because the local water, which is rich in salts, is brought to the surface of the earth and is there evaporated, for there is no outlet to the catchment area. Near the sea coast, fresh water can usually be obtained by digging below low water level, where the water has not had a chance to evaporate and leave its dissolved salts behind. In the remainder of the country it is usually necessary to dig wells through the upper limestone layers. Before we leave the map of Palestine, I should like you to notice the way the country is divided into separate compartments. There are very distinct mountain groups divided off by large wadis. The wadis, in general, form the roads from east to west. The upper basins of the wadis form grazing areas and as the grazing is east and west, each area belongs to a different tribal group. The three main tribes are the Beni Sukhr, who graze the ancient Kedemoth, the Howeitat who graze the ancient plain of Midian, and the Rowalla who graze in the Wadi Sirhan and in Syria. The Howeitat are to be found well to the east, and also to the west as far as Egypt.

At the present day the hill country is occupied by many small tribal groups, but at the time of the Israelites, the Edomites occupied Sier and Edom. They had turned out the original cave dwellers in this region. There are, however, still some wild men living in the mountains, who dress in skins and who never come into the towns. The next block

was occupied by the Moabites, and the one above by the Ammonites. Mu Aba refers to the Father, the ancestor of the Moabites, who was Lot, and the Ammonites were their cousins. At the time of the Israelites the Highlanders (Amorites) had taken possession of part of Moab.

The roads to Damascus run just west of the Hejaz Railway. There were at least two Roman roads and the pilgrim road to Mecca is a very well defined track. The roads from the east pass Bair and Ma'an. This latter road is the most important as it was the main road from the frankincense country to Egypt, and it made Petra a very important place. The road—Salcah—mentioned in Exodus is the main Damascus road running up the Wadi Sirhan. The Israelites did not pass eastwards of this road.

Lawrence met Feisal at Jeddah, and they skirmished up to Wejh with the help of the Fleet. From that place the desert operations started. As far as Nebk the march was much the same as other desert marches—hunger, thirst, alarms and individuals getting themselves lost. At Nebk, however, they were able to meet representatives of the tribes that would be most useful in annoying the Turks, who were in occupation of the Hejaz Railway and all the country to the west. In this district Lawrence complains of the snakes, and the water that went bad in a day or so. Snakes are a feature of the country. In 673 B.C. Esarhaddon of Assyria, marching against the Egyptians complains that the snakes in this district filled the country like grasshoppers and when he got nearer Egypt it was worse, because here the snakes had two heads and their bites were fatal. Herodotus says that the snakes here had wings, whilst the Israelites found that they had stings. The most common snake in the desert at present is the horned viper.

Leaving Nebk, Lawrence came to Bair. Here he was surprised to find smoke coming out of the wells, caused by bad demolition on the part of the Turks. His next stop was at the Jafar wells. Here the wells had to be re-dug and

the men sang at their work. By winning a battle just south of Ma'an, control was obtained of the road to Akaba and it was therefore possible to make Akaba the base for operations against the railway. It took Lawrence two months to get to Akaba.

Lawrence's object now was to interfere with the railway in such a manner as to keep the maximum number of Turks employed in its protection, but to allow sufficient trains to run so that he could blow them up occasionally and let them be looted by his Arabs. To have cut the railway would have defeated his object. After spending a cold and miserable winter in the snow near Tafileh, operations were undertaken against Amman, but the place could not be raided because, unfortunately, the Turks had a party out in the desert collecting corn from the villagers. But an operation against Mudawara was entirely successful. Eventually, timed to help the cavalry push in Palestine, the Arab Army, based on Azrak, attacked Deraa and eventually reached Damascus. Deraa is Edrei in Bashan, meaning "strongly fortified" place.

Comparing this route with that taken by Moses we find that the Israelites left Egypt close to the usual road, but when they found the Egyptians were after them, some crossed the Red Sea to Etham, whilst others turned aside to the Wadi where Sedge grows (Piahiroth). The pursuing Egyptians were overwhelmed in the Sea. We are told that between the Israelites and the Egyptians was only darkness and the angel, whilst the remainder of the night was lighted up by the Eternal. According to my idea, this means that there was a very heavy local rainstorm between the armies. When rain falls in this manner, the country is impassible to wheeled vehicles. On one occasion my armoured cars raced the Nairn transport cars through the mud on the Baghdad track near Azrak. They made a mile a day for five days.

The Israelites then went into the desert and found bitter water. This they would have known if they had had air

co-operation. They had to turn back to "the Trees" and then to the "Reed Sea". They made a fresh start through the desert of Sin, the marshy desert. They knew it was marshy as it had rained there only a short time previously. They now made straight for Sinai to comply with the promise of the Eternal, that they would worship him as soon as they left Egypt in that very mountain where Moses had seen the burning bush. At Alush, which means Tumult, they were again in the tail end of the desert and again they had water trouble. Moses was practically driven from the camp and was told by the Eternal to go on ahead. As soon as he saw the Eternal on Horeb he was to strike the rock. Notice that it was not Horeb that was struck. Horeb means "dry" and was a granite mountain. Moses struck the flinty rock and produced water. After staying there for some time they came to Sinai. Here the wanderings commenced, and were probably, I think, quite local.

They tried a frontal attack on the Negb and were beaten back to Hormah (Doom). They tried a frontal attack on Edom and were beaten to Paran (Caves). Eventually they reached Akaba and for some time marched round Seir. Now they could do what they liked, and they commenced the last part of their march. One section marched up the Akaba and stopped at the Sdady Wadi, and then at the Orepits. Then they came to Oboth, which my Bible shows as meaning Bottles. However, if the word is converted into Arabic and Latin, one gets Abdulla and Oboda. The Arabic word means "to worship", or "to reveal oneself"; whilst the Latin one means "the worshipper of God". After leaving Oboth, this section of the Israelites joined the roads that were afterwards used by the Romans and the pilgrims, and they camped at Nebo, near the volcano.

The other section marched up the Wadi Ithm, "the narrow Wadi" and across the Red Wadi. They could not go directly north, because the Edomites would not let them use their tanks. They must therefore have gone to Mudawara

which means "circles". Here there are hundreds of little threshing floors where the Bedouin still thresh manna. The manna they use now is a small red seed in a pod and is nothing like hoar frost, pearls or coriander seeds. It is, however made into cakes. If this party followed the normal route, they passed Bair. This word means "the unreliable Man", and I think that it referred to what they thought of Moses. They twice crossed the plain of the Gift—Mattaneh or Waheb. The Arnon rises in El Hadi, "the giver of a gift."

Their next camp was in God's Wadi, which might be Kasr Tuba. Then they came to the High Places and finally to the Wadi east of Kedemoth. This must be the Tuba Wells. From here they sent word to Sihon, king of the Highlanders, asking to be allowed to pass. Sihon refused, and was defeated on Ziza aerodrome. On one side of this aerodrome there is a hill called The Place of Battles, and on the other a place called The Killing. Probably they both refer to the ancient tradition. The victory gave the Israelites passage to the Jordan valley.

They stayed for some time near Nebo, and from there they attacked Gilead and Bashan. They could not go eastward, even if they had wanted to, because of the dwellers in the "kites".

When the country was divided up, one of the tribes came to Joshua and said they were afraid of the woods on the hills. Joshua told them to cut down the trees, and there would not be any frightening woods. This was done with such effect that the country is now practically bare.

Burton Memorial Lecture

BURTON AND THE RUB 'AL KHALI

The Burton Memorial Lecture was given on 18th June before the Royal Asiatic Society in their rooms at 74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1, by Mr. Bertram Thomas, O.B.E., to whom the Society's Burton Memorial Medal was afterwards presented by the Chairman.

The Lecturer began by explaining how, in the autumn of 1852 Burton offered his services to the Royal Geographical Society for the purpose of what he calls "removing that opprobrium to modern adventure"—the huge white blot which in our maps denoted Eastern and Central South Arabia. It was proposed that he should take three years' leave of absence from India on special duty, and he hoped to proceed to Muscat and attempt the desert crossing from there. The Royal Geographical Society warmly supported the project and placed funds at Burton's disposal. It was necessary to get the permission of the East India Company and they immediately took fright and vetoed the project on the grounds of its dangerous nature, but they granted Burton one year's leave as language leave. He was infuriated at the official obstruction and left for Arabia with the deliberate intention of placing the telescope to the blind eye. His own words sound egotistical—"What remained for me but to prove by trial that what might be perilous to other travellers was safe to me." In short, he thought the year would be enough, but he would start from Medinah instead of Muscat. His primary object, he says, was either

(a) To cross from Medinah to Muscat, or

(b) From Mecca to Makallah.

He was frustrated in both and the year was spent not in a long desert journey, but in his famous pilgrimage to Mecca and Medinah. Burton had already formed various opinions about the Rub 'al Khali as the result of his previous wanderings, and it is my object in this lecture to throw some light on these speculations, to try to answer the questions which Burton set himself and which I am able to attempt as a result of my own journeys in this region of Arabia.

Burton's objectives, he says, were three :—

(1) To investigate the possibility of encouraging the export of Arab horses so as to improve the strain in India.

(2) To discover the lie of the land, the drainage and structure of this unknown part of the continent, and

(3) To study the races which inhabit these wilds.

Of these three objectives, the first one we may dismiss in a few words, because the horse problem is no longer an important one. India has, of course, from remote times imported Arab ponies. Ibn Battuta refers to the ancient trade from Kilhat, and from other sources we know that this trade has gone on down to our own times. Just before the Great War and immediately after it, Arab ponies were much in demand as polo ponies in India. The alteration of the polo rules, abolishing a height for horses, killed the Arab market, because the Arab pony is by nature a small animal, averaging perhaps fourteen hands, and so came to be at a disadvantage when larger animals were introduced into the game. The demand for Arabs has fallen away and I think I am right in saying that India scarcely buys from Arabia any longer. This problem, which exercised Burton, need therefore no longer exercise us.

The other two objectives are of deeper interest and more scientific import—the nature of the terrain of S.E. Arabia and the peoples who inhabit it. Burton hypothecated upon them in the following words:—

(1) “Of the Rub’a al-Khali I have heard enough, from credible relators, to conclude that its horrid depths swarm with a large and half-starving population; that it abounds in Wadys, valleys, gullies and ravines, partially fertilized by intermittent torrents; and, therefore, that the land is open to the adventurous traveller. I am inclined to think with Wallin, contrary to Ritter and others, that the Peninsula falls instead of rising towards the South.”

(2) “I wished to try, by actual observation, the truth of a theory proposed by Colonel W. Sykes, namely that if tradition be true, in the population of the vast Peninsula there must exist certain physiological differences sufficient to warrant our questioning the common origin of the Arab family.”

“I have found proof,” he says later, “for believing in

three distinct races: (1) The aborigines of the country, driven like the Bhils and other autochthonic Indians, into the eastern and south-eastern wilds bordering upon the ocean; (2) A Syrian or Mesopotamian stock, typified by Shem and Joktan that drove the Indigenæ from the choicest tracts of country, these invaders still enjoy their conquests, representing the great Arabian people; and (3) An impure Syro-Egyptian clan—we personify it by Ishmael, by his son Nabajoth, and by Edom (Esau, the son of Isaac)—that populated and still populates the Sinaitic Peninsula.”

As regards the geographical problem set in hypothesis No. 1, I think it is safe to say that we now know the answer. It is a settled problem. The height readings taken on my four journeys:—

- (1) Across the Oman Peninsula,
- (2) Through the south-eastern border lands.
- (3) Along the south-eastern edge of the sands,
- (4) Across the Peninsula, roughly in long. 51° E.

provide us with data which, taken in conjunction with earlier ascertained heights on the western perimeter of the sands, are sufficient evidence to determine the general slope of Southern Arabia. All the indications point to a depression in long. 54° – 55° E., lat. 20° – 22° N. East of this depression, the slope is upwards towards the north-east to the Oman massif, rising in Jabal Akhdhar to a height of nearly 10,000 feet. West of the depression, the sands are rising towards the south-west and probably reach their greatest height on the borders of the Najran. As regards the sand area proper, its perimeter runs almost due south from Jabal Hafit to lat. 21° N., where are found the quicksands of Umm as Samin, thence south-south-westerly, to lat. $18^{\circ} 30'$ and thence in a general west-south-west direction almost parallel to the south coast of Arabia and at a distance of about 100 to 150 miles from it. The south-west and west perimeter is not determined, but is said to run from a point northwards of Hadhramaut mountains towards Najran, thence northwards

to the East of Sulaiyil, and thence north-east to Jabrin. Between Jabrin and the sea, the sands intrude northwards through Jafura and to the eastwards reach to the coast of the Persian Gulf in Bainunah and Taff. Southwards of Jabrin the steppe intrudes into the sands in regions named Suman, Haraisan, Abu Bahr, Jaddat Juwaifa, Haida and Sahama.¹

The regions of loftiest sand dunes rising to some six or seven hundred feet are along the southern border of the sands, but the Uruq, as they are called, wing back in long. 53° and 49° respectively, in horseshoe formation. For the rest, the general lie of the sands is sloping downwards to the east and north and upwards to the south and west. The highest elevation met with in the Central south was at about 1,100 feet in Uruq Dhahiya; the lowest at Nakhalah in the base of the Qatar Peninsula, where I found a salt lake surrounded by beds of white rock salt actually below sea level.

The south coast of Arabia west of long. 55° (Ras Nus) is very mountainous. At Dhofar in the central south, these mountains form a crescent shaped arm which encloses a prosperous and fertile plain. Westwards the mountains form an ocean escarpment, but in the Hadhramaut intrude for over 120 miles to the northwards. Beyond them and between them and the southern edge of the sands is a wedge-shaped plain narrowing westwards and falling from south to north and from west to east. The edge of the sands at Mugshin is about 400 feet; at Shissur about 900 feet; at Shuait 1,100 feet, and to the west not improbably rising to 2,000 feet or more in the neighbourhood of the Najran. This plain is crossed by dry wadi beds, or what Burton calls "fumura". Their sources in the mountains are deeply cloven, and they become more shallow as they run northwards, until, as they approach the sands, they are almost indistinguishable from the steppe, in which they are merely

¹ My map of Rub 'al Khali will be published in the September number of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*.

shallow depressions marked here and there by scrub. They are the arteries of approach to the Badus from the mountains in the south to the sands in the north. They are evidences of a very different climate from that which now prevails, for in their upper sources the deep gorges are doubtless the result of torrential rain action. To-day the country is extremely arid and rainfall is slight or negligible.

Arabia is said never to have had an ice age, so that when the territories of the higher latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere lay beneath an ice cap, Arabia must have enjoyed a pluvial period, and these great gorges running northwards on the desert side of the South Arabia escarpment must date from this time. I picked up many oyster fossils on the edge of the sands, which must have been washed down in bygone ages. These were of limestone formation and, though much weathered, have all been identified as belonging to the Middle Eocene period. The tradition of ancient trade routes across what is now almost a prohibitive barrier of sands, should not therefore be dismissed as unreasonable; it may connote that a very early civilization existed in this region. Indeed, caravan tracks of great antiquity were pointed out to me in $18^{\circ} 30'$, long. 52° , on the very edge of the sands and leading on a bearing of 325° into what is now a drought-stricken waste of sands. The Badus called this the road to Ubar, a town which, according to their traditions, lies buried beneath the sands that have ever been encroaching southwards. Whether the word "Ubar" and "Ophir" have any sort of connection it is impossible to say, but the alleged site of this buried city is on a direct line from the frankincense country of Dhofar to the most probable site of Gerrha on the Persian Gulf, and to Petra in Nabathaea. Other archæological remains are the old ruined townships of the plain of Dhofar and the trilith monuments I discovered in the frankincense country just over the Divide.¹ The former would appear to

¹ For a detailed account see "Among some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xiv, 1929, pp. 107 seq.

preserve a link with ancient Abyssinia, for the characteristic architectural feature is a monolithic column which, according to Bent, is common to both areas, but is not found to-day elsewhere in Arabia. As regards the significance of the trilith monument, all memory of it has faded from the tribal mind. This brings us to the inhabitants themselves.

The tribes living on the borderlands of the Rub 'al Khali are as follows :—

On the east, Albu Shamis, Daru' Harasis, Afar ; on the south, Bait Kathir, Mahara, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Karab ; on the west, Nahad, Yam Daham, Dawasir ; on the north-east, Manasir and Awamir. Sections of all these tribes penetrate the bordering sands during favourable seasons, that is, after rain in winter, but only for the periods of evanescent pasture.

The sand tribes proper that move into and live in the remoter depths of these sands at all times of the year are the Murra from the north and north-west, the Namasir and Awamir from the north-east, and the Rashid and Bait Imani, two sections of Al Kathir from the south. Life in these sands is sporadic. There is no oasis that would support a settled population at any point. Nomadic existence is the only possible one, and pastures become the chief consideration. Eastwards of my line of march, which roughly coincided with the fifty-first line of longitude, water was everywhere said to be plentiful, but this water is of an extremely brackish nature, so that in many places it is undrinkable by man and there are known areas where even camels cannot drink it. The westernmost waterholes which I used on my march were held to contain the sweetest water of the sands. In point of fact it was of such a salt nature that I was unable to drink it except when driven by acute thirst to do so, and I subsisted on the milk of the two milch camels I had with me.¹ The

¹ Camels in milk are not suited for long forced marches ; at no time had I more than two of them, and my Badus subsisted on hard rations which we carried.

water was upsetting to man and beast and the milk of the camels became salt to the taste too. I brought back specimens of every waterhole used. Some of these were the colour of beer and tasted strongly of sulphuretted hydrogen. They have been chemically analysed and the salt content found to be between 50 and 100 times greater than that of river water (*vide* September *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*).

The explanation of life in the sands is that the camel drinks this brackish water and man drinks the milk of his camel. The Badu is indeed the parasite of the camel—his exclusive food and drink here is camels' milk and very occasionally camels' flesh. Camels' hair, which is clipped annually, is spun and woven by his womenfolk, and is thus the means of providing him with shelter.

The women of the sands are veiled—those of the borderlands not so much so, using their mantles as a veil temporarily when first meeting the stranger.

There is a geographical distribution of Islamic sects. The Murra of the north are Hanbali, the tribes which range the southern borderlands are exclusively Shafi'i, the Dawasir of the west are Wahhabi, the Manasir are Malaki, the Daru' are Ibadhi, the sectarian cult of the Omanis. Town-dwellers of Arabia are prone to give the stranger the idea that the Badu is not religious, that he neither prays nor fasts. This, according to my experience, is a mistaken view. Generally speaking these tribes, with the exception perhaps of elements of the Awamir and the Sa'ar, are zealous in the practice of their religion; indeed on my last two journeys, on both of which occasions I was travelling in the desert during the fast month of Ramadhan, my escorts rigidly observed the fast, though they were in the saddle for seven or eight hours a day. The townsman, under such circumstances, would avail himself of the provision to break the fast which all sects of Islam permit to the traveller, but these men disdained to make use of this concession in the belief, I suppose, of

achieving greater merit in the eyes of God. They are wholly illiterate of course. I have never seen a Koran in the interior of this part of Arabia, nor have I heard of anyone who can read or write. Their knowledge of the Scriptures is negligible, but they observe the outward signs and are staunch believers in God.

The dialects of the sands, also, have a regional distribution—a southern dialect and a northern dialect, the exceptions to the rule being that the Daham and Yam tribes of the south-west speak the northern dialect and the Awamir of the north-east speak the southern dialect. The consonant “qaf” (guttural *k*) of Arabic is pronounced *g* throughout these inaccessible uncontaminated desert tribes. The consonant “jim” is pronounced *y* in the southern dialect, but *j* in the northern one. There are differences in the names of animals—for instance, a wild cat is called *idfa* in the northern dialect, and *khawwenga* in the southern dialect. The fox is known as *tha'alib* in the southern dialect, and *itha'ail* in the northern dialect. The new fennec fox which I discovered in the sands was termed *al hirr*, oddly enough a classical word for cat, which animal indeed in size it resembled. The chants of these tribes are also regional, so that a tribesman can be identified by his speech and song.

There are two saddles of the sands. The tribes of the west, including Sa'ar, and north use the familiar double-poled saddle which is placed over the hump. The tribes of the south and east ride on a less ambitious and poleless saddle placed behind the hump, but the great herds that are raised have, for the most part, never known a saddle. It is the cow camel that is valuable for her milk; the bull camel is usually slaughtered at birth and eaten or spared a space for the passing guest or the joyful occasions of marriage and circumcision. The tribes move on from pasture to pasture and in times of exceptional drought, when rains or dews have failed them for two years or more, they are driven either into the central areas where a specially hardy plant

called *hadh*¹ grows, or else out into the bordering steppe. The quest is always for new pastures.

We might here turn to consider that perhaps most important objective which Burton had in mind, namely the racial types. I had already in my first journey through the south-eastern Borderlands arrived at conclusions of racial peculiarities without being consciously aware that Burton had hypothecated that they would be found here. There is a considerable wedge of territory in the central south stretching from long. 57° 45' E. to long. 52° W., which is the habitat of a group of tribes. These tribes are the Harasis, Bauthara, Mahara, Qara and Shahara, Bilhaf, Bait Ashaikh, Afar, Barahama. From their traditions, customs, and languages, I opined that with the exception of the Harasis they were racially distinct from the hawk-nosed Semitic Arab of the north. In October and November last, while waiting for my desert escort, I devoted myself to a renewed and close study of these people, and the result of my investigations confirms me in the view that Burton's hypothesis was well founded. I had with me a camera and took some thirty or forty portraits, full face and profile, and made head measurements with callipers of such of them as I could, some forty-five specimens in all. This anthropological material is being investigated by Sir Arthur Keith, Dr. Seligman and Dr. Krogman, and, being the first of its kind from this part of Arabia and dealing with hitherto unrecorded tribes, it is hoped that it may throw light on these obscure peoples of whose existence Burton had guessed but whom he could never have known. It is sufficient for me to say that whereas the northern Arab is a long-headed man, not a single one of my forty-five measurements shows a dolico-cephalic index—in fact, forty-eight of them, or 96 per cent, are decided brachycephals. They have, generally speaking, frizzy but not spiral negroid hair, thick lips, weak chins and beard of light hair. They are of a

¹ *salsola* sp. (Chenopod)?

very dark colour. They tattoo their gums. They wear one earring, usually in the right ear.

Circumcision is universal, as in other parts of Arabia, though the manner is often the reverse of that found elsewhere. Whereas in other parts of Arabia the boy is circumcised as an infant and the girl at her ninth or tenth year, amongst these tribes adult male circumcision and infant female circumcision are practised. Adult male circumcision recalls the ancient Egyptian practice. Male mummies dug up at Thebes were found to conform to this rule. Sometimes elaborate rites attend the ceremony of male circumcision and batches of youths undergo what is a severe public test of their fortitude on the same day. The rite is attended by brave songs and drummings and the firing of rifles. It is scoffed at by Arabs, amongst whom it is, of course, not found.

Hair customs seem to be connected with sexual life. The boy's head is cropped close except for a lock of hair, grown down through the centre of the head and giving the effect of a centurion's helmet, or recalling somewhat the ancient Egyptian Horus lock. This lock is cut off immediately after circumcision, that is when the boy has reached maturity, and the hair is then allowed to grow normally. The hair custom of the women is as follows :—The girl's head is in part shaven around the edges, except for a brow fringe and a circular tonsure-like patch on the top from which depend three or four or more long narrow plaits. When the girl is betrothed, which is usually at the age of twelve or thirteen, the hair is allowed to grow normally. Within a month of marriage, as a sign that she is a maiden no longer, a long strip of skin (with its attendant hair) about half an inch wide, is shaved down through the centre of the head so that hair never grows there again. This scalping operation is extremely painful and sometimes has fatal results.

Smoking is universal amongst men, to a lesser extent amongst women ; many of the latter, however, chew tobacco and they all take snuff. The ladies henna their fingers and

toe-nails and paint their faces green, red and black. They also paint black the *munzerot*, i.e. the shaven centre parting down through the head. Both sexes smear their bodies with indigo and their mantles are usually impregnated with it.

A great number of pagan cults survive amongst these people. They universally believe in the Evil Eye and the good and evil influences of departed spirits, and have many cults of palliation and expiation. The credulous betake themselves to *saiyids*, or descendants of the prophet Muhammad, or such others as can read and write, for a scrip of Holy Writ which they believe to have some magical value against the Evil Eye. The cost varies from \$2 for a mere prophylactic to as much as \$10 or \$20 against every manner of evil—a sort of “all-in” policy. In the event of disease in man or camel the cause is often attributed to the Evil Eye, *Ain-al-balis*. A sheep or cow is slaughtered and its blood sprinkled over the victim, the flesh being distributed to the people. Ordinarily the use of frankincense is common to keep off the Evil Eye. A cow whose lactation has without apparent reason ceased, is subjected to this treatment, the ladies go round with the incense burner wafting it in circular motion over the animal afflicted with it. No woman in this region is allowed to milk camel, cow, or sheep. She may not touch the udders of any animal; were she to do so she would immediately become an outcast. This, I understand, is a custom widely found in Africa.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rains, and under trees at other times; they are not nomads, however, and caves are private possessions. In the plain itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four nails into the respective corners of the house, a rite which is supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. When the building is completed, he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to ensure that his walls will endure—a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant blood of

the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the doorposts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhofar, but during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer dashes two hen's eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway, and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers (in any case they have no houses), because hens and eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the Qara tribesman of the mountains.

Law and disputes. As in most tribal societies in Arabia, *hukm al hauz* or a code of local sanctions is the chief law. The *hauz* is the wise man of the tribe, not infrequently it is a hereditary office; occasionally the *hauz* is the sheikh of his tribe. Shara' law, or holy law, is in Oman and elsewhere the law of the townships. Outside them it will be resorted to in cases of matrimony and sometimes of inheritance; in disputes or crime cases scarcely at all. These are the province of the *hauz*. The same is true of these South Arabians. The Shara' law is distasteful to these people and can only be imposed in limited coastal areas by Government force. Their own code varies considerably from the code of Oman or that of Hadhramaut, showing evidences of exclusive origin. They have a passionate attachment to the eye for an eye idea, the need of making the punishment fit the crime. An example, told me by the Wali as having taken place this year is as follows :—

“ X ” was going a journey into “ Y's ” country and took a *rabia* from “ Y ”. On arriving there the sacred law of protection was transgressed and “ X ” found himself wounded with a bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh. A *Hauz* heard the case and decided that “ Y ”, the innocent party, but a member of the offending tribe, must submit to the

infliction of a similar wound as that which "X" had sustained. For this purpose a piece of stick was brought and sharpened, skewer fashion. This was thrust into "Y's" leg and a bullet was threaded, and drawn in its path. By local canons "X's" grievance was removed.

In Oman the abuse of the *rabia* would be followed by war between the two tribes unless the offended party agreed to the ruling of the *Hauz*, when he would receive from the offenders *laum-al-wijh* (blame of the face), which is usually assessed at \$400. Murder, which in tribal societies is almost invariably settled by blood money and in Oman varies between \$400 and \$1,000 (or rather its equivalent in kind), is in these Qara mountains assessed prodigiously high, in theory something like \$5,000, which it may take a lifetime to pay off, but which is most usually complicated by a vendetta. The murdered man may be poor, so that his close relatives will in any case be impoverished, but collections are made from each and every member of the tribe, who as a point of honour or from inescapable custom must bear the brunt.

The tribes of the Central South have a poor reputation as regards the *radud-as-salaam*.¹ The *radud-as-salaam* merely means that when two persons meet between whose tribes there is blood or other enmity, if one says to the other "Peace be upon you" and the other replies "And upon you be peace", they have buried the hatchet for the nonce. For one now to take advantage of the other and slay him, in his sleep, for instance, would in any other part of Arabia be the deepest treachery. Not so amongst this lawless brood, however. That it may happen elsewhere is possible, but normally the offender would be hounded out of his own tribe or be required to make some requital and his name would be for ever smirched. These non-Arabic speaking tribes of the Central South have no such regard for the normal Arab law. They also observe in the breach what is elsewhere a fixed canon, the *thamn-al-batn* or "stomach price". This is

¹ It is only within comparatively recent times that the Bautahara would recognize the *rabia* at all.

a kind of elaboration of the law of three days' hospitality. If a Badu has eaten the salt of a man, his goods are safe for a period of four days and four nights, the time for the last vestige of food to have passed out of his body. If the Badu's tribe unwittingly raids the man during these four days they must and do return the loot. This *thamn-al-batn* is sacred with the other tribes of the Southern fringe, but not with the non-Arab group.

Marriage. Polygamy is universally practised here as elsewhere in Arabia, and it would be extremely rare to find a girl of sixteen who had not experienced married life. Earlier marriages are met with where one or other party has not reached the age of puberty; this is no hindrance to marital relations. But divorce is easy and a man has only to say *talaq* three times to send his wife back to her father without any obligations for her future support beyond half the marriage dowry, which in many cases may be half a cow, or if the lady is extremely beautiful or well-connected may range as high as six cows. Women enjoy a greater measure of freedom and are not averse to speaking to a man in public, which in many of the towns of Arabia would lose them their reputation, if not their lives. A girl is never consulted, certainly not in the case of her first marriage, as to her husband. He is selected by her father and is usually the highest bidder for her hand irrespective of his age. On the night of her nuptials she will be escorted by her male relations to the cave of her spouse, which is entirely destitute of any sort of furniture except a carpet. In Oman it would be brazen on her part to enquire who or what her husband is and she may not know of her marriage to within a few days of its taking place. Even after divorce, when she is much older, she again will not be consulted in the choice of the man, but in the Central South this rule is somewhat relaxed.

Inheritance. The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share,

a son two shares and the wives one-eighth of the estate.¹ Where there are no sons the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds, one-quarter goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children, and the remainder to the children, but where it differs from Shara' law is that if there is no son and fewer than three daughters the deceased's brother is entitled only to a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, these take the whole of it and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are peculiar. They are bound up with their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth is generally in cows and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood sacrifice up to the number of twenty. In the case of large herds, twenty is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of one in ten and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is likewise one in ten in a small estate and generally a maximum of five in the case of a large estate. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. There would thus appear to be some special significance about the numbers one and three. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes is that wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

Languages. The languages spoken by these tribes are four in number—Shahari, Mahri, Bauthari, Harsusi; the last three seem to have close affinities. Although I understand they are Semitic in structure, no outside Arab understands them. They are not written languages, though Shahari

¹ For details see *Muhammadian Law*, p. 116, by S. Vesey-Fitzgerald, Oxford University Press, 1931.

and Mahri have been recorded by Dr. Maximillian Bittner from the material of the Müller and Landberg Expeditions. I have recorded vocabularies of all four dialects, including the two previously unnoticed ones. It is not possible on this occasion to dwell on them. Listening to them, what strikes the ear accustomed to Arabic is the frequency of a lisped sibilant like the Welsh *ll*, which seems to take the place of *ظ* *ز* *س* *ش* *ص* *ض* *ذ* *ظ* *ز* also a *أ* for a *ع* and a nasal *n* or *m* in Shahari. As regards numbers there would not appear to be a dual form and unlike Arabic all numbers above two are plural. I believe that these languages are much nearer to the Semitic languages of Ethiopia than they are to Arabic. This would appear to be another link with Africa.

Conclusion. To sum up, Burton's hypothesis No. 2 of the existence of racial types distinct from the Northern Arab is clearly proved. I have not had time to do more than to touch on these peculiarities of the tribes of the Central South borderlands, but they are sufficient to show that here are non-Arab survivals (if we take the long-headed hawk-faced man of the North as the true Arab type) of great antiquity. I am inclined to think that some of the tribes of North-East Africa and some of those of Southern Arabia had a common origin. Whether that origin was in Arabia or Africa (there are traditions of the latter) is a matter for conjecture. One is reminded in this connection that one of the oldest stories of these parts is that of the Queen of Sheba, who is claimed both as an Ethiopian and an Arab Queen in the respective continents. May she not have been Queen of both? May not her people have been a common pre-Arab aboriginal? Against this theory is their head measurements, which show them all to be markedly brachycephalic, and the centre of brachycephaly distribution is in Southern Asia.

Burton's hypothesis No. 1 that the slope of Arabia falls from north to south is not borne out by the ascertained facts. It is true only to the limited extent of the south-eastern corner eastwards of the sands, i.e. of long. 55° approximately.

As for his main objective, the plan of crossing from Muscat westwards to Medina, or in the reverse direction, I believe he would have found the route impracticable. One set of camels would have been inadequate, one escort of whatever tribe out of the question. The animals of the Oman, bred in mountains and steppe, would have been physically unable to work and live in sands. Burton would thus have been obliged to find regional relays of camels and be passed from tribe to tribe as I was on my journey through the southern borderlands in 1927. Only camels born in the sands and bred to its scant and peculiar flora and salt water can live in them. After crossing the northern Oman massif, a journey never before his time made by a European and only performed by three European expeditions since, Burton would have been obliged to enlist the services of either the Awamir or Manasir, neither tribe too kindly disposed to European inquisitiveness, as I have personal reasons for knowing. How far these could have conducted him into the heart of the sands would have depended upon the favoured pasture spots (which in turn would have depended upon the localities of last year's rain—if any), and how far these tribes were at peace with the Rashid and Murra, other sand tribes to the west—their hereditary enemies to boot. Assuming even such difficulties to have been overcome, the great problem would still have had to be faced, that of finding Arabs capable and willing to brave the arid wastes to the west of 51°. For if my Arab information is correct, practically no waterhole could be looked for at least in the southern sands west of my line of march. Hamad the Murri, my guide and reputed the most famous man in the sands, was one of the few who had passed across this drought-stricken waste in one very favourable rain year. But progress where pastures and water are insufficient is very slow and uncertain, and only possible at all to camels grazing most of the day and carrying no burden. To pack animals laden with rations and heavy scientific instruments it would appear to be impossible. What made my journey possible was that last year's rains in Dakaka, a half-way

sand region with good water, caused a general gravitation of the tribes there this year and so made possible relays of men and camels; also to an almost unprecedented peace reigning between the southern and northern sand tribes—a combination of circumstances by no means to be expected or relied upon. I tried the Oman approach to the sands for six years and never succeeded. It is tactically a bad starting point. Moreover, I suspect that Burton, had he been able to get into the desert from Muscat, would, in the luckiest event, have been deflected by physical conditions alone in the western marches from the route he contemplated. Where would he have been driven then? Perhaps into the same sands which I traversed. There must always be a considerable element of luck in the penetration of Arabia. And we may be quite sure that if the circumstances of his day had been favourable, Burton would have accomplished his journey across Rub ‘al Khali, and so deprived me of the privilege of talking to you about “the opprobrium to modern adventure”.

Professor Margoliouth (Director), in presenting the Medal, said that the Society was fortunate in being able to bestow a special mark of honour on the explorer whose lecture it had been hearing. He recalled the opening words of Palgrave’s *Central and Eastern Arabia* :—

“Of the interior of the vast region, of its plains and mountains, its tribes and cities, of its government and institutions, of its inhabitants, their ways and customs of their social condition, how far advanced in civilization or sunk in barbarism, what do we as yet really know, save from accounts necessarily wanting in fullness and precision? It is time to fill up this blank in the map of Asia, and this, at whatever risks, we will now endeavour; either the land before us shall be our tomb, or we will traverse it in its fullest breadth, and know what it contains from shore to shore. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum.*”

Although this exordium inclined the reader to ask in the style of Horace: *Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?* Palgrave undoubtedly accomplished a considerable part of his

programme, and through his enterprise and that of travellers who had followed in his footsteps and those of Burton, names had thickened in parts of the map of Arabia which had previously been blank; only the vast area known as "the Empty Quarter" had remained white. It was a source of pride to Englishmen that one of themselves had now commenced the extension of knowledge to that region also. And of the subjects of study enumerated by Palgrave it would be observed that Mr. Thomas had not neglected one. It was gratifying to the Society that he, having been the recipient of honours which must necessarily have been more flattering, had also accepted that which they were fortunately able to give.

NOTICE

Members and Subscribing Libraries are reminded that by Rule 24, all Annual Subscriptions for the coming year are due on 1st January without application from the Society. A great saving would be effected if all members would kindly comply with this rule.

THE KARL GELDNER LIBRARY

The library and the bequest of MSS. of the late Orientalist, Karl Geldner, have been acquired by the University Library, Marburg-on-Lahn. Amongst these are all the preliminary studies for the translation of the Rigveda, which has been finished in MS. and is now being printed. There is also the index to the Rigveda (in outline), comprising about 50,000 entries. In addition there are several works on the subject of the Avesta with improved translations of the more difficult parts and many foot-notes, chiefly concerning the language; numerous notes on the Upanishads on which Dr. Geldner intended to work after having finished the translation of the Veda; the *Petersburg Dictionary*, into which he put countless supplementary notes; and finally his completed lectures, e.g. on Buddhism, a subject on which Dr. Geldner has not published anything.

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